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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME I.

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EX OFFICIO
Patriarch
Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis
in Libro Armeniano

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal under Episcopal Sanction

AN IRISH DIOCESE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY¹

I HAVE taken as the subject of the lecture of this evening, 'An Irish Diocese in the Seventeenth Century.' I have made this choice, not merely because I hope that such information as I have been able to collect in spare moments of leisure may prove not altogether uninteresting to you, but also, and much more, because I think it eminently desirable that the attention of the students of this great College should be directed to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, on every available occasion. Further, there is, to my mind, a special reason why this should be done at the present time. We are now in the swing of a great movement, extending far beyond our own country, even beyond our sea-divided race, for the revival of our Irish language and literature. Nor, unless I am greatly mistaken, is this movement the outcome of any mere passing enthusiasm. The study of Irish history will, naturally, come within the range of that movement. Indeed, there are already signs that, in the not distant future, much may be done towards the completion of that unfinished work—a creditable History of Ireland. It were not fitting that we

¹ A lecture delivered in the MacMahon Hall, Maynooth College, on December 3, 1896.

should lag behind in that department which is peculiarly ours. For, if we share, as we must, with our fellow-countrymen a deep interest in the lives and labours and sacrifices of those who, in the past, strove to roll back the tide of foreign conquest, or build up the edifice of the nation's prosperity at home, we must own to another interest higher and holier than any which even patriotism may inspire. I refer, of course, to the interest which we, beyond others, must take in the lives and labours and sacrifices of those—the confessors and martyrs and virgins, the bishops and priests—who made the name of Ireland illustrious at home and abroad, in the ages of faith; the millions of faithful people who, from the beginning, found it good to stand by their Master's side in the hour of His and their own triumph, nor abandoned Him when, persecuted and cast out, He set upon their heads, for a time, His own crown of thorns.

The Irish diocese in the seventeenth century of which I am to speak to you, is the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. Waterford City had been faithful to the English connection, in peace and in war, ever since the memorable August day of 1170, when Richard Strongbow and Raymond-le Gros won it for their royal master. Long prior to the time of which I am about to speak this evening, it had been entrusted by Parliament with authority to levy war upon the degenerate English, as well as upon the natives who lived in its neighbourhood. Indeed, to use Prendergast's words in the *Cromwellian Settlement*, it appears to have been regarded as 'a kind of English oasis in a desert of Irish.' It had received, in return for its loyalty, the name of *Urbs Intacta*, and many more substantial advantages. It preserved its unsullied reputation all through the sixteenth century; and we have, at this moment, in our Town Hall, a cap of maintenance which Henry VIII. sent, in 1536, to the mayor of the year, and another gift of the same merry monarch, a state-sword, lying in amity with the sword carried by Thomas Francis Meagher before the Irish Brigade in the terrible slaughter

of Fredericksburg. We have, further, two charters given to us by Elizabeth.

But, for all their loyalty and all their gratitude, the people of Waterford never took kindly to the 'Reformed' doctrines. Indeed, their devotion to popery was, we know, a source of deep grief, and, no doubt, of disappointment also, to the God-fearing governors of the country, in such moments as these worthy gentlemen were able to devote to the subject, from the work of robbing and slaughtering the wild Irish. The Lord President, in 1577, talks bitterly of what he calls 'the proud and undutiful inhabitors' of this town. 'They are cankered in popery,' he feelingly complains, 'undutiful to her Majesty, slandering the Gospel publicly. They fear neither God nor man,' he says; and, by way of proof of their unredeemed wickedness, he adds, 'They have altars, painted images, and candlesticks, in derision of the Gospel every day in their synagogues;' and what was a great deal worse, 'Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning without any fear.' He spied them himself, he tells the Government, 'for I chanced to arrive last Sunday, at five of the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of their churches by heaps.' He finally unburdens his soul by moralizing: 'This is shameful in a Reformed City.' The worthy President's indignation was, however, as it would appear, thrown away upon the Waterfordians; for twenty years after, in 1596, we have the Protestant Bishop of Cork, William Lyon, 'that prelate of an active and liberal spirit,' as Cotton calls him, writing to the Lord Chamberlain:—

The Mayor of Waterford, which is a great lawyer, one Wadling, carrieth the sword and rod (as I think he should do) for her Majesty, but he nor his Sheriffs never came to the Church sithence he was Mayor, nor sithence this reign, nor none of the citizens, men nor women, nor in any other town or city throughout this province, which is lamentable to hear, but most lamentable to see. The Lord in His mercy [so prays the good Bishop] round it, when it shall please His gracious goodness to look on them.

But the Bishop's prayers were as unavailing as the Lord President's indignation, and the last days of the

sixteenth century are amongst those reckoned glorious for ever to Ireland by the heroism of the men who died at the scaffold for their faith.

The seventeenth century opened auspiciously for the oppressed Catholics of the south of Ireland. In 1603 two events occurred which appeared to promise a profound change in their condition. Elizabeth, their arch-enemy—she who had murdered their bishops and priests, who had plundered their chiefs, and reduced the people of Munster to such a condition that, in the poet Spencer's appalling language, 'they ate the dead carrion, and one another, soon after; and the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of the graves'—she was dead. In her place reigned the son of the martyred Queen of Scots, the lineal descendant of their own Milesian chiefs: he who had helped them in their fight with Elizabeth, and had sought and obtained the favour of the Sovereign Pontiff to secure the English throne, on this condition, as we learn from no less an authority than Cardinal Bellarmine, that he would not persecute the Catholics.

The hopes of the Catholics rose high, nowhere more than in Waterford. What took place there on the occasion is described in a long report, full of interest from beginning to end, written by James White, Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford, to Clement VIII., and published by Dr. Kelly at the end of the third volume of his edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*. The people, Father White tells us, determined to profess their faith openly and boldly in the face of the world, and they prayed him, as the Vicar of the Apostolic See, to consecrate for them their churches, which had been desecrated by heretical worship. He, on his part, whilst complying with their wishes, cautioned them against tumult or disorder, and strictly prohibited them from carrying arms, or injuring, insulting, or assailing in any way those who professed a different faith. He then purified the Church of St. Patrick, and the Cathedral at Waterford, as well as the churches of Clonmel. The people protested that, in all this, their principal object was to intimate to their new sovereign that they *were* nothing, and *wished* to be nothing, but members

of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. They affixed a declaration to this effect to the doors of the Cathedral, and sent a sealed copy to Mountjoy, the Lord President. The reply was an order directing that the churches be closed, that all religious rites be suspended, and the priests arrested and imprisoned on a charge of high treason. The magistrates and prelates boldly answered that the priests had done nothing unworthy of their office, or warranting any suspicion of their allegiance; and they added that, as to suppressing Catholic worship, and arresting and imprisoning the priests, *that they could not do, because the faith and religion of the priests were theirs also.* Their efforts were **successful, but only for a time.**

The Catholics of Ireland had been robbed of much of their strength by persecution. The Puritans, on the other hand, were growing into power, and James, like all the Stuarts, to use Plowden's words, 'ever forward in sacrificing his friend to the fear of his enemy,' in little more than two years from his accession, entered on the work of persecuting the Church for which his mother had suffered and died. He began by formally promulgating Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which declared all religious worship except the Protestant, illegal, and imposed fines on all who absented themselves from Protestant services. He commanded 'all priests, Jesuit priests, seminary priests, or others ordained by authority from Rome, to leave the kingdom.' Magistrates and other prominent men in Dublin were thrown into prison for not attending Protestant service: and when the Catholics of the Pale protested against the flagrant illegality of such a course, their leaders were locked up in Dublin Castle, and their principal agent, Sir Patrick Barnwall, was carried over to London and flung into the Tower.

James approved of all this. It was not only just, but necessary, he thinks. He is in hopes, too, he writes to the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland, that 'many more will be, by this means, brought to conformity who, perhaps, hereafter will find cause to give thanks to God and you for being drawn by so gentle [!] a constraint unto their own

good.' The law against clergy was not allowed to remain a dead letter. By May, of 1607, there were already in prison a bishop, a vicar-general, very many priests, and an immense number of the laity of every class and condition. The result of all was to destroy churches, monasteries, and schools, but to root the faith more deeply and firmly in the hearts of the people.

When Father Mooney, the Provincial of the Franciscans, visited Clonmel, in 1615, he found the buildings of the convent, with the exception of the cloister, entirely dilapidated; yet Sir John Davys tells us that, when the Lord President visited the same town, a short time before, 'though he did gently offer to the principal inhabitants that he would spare to proceed against them then, if they would yield to conference for a time, and become bound in the meantime not to receive any Jesuit or priest into their house, they peremptorily refused.' Father Mooney was in Waterford the same year (1615). The Franciscans were then living clandestinely in a house which they had rented; but the Catholics, he says, 'were true to them, and sustained them generously, even at their own peril.' Those same sturdy Catholics of Waterford refused to bring up their children in ignorance, even though the law said, 'No Papist shall dare to exercise the office of schoolmaster in the kingdom.' They employed a schoolmaster, and a public schoolmaster, too:—

There is [reported a body of King's Visitors, in 1615] in the City of Waterford, kept by the citizens a publique schoolmaster in the City of Waterford, flahy, who hath a great number of schollers resorting to his schoole. Upon our coming to Waterford we first sent for him, but could not get him to appear before us. We then required the Mayor and Sheriffs of the Citty to bring him before us w^{ch} they answered they could not doe, by reason the said flahy did fly out of the Citty a little before our coming. Whereupon we left a L^r. [Letter] with the Lord President of that province under o^r [our] hands, praying and requiring him, in his Ma^{ties}. [Majesty's] name to take order to suppress him from the exercise of teaching and instruccion of youth, for he traynes up schollers to become seminaries [seminarists] beyond the seas and ill affected members, w^{ch} the L^d. President did undertake to perform.

But neither laws nor King's Visitors, nor Lord Presidents

could weaken the attachment of the citizens to their faith ; and accordingly, in 1617, a decisive step was taken, and the City was deprived of its charters, liberties, rent rolls, ensigns of authority, and public revenues. The laws against the clergy proved just as unavailing. The Earl of Thomond wrote in 1607 :—

The most of the d——h priests and seminaries are relieved in the county of Tipperary, in Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, and some few in Cork and Limerick. It is impossible for any officer to lay hands upon them, for the officers are no sooner known to come into the county but the priests are presently conveyed away.

Philip O'Sullivan Beare wrote his *Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*, in 1618. He says of the Irish clergy of the period :—

Numerus clericorum magnus est atque florens. Omnes Ecclesiastici quot sint, mihi quidem non constat ; imo ne Anglis quidem diligentissimis Sacerdotum indagatoribus. Illud non ignoro, mille centum et sexaginta Sacerdotum, Religiosorum, et Clericorum nomina, cognomina, ab Anglis inquirendo comperta fuisse.

Few who are acquainted with the contemporary history of Ireland would, I think, be prepared for such a condition of things. The number of ecclesiastics of all grades to-day must be well under five thousand ; but the Catholic population is at least three times as great now as it was in 1618. We thus come to find—and the discovery is to me a surprising one—that, after seventy-five years of fierce persecution carried on by a mighty empire, this Ireland of ours could, in proportion to its population, count for its sanctuaries three clerics for every four serving there at the present hour.

The accession of Charles II. made little change in the condition of the unfortunate Catholics of Ireland. Charles, it is said, was personally opposed to religious persecution ; but he was driven forward on the path of his predecessors by forces which he was unable to control.

The Protestants and Puritans had combined against the Church. It was in vain that the Catholics loudly protested their loyalty, and proved the sincerity of their protest by large pecuniary sacrifices. The Protestant Archbishop of Armagh,

the celebrated Ussher, and twelve Protestant bishops, were not ashamed to attach their signatures to a document which stated that 'to give them [the Papists] a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, was a grievous sin.' The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin was not ashamed to perform in person the work of persecution, when, in 1629, on St. Stephen's Day, he and the Mayor of the city broke into the Franciscan Chapel, Cook Street, 'and there defaced the altar and oratory, and were leading away two friars which they took.' They were, however, scarcely prepared for the opposition which they encountered. For 'the devout women which were in the oratory, together with young men that came to the city, did so play on the Mayor and Archbishop and their men, with stones and clubs, that they were forced to take horse, and some persons were hurt.'

In the same year (1629), an event of considerable importance for the diocese with which we are just now more particularly concerned took place. Waterford had been without a bishop since Patrick Walsh died, in 1558. It was part of the settled policy of the Holy See at this period (O'Sullivan Beare tells us), to abstain from appointing bishops in Ireland; for the revenue of the sees had been given over to the Protestants, and it therefore became impossible to support the episcopal dignity and honour. The archbishops had delegated faculties to appoint vicars-general or vicars apostolic, with large powers, to govern the dioceses. At last, after fifty years of interregnum, Waterford obtained a supreme pastor in the person of Patrick Comerford, a prelate who played a distinguished part in the government of the people immediately committed to his care, and a no less distinguished part in shaping the destinies of the entire country, at one of the most interesting and most memorable epochs in its history.

Patrick Comerford was born in Waterford about the year 1586. His father was Robert Comerford, a merchant of that city, and his mother Anastasia White, of Clonmel. Both families—the Comerfords and the Whites—were old, wealthy, and influential, and both were Catholic of the Catholic.

The Connerfords gave sixteen fathers to the Society of Jesus alone, between 1590 and 1640; and we have the testimony of the author of *Cambrensis Eversus* and the *Alinothologia* for the fact that no other single family in all Ireland, not even his own Galway Lynches, gave so many priests to the Irish Church, as the Whites.

This is not the time to narrate the history of the Whites; but there is at least one member of that family whose name should never be passed over in silence in any assembly of Irish ecclesiastics, when the history of the Irish Church, and more especially the history of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore in the seventeenth century, is being told. I refer to Thomas White. Born at Clonmel, in the year 1556 or 1558, he went to the Peninsula while he was yet young, and there spent the remainder of his days, until his death, in 1622. But, though an exile for life from Ireland, his heart was as true to *her* and her ancient Church as if his steps had never wandered from the banks of the Suir. For them he taught, spoke, and wrote without ceasing; all his great influence at the court of Spain was wielded for them; and I believe it is no exaggeration to say that no other man—and God raised up many powerful friends in many lands for the Irish Church in the hour of her need—contributed as largely to preserve the faith, or contributed with so child-like a love, as this Jesuit from Clonmel. He gathered together, with admirable devotion, Irish youths, and prepared them for the Irish Mission at Valladolid and Seville; but his great claim to the undying gratitude of Irish Catholics rests on the fact that he was the founder of the first Irish college on the Continent—the College of Salamanca. Let me quote one sentence from Father Hogan's *Distinguished Irishmen of the Seventeenth Century*, to show what this Irish College of Salamanca did. In the first fifty years of its existence, under the directions of Father White and his successors—

The Irish College at Salamanca educated three hundred and seventy students, of whom were one Primate of All Ireland, four archbishops, five bishops, nine provincials of religious orders,

thirty martyrs [whose lives were cut short by the sword or the halter, by imprisonment, exile, and other calamities suffered for the faith], one hundred and thirty religious, twelve distinguished writers, and forty doctors of divinity and professors thereof, many of whom [says Nieremberg] filled the first chairs in the most celebrated universities of Europe.

Just one extract more given, in Father Hogan's interesting book, from an article by Dr. M'Donald, Rector of the Irish College, Salamanca, in the I. E. RECORD of 1873-74:—

He [Father White] did more for the preservation of the faith in his native land than any other Irishman ever did, during the terrible ordeal through which the Church of Ireland passed in two or three centuries of persecution. To him is due the idea of establishing Irish colleges in foreign lands, in order to educate priests for the trying and dangerous Irish Mission. Clonmel may well be proud of having been the birthplace of this saviour of the faith in Ireland. Such a man is in every way worthy of a national monument; and I hope to see the day when the Irish Church will, in gratitude to his memory, raise one in the capital of the kingdom, and another in his native town.

May I add that I am in hearty sympathy with the wish expressed in the eloquent words which close the extract.

I return to Dr. Comerford. He received his early education in the school of Dr. Peter White, who is well known in the south of Ireland by the title of 'The Lucky Schoolmaster of Munster.' Peter White is an interesting figure in contemporary history. He was, there is reason to think, nephew of the founder of Salamanca College. He was born in Waterford, and educated at Oxford, in Dr. Newman's College of Oriel. When he had completed his studies there, he returned to Ireland, and set up a school, where a great part of the youth of Waterford and the county of Dublin were educated. He was appointed to the Deanery of Waterford, for his learning and virtue, at the request of the Bishop, Dr. Patrick Walsh; but he did not hold the office long. He refused to conform to the newly-established Church, and was set aside. He returned to his old work of teaching, 'which was then accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland by the Catholics, especially for this reason, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so, consequently, keep out

Protestancy.' He had at least three pupils who afterwards rose to eminence: Peter Lombard—not the Archbishop of Armagh, though both were Waterford men and contemporaries; Patrick Comerford, afterwards Bishop of Waterford; and Richard Stanihurst, uncle of Archbishop Ussher, the author of many books well known in that time; called by Camden 'eruditissimus ille nobilis Ricardus Stanihurst,' by Southey 'the common sewer of the language, as Chaucer has been called the well of English undefiled,' and of whom Keating says, referring to the bitter tone of his *De Rebus Hiberniæ Gestis*, that 'hatred of everything Irish was the first nourishment he ate.' We next find Comerford at Bordeaux, a priest of the Augustinian Order. There is in the Calendar of Irish State Papers (1615-1625), extracted from a 'Book discovering the number of Priests made in the College of Bordeaux,' an interesting list of two hundred and eight Irish ecclesiastics, who are described as 'being lodged and educated in the Regular Congregation, established by Cardinal de Sourdis.' Of these, some thirty are marked as 'Vaterfordien,' of whom one is set down as 'Rev. Patrice Comerford, du Diocese de Vaterford, Augustin. reformé,' and another as 'P. Geoffrey Keating, Docteur en Theologie, Vaterfordien.' The former is the future bishop, the latter the greatest of Irish historians, who was, later on, to serve in the diocese of Waterford, under the jurisdiction of his old college companion, as parish priest of Tubrid, where he now lies buried. Comerford afterwards taught theology at Terceiro and Brussels, and became distinguished as a poet and an orator, as well as a theologian. He subsequently served for some time as prior of his order in Callan, and afterwards as a missionary in Waterford, and finally was, at the request of the priests of that diocese, appointed to fill the long vacant see of Waterford and Lismore, and consecrated at Rome, in the Oratory of St. Silvester, at the Quirinal, on the 18th of March, in the year 1629.

It was not a mere idle fancy that suggested the beautiful description, in which the historian of the Irish hierarchy in the seventeenth century celebrates the event

that took place on the Quirinal that day. No Irishman could regard it with indifference. They were raising up, with the Church's most stately rite, in the great Rome of the Apostles, a bishop for the *Parva Roma* in Ireland. The consecrating prelate was a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and before him, as he raised his hands in blessing, knelt a band of Irish exiles. Some were young levites of the sanctuary, who were, at no distant day, to leave their sweet haunts of peace, and face the horrors of persecution, the rack and the gibbet, for their own old mother Church of Ireland. Some were tottering, grey-haired old men, who had already, on the battle-field, fought and bled for their country—the last survivors from 'The Flight of the Earls.' Their thoughts would easily have gone back to that other day, one and twenty years before, when they mounted that same Quirinal Hill for the first time, weary with travelling by land and sea, and afterwards knelt, behind O'Neill and O'Donnell, to receive the Holy Father's blessing, and hear his warm words of welcome to their new home in the Eternal City. But there was one more distinguished by far than any other, and no tongue may easily tell the flood of mingled thoughts, of hopes and memories, that burst upon his mind, as he realized the full meaning of the scene upon which his eyes were fixed. It was Luke Wadding, *clarum ac venerabile nomen*. To him this was much more than an ordinary ceremony of the consecration of a bishop, though there were few in or out of Rome that day who, whatever were the circumstances, would be more profoundly impressed by the solemnity of such a function. But for Wadding, at that moment, it was the consecration of one who had been the companion of his early childhood, his schoolmate, and the faithful friend of his later years; and more, it was the giving to this friend of a commission that was to bear him back to the City by the Suir, which both claimed for their own, and loved with so fond an affection, that he might there rule and teach, might take his stand boldly there against the oppressors of his people; and if so, as was not unlikely, it was God's holy will, he might face the martyr's death, and, winning the martyr's crown, pass to join the ranks of that ever-increasing

band who in those days took their place with Patrick and Columbkille, and Laurence, round the Great White Throne.

Comerford returned to Ireland without delay. He found the country in a deplorable condition. She was oppressed and steeped in poverty, without trade or commerce of any sort, the land of ire. Besides the English governors she had other enemies, 'a universal sickness and oppression by soldiers at home, and abroad her merchants could not put to sea for ten days without being taken by a Hollander, or a Dunkerk, or a French pirate, or a hungry Briscanor.' The very elements seemed to be in league with these enemies for her discomfiture. 'The weather is so rainie and drousie continually,' so he writes to his friend Luke Wadding, 'that it doth imprint and indent in a man's heart a certain saturn qualitie of heaviness, sloughiness, laziness, and perpetual sloute.' But the condition of his diocese afflicted him most of all. He found that it was everywhere suffering from the effects of the long and bitter trial through which it had passed. He was not the man, however, to sit idly and shed useless tears, as long as there was any possibility of ending the evils he had so much reason to deplore. He entered immediately on the work of the visitation of the diocese. He penetrated into every corner of it, encouraging the clergy, now sadly reduced in numbers, as far at least as the rural districts went, by word and example, and administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to all who needed it; and amongst them he had to number not merely the young, but often the very old people of sixty or seventy years of age, as he tells us. His next care was to convene a synod of the priests of the diocese, where he enacted such laws as the times and the state of the Church demanded. He appointed in the City of Waterford five parish priests. This was the work of the first nine months he spent in the diocese. His second great work had for its purpose the establishment of more harmonious relations between the secular and regular clergy, not only in his own diocese, but through the entire country.

In the very first letter which he addressed to the Holy See after his arrival in Ireland, we find him referring to

certain dissensions between both bodies, which he deeply as justly deplored. He proposed the remedy, too. It was adopted by the Holy See, and we have the authority of the Irish agent in Rome for the statement that, since the first commencement of the Anglican schism, no greater boon had been conferred on the Irish Church. It was with the utmost joy he was able to assure the Holy See that Waterford, though sorely tried, remained faithful to its old Catholic traditions: '*Haec nostra civitas Waterfordiensis, quamvis saepius concussa, illibata tamen et fidelis, per misericordiam Dei, perstat.*' To such a people did Comerford devote all his zeal and energy, all his great powers of body and mind, for nine years. He had his trials and his difficulties, plenty of them, as we will easily understand. Some came from within, from false brethren, and from clergy, strangers who had up to this done little or no service in the Church, in an undue attempt to exclude from the enjoyment of parochial revenues their seniors, who had borne the burden and heat of the day. Some came from without, and particularly from the persistent efforts of the Protestant party in the diocese, led by two successive bishops, to pervert the youth by forcing them into Protestant schools, and to drag the old into seeming conformity with heresy, by putting into operation the worst laws that had been passed against recusants. From beginning to end the Bishop never wanted for the confidence and devoted attachment of the people; and in that confidence and attachment he found the source of unfailing consolation, and with it and through it he was able to defy all the malice of his enemies.

But times even more troublous than any they had yet known were at hand for himself and his people. Men who were able to read the signs had long discerned the approach of a storm. The sufferings of the Catholics, harassed by an ever-increasing code of penal legislation, had now grown great almost beyond endurance. The bitter sense of injury which rankled in the minds of their chiefs, robbed as they had been of all their earthly possessions, had grown into a very madness; and, if behind them—people and leaders—

there was nothing but the memories of cruel wrong, before them there was no hope but only the certain prospect of still greater wrong, of more iniquitous laws, of the final extirpation of the religion, which, as Mr. Lecky well puts it, was fast becoming the passion as well as the consolation of their lives, and afterwards of exile and, it may be, of death for themselves and their children. They would try the supreme arbitrament of the sword. If they *won*—then they would have their happy homes, their free altars once more; if they *lost*—*una spes victis nullam sperare salutem*. The great Irish Rebellion, as it is called, began in Ulster, on the 22nd of October, 1641. This is not the place to trace its history. That it was darkened by great crimes no Irishman need deny; that these crimes were redeemed over and over again by heroism, sacrifice, and a noble forgetfulness and forgiveness of injuries, every man who has studied the facts, and who is not hidebound with prejudice, will admit. This much, too, should be said, that the Catholic party always disclaimed the name of rebels; that they unequivocally and persistently proclaimed their allegiance to the king, and their readiness to lay down arms when the two things for which they contended were secured to them—restitution of their property, and freedom for their religion.

The rebellion quickly spread to the south. Waterford was taken, in December, by Edmund Butler, son of Lord Mountgarrett, and Dungarvan and Clonmel within the same month by Richard Butler, of Kilcash, brother of the Marquis of Ormond. By the end of December, the entire country, except Dublin, Athlone, Kildare, and some strongly fortified seaports, was in their hands. Comerford watched with eager interest the progress of the rebel cause, but he abstained from identifying himself publicly with it until late in the following year. In the meantime events occurred which drew him from the place of the mere sympathetic spectator, and converted him into its open and vehement supporter. The Anglo-Irish of the Pale—and he was an Anglo-Irishman—for the first time in their history threw in their lot with the native Irish, and entered heart and soul into the fight. The Royalist troops swept with fire and sword the country

from Lismore to Dungarvan, and, more than all, the Ulster bishops had come to recognise that the cause for which the rebels contended was just and holy, and solemnly called on their flocks to take up arms 'for their religion, their country, and their king.' Comerford hesitated no longer. He threw himself into the struggle with all the ardour of his nature. He was one of the principal promoters of the historic National Synod held at Kilkenny on the 10th of May, 1642, and he had a large share in framing the oath of association which, from that day, formed the bond of union between the Confederated Catholics of Ireland. He was one of the eleven spiritual peers who represented the Church at the still more historic gathering held in the same place, the month of October following, when the Confederation of Kilkenny was inaugurated, in the last and by far the greatest meeting of an Irish Parliament. He was one of the first to welcome Rinuccini on his arrival in Munster, and he stood by him to the very last, through all the vicissitudes of his most chequered of careers. He rejoiced with him in his triumphs, the more because the most brilliant were won by the skill and valour of his friend, Owen Roe O'Neill; and when the artifices of Ormond and dissensions among his own followers had blighted the Legate's hopes, he could always count on the sympathy and support of the Bishop and people of Waterford. Rinuccini was not unmindful of such devotion, nor ungrateful for it. In his reports to the Holy See, he described the Bishop of Waterford in terms of strong praise, both for his public policy and for his official administration of his diocese. Comerford, he said, was a bishop whom all his colleagues might copy with advantage. He was deeply impressed with the splendour of public worship in Waterford; nowhere outside of Rome had he seen the ceremonies of the Church performed with more reverence and more stateliness than in the cathedral there.

But Waterford and its Bishop proved again and again, during these eventful days, that their devotion to the Church was as true as it was outspoken. On the 1st of August, 1646, Ormond's peace was proclaimed in Dublin. It was received with strong manifestations of approval by a section of the

Confederate party; but to the vast majority, as to Rinuccini, it contained no sufficient guarantee that the grievances which drove them to risk their lives and fortunes in rebellion would be redressed, and they rejected it with scorn. When the state heralds arrived in Waterford to announce it, they were treated with every mark of indignity. No one would lead them to the Mayor's house, and they were forced to bribe a little boy to discover it. Having at length found it, the Mayor kept them waiting four hours for an audience. When they asked His Worship if he would not proclaim the peace, he replied *more Hibernico*, by asking them 'why they had not gone first to Kilkenny.' They answered him that it was because Waterford was, next to Dublin, one of the most ancient and considerable cities of the Kingdom. They delayed three days in hopes of obtaining a more satisfactory reply; but they received none. They then left under a threat from the people, that 'unless they made haste away, they would be sent packing with withes [willow twigs about their necks.' Eight days afterwards the bishops, twelve in number, and the representatives of the clergy, secular and regular, assembled at Waterford, under the presidency of the Legate, and decreed, with one voice, that 'all and singular, the Confederate Catholics who shall adhere or consent to such peace or to the fautors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, shall be held absolutely perjured.' The decree was received with joy by the people, and soon after the friends of Ormond came to regret that they had consented to accept his terms.

It may, however, be doubted if the Nuncio had not now seen the happiest days of his embassy. But the faithful Bishop and people of Waterford were yet to see one, the happiest, perhaps, of all. It was a March day in 1648. The Confederation had fallen upon evil times. Its treasury was empty, its energies paralyzed by dissensions in the Council Chamber. The Council itself was in treaty with Inchiquin—Murrough of the Burnings—for surrender and peace. Worse still, the one man who had all along been the tower of its strength, whose genius and devotion had gained for it whatever military distinction it could

claim—the stainless, dauntless Owen Roe—was thwarted on every side by the mean jealousy of the Confederate leaders. The spirits of the whole Irish party were at their very lowest, when on that 23rd March, the sentry guarding the ramparts of Duncannon Fort saw a ship flying the papal colours enter Waterford harbour. She brought noble gifts for poor Ireland—money for her soldiers and for their general, a Father's blessing, and a sword which that Father had blessed, too. It was the sword of Tyrone, which Luke Wadding had taken from the dying Earl's hands, and preserved in reverence for the day when another O'Neill should arise greater still than the great Hugh, more powerful to strike a deadly blow for the land both loved so well.

Within two months, the Council surrendered to Inchiquin, the Nuncio's power was departed, and his mission practically at an end. He fled from Kilkenny to Maryborough; and there he pronounced a sentence of excommunication and interdict against all who accepted the treaty with Inchiquin. Comerford's loyalty was never more bravely displayed than in the hour of the Nuncio's fall. He closed the churches in Waterford immediately, and ordered that the celebration of the Holy Mass and all the ministrations which an interdict forbids, should cease. It was in vain that the excommunicated Council called on him to disregard the censures, and threatened him with deprivation of his temporalities, in the event of a refusal. We have his fearless reply in the first volume of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. When he received the Nuncio's command, he answers the Council, he assembled the most learned of the clergy, secular and regular; and he and they, without a single dissentient, agreed that all were in conscience bound to obey that command. He laughed at their threats to deprive him of his temporalities, for he had none to lose. The greater part had already been seized by the common enemy; the remainder, by some members of the Council, as the Council had already been informed. He concludes in words well worthy of an Irish bishop and confessor of the faith: 'But although I were to be stripped justly or unjustly, of all the world could give, for my submission to the decrees of Holy Church, I will, nevertheless

persevere in obedience: nor will I cease to pray God that you may well and faithfully guide the Councils of the Confederates of this kingdom.'

Comerford's connection with the Confederation ended with these words. He had done one man's share to strike off the chains that bound the Church and the country; and if he and those who shared his honoured toil failed in their efforts, history will adjudge the blame to the honest but most mistaken members of the party who put their trust in men that had already proved themselves, some hollow friends, others the cruellest of enemies. There is no use in lamenting now what cannot be undone; but perhaps it may not be amiss to emphasize for ourselves this one fact, that right across the history of the Confederation's dismal failure, there is written in letters that none but the blindest can fail to read, as none but the most senseless should fail to remember, the legend, Disunion and in Disunion Disaster.

The Bishop now devoted himself altogether to the care of his flock. Towards the close of 1649, he and they found themselves face to face with an enemy far more powerful and, if possible, more cruel than even Inchiquin. Cromwell appeared before the walls of Waterford on 24th November, his sword still reeking with the blood of Drogheda and Wexford. He called on the garrison to surrender, promising the civic privileges of London and freedom of religion for the citizens. But they remembered Ross, and the brave Governor Ferral gave back in person the answer to the trumpeter: 'Go,' he said, 'and tell your master, that I have two thousand Ulstermen with me'—they were Owen Roe's—'and as long as there is one of them alive, I will not surrender the town.' The siege went on; but on the early morning of the 3rd of December, this very day, 246 years ago, Cromwell withdrew his troops to Dungarvan. Ireton began a second siege early in June of the following year, and the city fell on the 10th of August, but not until three awful scourges—war, famine, and pestilence—had deprived it of five thousand fighting men, and converted it into a solitude. During all this time, Comerford

never ceased, by day or by night, labouring with and for his people. He administered the Sacraments with his own hands to the wounded, the famine-stricken and the plague-stricken. He gave from his slender purse everything he had, for the needy and the sick; he was ready to give his life, but God willed it otherwise. The annalist tells us of the few who were left in Waterford, when the siege was over. 'In varias mundi partes gloriosi Christi Confessores emigraverunt.' The father went into exile, too, with his children, assuredly not the least of that noble band, first to St. Malo and thence to Nantes, where he ended his wanderings on earth, and gave up his pure soul to God on the 10th of March, 1652. His grave was made by strangers' hands; but *it* was not 'lonely,' nor were *they* 'heedless.' In your College library yonder, there is a manuscript containing an interesting reference to Comerford's funeral. 'Splendidissimo funere ad Cathedralen Ecclesiam delatus fuit, singulis Parochiarum et Religiosorum Ordinum coetibus Exequias prosequentibus, et aliis ei tantum cultum deferentibus uti corporis ejus attactu Rosaria sacrari contenderint.' They buried him in the Cathedral in the episcopal vault, close by the high altar. When seven years afterwards they opened the vault to receive the remains of another exiled Irish bishop and confessor, Robert Barry of Cork, Comerford's 'comrade in arms' of the old Confederation days, the body was found quite incorrupt. The Irishman who visits Nantes now will seek that vault in vain, as I sought it five years ago; but it will be long, very long, before the name of him who lay there once is forgotten. Whilst we pray, for the confessors of our land, as we do every morning at the altar, in the eternal memory that hallows by God's own appointment the names of the just, may it be given to us in our own day and sphere, and for their needs, to walk not altogether unworthy of the bishops and priests and clerics and people who kept in honour the faith of 'an Irish Diocese in the Seventeenth Century.'

R. A. SHEEHAN.

JAMES DOYLE, BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN

BORN, 1786; BISHOP, 1819; DIED, 1834.

IT has been almost the rule at all times, and in all nations, that the memory of their greatest men and benefactors has had to await the resurrection. This is especially the fate of those who have won their way by conflict. In such cases it is almost inevitable that the wounded who survive will take revenge upon the dead; and it may be without moral fault, from a supposed duty of self-defence. Thus it was with Edmund Burke, and with his countryman, the great Bishop of Kildare. Both Burke and Bishop Doyle, were men who seemed so completely under the influence of their moral convictions and feelings, that inferior minds who suspect truth when coming at once from heart and head, distrusted them; and, unfortunately, inferior minds are the chief constituents of majorities. In the case of Burke, it is now acknowledged that the light which bewildered so many of his contemporaries was only sunshine on the deep of truth.

It is an extraordinary fact, growing more manifest every day, that Burke was in his time at once the greatest defender of authority and liberty. In another arena, and under more difficult circumstances, the same may be said of the Bishop of Kildare, and without exaggeration, we may apply to him the words which Burke used of himself: 'I have struggled to the best of my power against two great Public Evils, growing out of the most sacred of all things, Liberty and Authority. . . . I have struggled against the Tyranny of Freedom, and the Licentiousness of Power.'¹ Now, neither power nor freedom are submissive

¹ Prior's *Life of Burke*, ii. 243.

subjects: it is only stern experience and stern punishment which can subdue their pride. The two-fold conflict in which Burke engaged, for America, and against the French Revolution, with an interval of a quarter of a century, was fought out by Bishop Doyle in one country, and at the same time; and as it seems clear that if Burke's counsels had prevailed, England might have preserved America, checked the French Revolution, and been spared the National Debt; so it may be that Ireland would be happier now, were it not that the fiery spirit of O'Connell prevailed over the more moderate political wisdom of Bishop Doyle.

It is no crime to say that the great Tribune as well as the great Bishop made mistakes: the question is, whose mistakes were the most serious? It would also be unfair to judge them by the same standard. O'Connell was primarily a politician, professor of what, I think, Cardinal Newman calls 'a science of expediency;' whereas the Bishop, was first of all, the representative of those eternal laws of justice and charity, which are superior to all circumstances. Moreover, although the foremost man amongst the bishops of Ireland, it was only by his genius. Like a general of division on the battle-field, he had to keep pace with his fellows, and above all to keep his eye on that Supreme Chief of Christianity on whom every bishop depends.

Knowing how Catholic ecclesiastics differ on the application of principles, it is not likely that all his venerable brethren felt quite secure when the fiery young bishop of thirty-three put lance in rest, and charged, now at tyrants, and now at rebels, and with equal success. Had he once gone off the lines of the theology or practice of the Church, and fallen under the ban of the Vicar of Christ, as was asserted,¹ he would have sunk as rapidly as he rose; for in Ireland, at least, no one out of favour with the Vicar

¹ As late as 1861, it was thought necessary to set this question at rest. The Bishop of Sandhurst, received a formal letter from the Sacred Congregation of the Index, containing a categorical refutation of the calumny. (*Fitzpatrick's Life of Bishop Doyle*, vol. ii., New Ed., App., p. 533.)

of Christ has ever yet preserved power over the people. Even so learned and clear-minded a critic as Brownson was misled, and has given us his cordial and generous retraction:—

We had imbibed the says a prejudice against Dr. Doyle, and had no wish to make his acquaintance. . . . But the work before us [*Life* by Fitzpatrick] has disabused us, and made it clear that our prejudices were unjust—that he was a man of eminent ability, a wise and zealous pastor, a brave and true patriot, a profound and clear-sighted statesman—and a man to whom Ireland is more indebted than to any other Irishman we have ever heard of! . . . As far as his views are given by Mr. Fitzpatrick, we find in them nothing that we, who claim to be a staunch Ultramontanist, cannot accept.¹

If to this we join the words of Cardinal Wiseman, the contemporary of Bishop Doyle, I think enough will have been said about the orthodoxy of the Bishop of Kildare. The Cardinal refers in glowing language, to the effect of the Bishop's writings on his own mind, 'writings which might be said to be the first trumpet-note of that outspoken Catholicity, and bold avowal of faith which had since become the general tone of the country;' and he links his name with that of the great English leader, Bishop Milner, 'another great man, closely connected with him in feelings and views.'²

When a priest indulges in unlimited language about his order in general, or in particular, his words are often supposed to be tainted with self-assertion. It is, as if people thought that Christianity was in some way a private interest of the priest. It certainly is our private interest, but not more so than to the laity, unless our souls are supposed to be more valuable than theirs. We are specially objects of suspicion when we touch upon social and political questions, in which the world assumes equal, or even greater authority; which, in fact, it has; and so much the worse for the world. If we claim the first place in all that is highest and

¹ *Ibid.* *Life* by Fitzpatrick, vol. ii., New Ed., 1880. App. 7. I think I am safe in assuming, that the 'we' of the review, means Dr. Brownson.

² Cardinal Wiseman's *Tour in Ireland in 1858*, p. 309. Duffy, 1859.

most sacred in human life, it is because to take the second, would be to acknowledge that human reason is wiser without Christ. Whether people can conceive a world subsisting without religion, I cannot tell ; but certainly there has been no such experience on this orb of ours. Amongst religions none has brought in its train so many blessings, material and moral, as the religion of Christ. If priests are particularly urgent on this point, it is because, as a rule, they know its history best, and have had the best opportunities of studying its influence on human life. Moreover, all priests have once been laymen, so they know both sides, and to them above all men are given the opportunity of following the ways of the human heart from the cradle to the grave, and sounding the depths from whence come peace and joy, which are as much elements of success in the struggle for life here below, as for the life above.

If these principles are granted, the reader will understand why I am inclined to agree with Brownson, that Bishop Doyle, as leader in the religious revival of his country, was 'a man to whom Ireland is more indebted than to any other Irishman.' We cannot compare Ireland with any nation, past or present, except perhaps with the people of God of the Old Testament. Since her conquest by St. Patrick, few things have prospered in Ireland, save those which were inspired and guided by religion. This was the conclusion of that truly philosophic writer, Gustave de Beaumont, who, in 1835, and again in 1837, came to Ireland, and studied her social and political life with a mind and a heart free from the prejudices from which friends and enemies, involved in her trials, find it so hard to divest themselves ; and the questions suggested, 'grave as they are for England, are not a matter of indifference to any nation.' The conclusion to which he came was that, 'in the midst of the agitations of which his country and his soul have been the theatre, the Irishman who has seen the consummation of so many ruins within and without him, has no belief in the stability and certainty of anything in this world save his religion. . .

For the Irishman there is nothing sovereignly true but his religion.' ¹

Have things altered in the sixty years which have elapsed since these words were written? Has anything in Ireland, merely political or social, stood the test of even a decade of years? Whereas, her religious triumphs and expansion, measured even by the material evidence of the churches, convents, and charitable institutions of the country is one of the greatest wonders of the nineteenth century. Even as regards material advantages, is it not true that her religion has been her best friend? Can we compare the very moderate Government grants here and there, for fishing stations and light railways with the twenty, or perhaps thirty millions which has been spent in building houses for God, and homes for the poor, at the same time giving employment to the labourer, and keeping capital in the country? The amount of money in a country is not the evidence of its prosperity; it is money spent that fructifies. When Cobbett was told that it was impossible that people could starve in Ireland as there was plenty of money in the country; 'Money!' he replied, 'men do not eat money.'

It is true that great edifices do not always fructify to the poor. The palace of the millionaire, surrounded by immense preserves, and seldom occupied, is of very little use to the poor, or indeed to anyone. But the case is very different as regards edifices consecrated to Christ, for the simple reason that they are inhabited by the poor man's servants: servants in his temporal as well as his spiritual wants. In the past, so tranquil and readable in the distance, Mr. Lecky has discovered that 'monastic institutions were the only refuges of a pacific civilisation; the only libraries, the only schools, the only centres of art, the only refuges for gentle and intellectual natures; the chief barrier against violence and rapine; the chief promoters of agriculture and of industry.' ² Why should the past not return?

¹ *L'Irlande Sociale Politique et Religieuse*, ii., p. 37, ed. 1881.

² *The Political View of History*, p. 11. London, 1892.

I think it is clear that in the years preceding and subsequent to Emancipation, Bishop Doyle held that the making of Ireland was primarily to be the work of religion : that he wished religion to rule, whereas O'Connell only wanted her assistance ; and that this was the secret of their calamitous division. As well as I can understand the mind of Bishop Doyle, as contrasted with that of O'Connell, it seems to me that the Bishop thought more of the training of what may be called the newborn nation than of those particular measures with which O'Connell so passionately and fitfully identified himself. We are justly indignant when haughty and supercilious strangers speak contemptuously of the ignorance, lawlessness, and superstition of our immediate forefathers. It is true that they had not the same opportunities for multifarious information as the shoemakers, tailors, and errand boys of Paris and London ; but I doubt much whether these latter personages would be capable of equally appreciating the sublime religious and social discourses by which Bishop Doyle subjugated the colliers and peasants of the diocese of Kildare. As to superstition, it is an easy word to use. Voltaire flung it at Dr. Johnson ; but those amongst us who were in familiar intercourse with Irish servants of the olden times, will, I believe, agree with me that they were quite as intelligent people, as regards their religious opinions, as they are at the present day.¹

The charge of lawlessness is more serious ; but how could it be otherwise, when for centuries there had been no law for Catholics ? Had they been less courageous they would either have given up their religion, or sunk into unresisting apathy, and then things would have gone on quietly ; but as neither happened, resistance to the law by force or stratagem, had become the animating principle of the life of the nation. It was a bold venture when Bishop Doyle set himself to prove that the British Constitution, under the shadow of which this mockery of justice lived and reigned

¹ For my own part, I can testify, that while in London, I have had sad troubles with the superstitious insanities of educated people of other nations, I have never met it amongst the Irish poor.

in Ireland, was, under the circumstances, and perhaps under any circumstances, the best instrument for the political salvation of Ireland. I am not aware that anyone in Ireland before Bishop Doyle had clearly taught this doctrine, although it was the opinion of Edmund Burke. In the eyes, not only of the people, but of most educated Catholics, the British Constitution was identified with Henry and Elizabeth, Cromwell and William of Orange, and with representatives of justice like Lord Clare, Lord Norbury, and Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald. To Ireland, then, the Constitution was only known as the agent of the religion which Macaulay stigmatizes as 'sprung from brutal passion, nurtured by selfish policy.' It is easy therefore to understand how it needed all the genius, the undoubted patriotism, and the popularity of the Bishop of Kildare to obtain a hearing when he declared his belief 'that a special Providence watched over this Empire, and that there is a sort of redeeming spirit in our Constitution.'¹ He does not stop to explain how or why it was that while so many nations had lost the very idea of liberty, under the protection of law, England had preserved so much of the spirit of the laws of the 'good King Edward;' laws which had been advancing to maturity for centuries before the Confessor, in days when Irish bishops, missionaries, and monks, coming down from Iona and Lindisfarne, were amongst the chief makers of England; and when her sons, 'numerous as bees,' as St. Aldhelm tells, went over the water to the 'University of the West,' to learn wisdom in Ireland.

Burke attributes the preservation of the British Constitution at the time when French insanity appeared in England, under the patronage of Tom Paine, Mrs. Macaulay, Fox, and Sheridan, partly to what he calls 'our sullen resistance to innovation.' But he himself, and the men who strangled the hydra, were influenced by higher motives than mere dread of change. Cardinal Newman has characterized the British Constitution as 'one of the greatest of human works . . . as admirable in its own line, to take the

¹ Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle*, ii. 372.

productions of genius in its various departments, as the Pyramids, or the plays of Shakespere, or the Newtonian theory.'¹

I cannot recall any other instance in which this great lover of his country shows pure delight in his reflections on her national life and institutions. Even as a young Protestant, he mourned and feared for her whom he styles,

Tyre of the West, and glorying in the name
More than in Faith's pure fame!

.
Dread thine own power! Since haughty Babel's prime,
High towers have been man's crime.

The work from which I have quoted above is a terrible indictment, directed indeed against the religion of England, but in his mind religion was ever the measure of all things. Outside the pages of Holy Writ is there anything more piercing than the voice of his lamentations over his native land?—

Look around [he says] and answer for yourselves. Contemplate the objects of this people's praise. Survey their standards. . . . Their god is Mammon. I do not mean to say that all seek to be wealthy, but all bow down before wealth. . . . They measure happiness by wealth, and by wealth they measure respectability. . . . At the sight of wealth they feel an involuntary reverence and awe, just as if a rich man must be a good man. . . . Alas! alas! this great and noble people, born to aspire, born for reverence.²

I cannot perceive that either Burke or Bishop Doyle were really bent on having anything from England, except her Constitution; and if it can be proved that Bishop Doyle did more than any other Irishman to bring about this consummation he will have strong claims to pre-eminence. O'Connell fought, as no man ever fought,

¹ *Present Position of Catholic*, p. 25, 4th Ed.

² 'Saintliness, the Standard of Christian Principle.' *Mixed Disc.* v.

with the sword of the Constitution; but it was the Bishop who had put it into an Irish scabbard. I do not think it is possible to deny that O'Connell was again and again on the point of rebellion, and that were he not held back by the conviction that the Church would not support him, he would have anticipated 'Young Ireland,' its 'barricades and its god of battles,' and probably with far more disastrous results.

When Bishop Doyle, by his sermons, and those wonderful manifestos, which year after year went forth from his little room in Carlow, told the people, that as they had got much already, by patience and passive resistance, so they might get everything, his promises would have had little influence were it not for his periodical invasions of England, and his returns in triumph, when it was well known, even from the acknowledgments of his opponents, that he had fought and conquered both Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled: proving that 'even-handed justice' was the animating principle of the Constitution, and that with it he could turn the sword of the Assyrian against himself.

It is hard to invest any mere Irish question with that classic dignity and splendour with which eloquence adorns things that are far away; but I doubt whether either Cicero defending Sicily; Tacitus, Africa; or Burke assailing Warren Hastings, were greater in their day than the Bishop of Kildare at Westminster, standing or sitting at the end of the horse-shoe table, around which were assembled the greatest men of the British Empire, and that in an age of great men. Those 'Examinations,' as they were called, in the years preceding Catholic Emancipation, of witnesses from Ireland before the chief representatives of both Houses of Parliament, were State Trials, in the highest sense of the word; and it was principally owing to the commanding genius of the Bishop of Kildare, that, in the end, the witnesses changed places with the judges. 'When O'Connell, Dr. Doyle, and others,' says Bishop Ullathorne, 'were examined on the question of Emancipation, one distinguished peer said to another after the Bishop's

examination, that Dr. Doyle as far surpassed O'Connell, as O'Connell surpassed other men;'¹ and no one who studies the writings of these great men can fail to see the justice of the verdict. It is hard to say who deserves most honour; the witness who conquered, or the judges who surrendered. Of all the laurels of Wellington, none are more glorious than the noble acknowledgment of those well-known words, when during the examination of the Bishop of Kildare, meeting a brother peer who said: 'Well, Duke, are you examining Dr. Doyle?' 'No,' was the reply, 'but Doyle is examining us.'² The history of these examinations would fill many volumes. On one occasion the Bishop's answer to one question occupied four days. It was the first opportunity that the collective wisdom of England had of hearing the truth about Catholic doctrines, and Catholic priests, and their relations with their flocks, and for a time the effect was prodigious. When we study the letters of Lord Darnley, Lord Plunkett, Sir Henry Parnell, and others of the same stamp, given by Fitzpatrick: the writings of Sydney Smith, and the debates in Parliament at the period of Catholic Emancipation, and compare these writers and speakers with their successors, it is plain that the darkness of bigotry again fell on the Protestant brain. It was a time when Parliament was called on to try the noblest cause which could come before a human tribunal, and the minds of those who were on the right side were ennobled and enlightened by the truth which they were called on to set free.

When the work was done, and Protestant statesmen found that Catholic liberty, because it was incomplete, in many ways increased their troubles, then came a half century characterized by that vague and ignorant hostility and distrust of the Catholic clergy of which Palmerston and Lord John Russell were representatives. The process of again disabusing the English mind, and vindicating Irish priests and their religion, has been a slow one, for instead of a fair trial before the first and most enlightened tribunal

¹ *Life of Bishop Doyle*. Fitzpatrick, i., p. 409.

² *Ibid.*, p. 407.

of the Empire, it has had to be fought out by reviewers, novelists, and special correspondents—good, bad, and indifferent. For all that, the Irish priests have won the day. Mr. MacDonagh's article in the *Contemporary Review*, of April, 1896, on 'The Irish Priesthood,' is a very fair specimen of the now common judgment of dispassionate people in England. It is plain that he has taken trouble to find out what sort of being is the Irish priest, and that he has got that immunity from national and sectarian bitterness without which such an investigation is ever a mockery. The following are some of his conclusions:—

Perhaps no better pastors in the world, from a spiritual point of view . . . simple-minded, unworldly . . . self-sacrificing, lives, seeking no reward, as far as this world is concerned, but the esteem and love of their flocks, . . . ; as a body, they are really in Ireland, as in other countries, a great conservative force . . . they have controlled and checked, rather than inflamed, the excesses of popular agitation . . . two attempts at rebellion against English rule in Ireland, in 1848 and 1869. The leaders of both those revolutionary movements attribute their failure to the hostile influence of the priests.¹

Why is it that this information has still to be given to our friends in England? Has it been otherwise in those eighty years since Bishop Doyle began his war against Secret Societies in the collieries and villages of Leinster? We old people, who can remember the bishops and priests who were his associates, and the people whom he taught, know right well that the only difference is, that the clergy are more conservative now, for the simple reason that they have something to conserve; for their principles have never, and can never change: of all men in the world they are most under the dominion of principle, that servitude to Him of whom St. Paul writes, *Cui servire regnare est*.

If the adversaries of the Church have not observed this, it is because they would not observe it, and yet they have acted upon it. If the principles of the Catholic clergy had been as easily adapted to rebellion, as those of Presbyterian

¹ Pages 541, 542.

ministers, or the chaplains of Orange Lodges, they would have got all that they wanted long ago. Moreover, statesmen who reflected at all, must have observed that of all religions, the Catholic is that which at once, when it has liberty, tends to make a stake for itself in the country. Never was bigotry more ungoverned by reason, and therefore more criminal, than when it assumed that priests who were straining every energy, spending all they possessed, and borrowing and begging in their own and other lands to build churches, monasteries, convents, schools, and hospitals, were at the same time longing for civil war, that all these things might be set on fire. What are the vested interests, and immovable investments created by the Protestant clergy in Ireland, or even in England, compared with those great religious edifices, which since Emancipation have risen in town and country through the length and breadth of Ireland, and chiefly through the labour of her priests? And within those walls were their own flesh and blood, the gentle ministers of the mercy and love of God, trained indeed for conquests, but only for those of Christ. Unless Bishop Doyle was a prophet, of which there are no signs, he could not know all that we know now. But it is his glory that he stands out as the chief representative of the policy of the consolidation of Ireland by religion, in the days when the sun of Emancipation rose, and her new life began.

Whatever may be thought of this claim, here preferred for Bishop Doyle's equality, at least, with that wonderful man to whom Catholics have decreed the sublime title of 'Liberator,' anyhow it cannot be denied that his life was both romantic and heroic. Born, 1786, at New Ross, Wexford, the son of a peasant, who should have been a proprietor were it not for the loyalty of his ancestors to God, our Lady, and the Stuart King; in '98, in the midst of the Rebellion; 1806, an Augustinian, and student at Coimbra, 1808; a Volunteer against the French invaders and the Revolution, same year; returns to Ireland, ordained and teaches Rhetoric and Theology at New Ross and Carlow, 1819; consecrated Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Aet. 33; 'a very young prelate, sir,' as Milner said; but he had seen

much of life, and he had the gift of measuring it. His youth gives a colour of humour to his successes. We can imagine the amazement and bewilderment of aged senators, ministers, and judges, when this young Irishman, with his bright complexion, dark eyes, and deep sonorous voice, whose episcopal character was little respected, entered the lists of the Imperial Senate, and threw down the gauntlet, with manifest signs in word and bearing that he was prepared to face anyone amongst them, or everyone, as they pleased. The chiefs amongst those who listened to him were men who had been acquainted with great characters, and had learned how to measure them. They knew that what is mere impudence and effrontery in the ignorant, is the majesty and victory of truth in the wise; and because Wellington, Lord Darnley, Lord Anglesey, and such men had understanding, they admired their great antagonist, even as they went down before his lance, and they were not ashamed to surrender.¹

After the Bishop's death, Lord Anglesey related, how during the Examination some peer put an absurd question, and that, with a commanding gesture, the Bishop said: 'I did not think there was a British peer so ignorant as to ask such a question.'²

The narrative of these examinations in Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle* reminds us of St. Basil before the Prefect Modestus, as told by St. Gregory:—

Modestus. 'For whom do you take me?'

Basil. 'For a thing of naught, while such are your commands.'

Modestus. 'No one ever yet spoke to Modestus with such freedom.'

Basil. 'Peradventure Modestus never yet fell in with a bishop: or, surely, in a like trial you would have heard like language. . . Where God's honour is at stake we think of nothing else, looking simply on Him.'

Modestus parted, with the respect which firmness necessarily inspires in those who witness it.³

¹ Probably it was Bishop Doyle who taught Wellington his laconic and memorable defence of his inconsistency: 'I have changed my opinion, I have changed my opinion.'

² Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle*, i. 408.

³ *Hist. Sketches*, Cardinal Newman, ii. 10.

Many of those who listened to Bishop Doyle were men who could stand comparison even with Romans of an earlier and nobler period. It is remarkable that his battles at Westminster were fought and won at a time when England was under martial law in its best sense; when Waterloo was still on the brain, and Wellington dictator, Lord Anglesey, Viceroy of Ireland, and a Sailor Prince on the steps of the throne was hurling defiance in the House of Lords at the bigotry and folly of his ancestors.¹ To such men the fearless bearing of the Bishop of Kildare must have had singular attractions. Moreover, of all rulers of men, military and naval commanders are most likely to be practical in their politics as far as subordinates are concerned; for success, and even life itself, are continually dependent on the cordial support of the least of their subjects. We cannot imagine an army or a fleet governed by that jobbery and chicanery and underhand dealing, which so often in politics, 'by dividing rules.'

It needed neither great knowledge of history, nor deep reflection, to understand Bishop Doyle when he declared that the laws in Ireland were so perverted that 'they had not educated the people on principles agreeable to reason or the law of God: hence, human nature has either been perverted by them, or revolted against them.' In the words of the Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, 'there was one law for the rich, and another for the poor.'² These were the facts, then came his conclusions:—

The Irish will become reformers. Aye, to a certainty they will, if you continue to treat them unjustly, and reformers of the very worst description; they will ally themselves with any enemy that political corruption may have. The man who is in pursuit of a robber, and seeking to recover his goods, does not inquire of the person who joins him in the pursuit, whence he came, or what his character or object is. . . . Just so the Irish. Reject them, insult them, continue to deprive them of hope, and they will league with Beelzebub against you.³

¹ Duke of Clarence. Hansard, Feb. 23, 1829. The disgust and horror of 'the law' in Ireland, expressed by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and Sir John Moore, were probably remembered by their military friends.

² *Letters on the State of Ireland*, by J. K. L. (Bp. Doyle), 88. Dublin, 1825.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

As I have said, extremes met, and were harmonized in the politics of the Bishop of Kildare; and this which will be his glory in ages that are coming, was in his own time the secret of his bitterest disappointments. Thoughtful men, at a distance, with the cool waters of the Irish Sea between them and the chronic volcanoes of Ireland, could calmly exercise their 'large discourse, looking before and after;' but perhaps it was too much, at the time, to expect this in Ireland itself. Anyhow it came to pass, that even O'Connell could not understand the oecumenical wisdom of the man who saw all things in God, and measured all things by the measurements of God. Here was a man who, apparently without any attempt to measure his words, was one day flooding Ireland with letters and manifestos against the existing laws and government as fierce as Edmund Burke's assaults on the 'Cannibal Republic of France,' and the next issuing a Pastoral if possible still fiercer, against illegal associations and secret societies, on which the Government sprung, not to suppress, but to propagate, printing at their own expense, and distributing 300,000 copies throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

In the world of nature, as well as of grace, 'the end is the trial.' It may be too much to say that the last days of Bishop Doyle came up to the level of heroic sanctity; but certainly in many ways they approached it. Few dying men have ever fought harder and longer for others; *greater love than this no man hath*; and the struggle that killed him while still in the prime of life, was with those Secret Societies which for more than a century have been the worst enemies of Ireland in every sense of the word.

To critics who seek for fame by lecturing the mighty dead, we leave the task of deciding whether or no he was too severe in his anathemas and punishments: too much given to imitate the antique spirit of better times, when St. Ambrose condemned a submissive Emperor to eight months' exclusion from the Church and the Sacraments, for barbarity to his subjects. Whether too severe or not, one thing is certain that neither before nor since has anyone done so much to stamp with infamy all secret speculators in

rebellion, whether designing or merely reckless. Of all the triumphs of the Catholic religion in Ireland, her victories over Secret Societies have been the most astounding. On every side she was girt by Secret Societies—Freemason, Orange, and United Irish, fostered by the state, and blessed as far as she could bless, by the state religion; while murder, their agent, in the shape of duelling, was legalized amongst those governing classes, not excepting the judges, whom the people were expected to revere and imitate. Whatever the deficiencies of the Irishman may be, no one ever said that he was wanting in logic; and this logic taught him that before God he had just as good a right to shoot his enemy as the venerable Duke of Wellington to go out in the cool quiet morning, to shoot, or be shot, by his *friend* Lord Winchelsea, even though, as it happened, it was for the sake of Catholic Ireland.

The prevalence of the hideous plague of duelling in Ireland in the first half of this century was something almost incredible. It was not confined to Protestants; for, unfortunately, there were many Catholics who were such only in name under the influence of mixed Protestant and French education, as well as of French refugees in Ireland. Freemasonry also deceived many: O'Connell was a Freemason until he discovered its atheistic spirit. If Mr. Lecky before he wrote his *History of Ireland*, had come out of his library and condescended to interrogate some of us as to our family traditions, he would have been better able to discover the well-springs of social disorder in Ireland: even Lever might have enlightened him, for the manners of the Irish gentry are fairly described by this novelist, who in other respects is so obnoxious. Sir J. Barrington, himself an Irish judge, gives a record of two hundred and twenty-seven 'memorable and official duels,' as he styles them, fought in his time, the combatants including a Lord Chancellor, six Judges, of whom three were Chief Justices, and observes: 'I think I may challenge any country in Europe to show such an assemblage of gallant *judicial* and *official* antagonists at fire and sword.'¹

¹ *Personal Sketches of his own Times*, ii., p. 3.

Such were the men who were given to the Irish people, as the representatives and dispensers of the justice of God and man; and the reckless and murderous spirit which reigned in the Courts, found pupils and emulators in every rank of society. Into this 'moral chaos,' as the Bishop styles it, with every power—political, legal, and social—leagued against her, the Church had to infuse order. Who can deny that she has succeeded beyond all human expectation? The citadels of God and the shrines of the Madonna are her witnesses. Aye, and we may ask, who is it that has given to the empire those soldiers and sailors who have carried, and are carrying, the British standard round the world? Who is it that has taught them 'the unbought grace of life,' that 'subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom'? Certainly it was not the Established Church, nor the Freemasons, nor Orange Societies, nor even Trinity College. Again, is it not true that English masters and mistresses, entice, almost kidnap, Irish servants, and carry them off to England, because they know that money and jewels, the honour of their families, and their own throats are safest with such domestics?

And now if I have made good my point, that the Hero of Kildare was the leader in the work of the religious and moral regeneration of emancipated Ireland, it is plain that he is one to whom many of the inhabitants of the globe are debtors, and will remain so until Christ comes to judge. If they neglect his memory, and turn instead to the heroic ideals of Thomas Carlyle, or George Eliot, so much the worse for them. The only real heroic ideals are those which are proved by their fruits, consecrated by time, and by the rule and measure of unchanging truth. The Bishop of Kildare was only one amongst many whose heroic lives would have been recorded in any other country. In Ireland, writes Mr. S. C. Hall, heroic charity is so common that it attracts no attention: 'There are no village annals for village virtues.'¹ Who is there in Ireland whose memory

¹ *Ireland*, i., p. 268.

goes back even for half a century, who from personal or family recollections cannot summon up images of bishops and priests whose very names sounds like the trumpet of an angel in his soul? The first priest I remember was Father Sheahan of Glandore (1838), one of the heroes of the famine and the fever years. Who here below has recorded his deeds? I have before me one of his letters to my mother (April 25, 1847), written when we were far away. 'I nearly fell a victim,' he writes, 'to our labour in consequence of the prevailing distress.' This is all he says of himself; but across the Atlantic other voices came telling how, while doing a giant's work, he was at the same time living on the 'yellow meal,' with his starving flock. The lesson then that the life of Bishop Doyle teaches us is to love, and to exult in the remembrance of our forefathers to whom we owe *the liberty with which Christ has set us free*, and those examples of heroic self-sacrifice which have ever been the life of nations worthy of the name.

W. B. MORRIS.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

I.

AS we know that the Holy Scripture came from God, Fontenelle did not outstep the truth when he designated *The Imitation of Christ* as the most beautiful book that ever came from the hand of man. Beyond doubt it most perfectly reflects the light which Jesus Christ brought down from heaven to earth, and truthfully portrays the highest Christian philosophy. When our Divine Saviour preached the Sermon on the Mount, He held up as the characteristics of His followers—perfect humility, poverty of spirit, purity of heart, meekness, sorrow for sin, forgiveness of injuries, and peace and joy in the midst of tribulation and persecution. Where else do we find these doctrines so incisively and persuasively taught as in *The Imitation*? In this one book, as Dean Milman says, 'was gathered and concentrated all that was elevating, passionate, profoundly pious, in all the older mystics,' and no one ever could resist its power, 'its short quivering sentences, which went at once to the heart.'

How, and why, it may be asked, was the author able to compass within the covers of this slender volume, so much wisdom, such vast spiritual experience, poetry, and profound philosophy? Such is the question put by the late Brother Azarias, in his essay on 'Culture of the Spiritual Sense,' wherein he gives us the most perfect and beautiful analysis of *The Imitation* ever written. Let me quote his reply:—

Here is the secret of the magic influence wielded by the *Imitation*. Pick it up when or where we may, open it at any page we will, we always find something to suit our frame of mind. The author's genius has such complete control of the subject, and handles it with so firm a grasp, that in every sentence we find condensed the experience of ages. It is humanity, finding in this simple man an adequate mouthpiece for the utterance of its spiritual wants and soul-yearnings. And his expression is so full

and adequate, because he regarded things in the white light of God's truth, and saw their nature and their worth clearly and distinctly, as divested of the hues and tints flung around them by passion and illusion.

Apart from the countless effects which the study of this wondrous volume is certain to produce, none is more natural than a longing to know something of its author. Just half a century ago I began to ask myself the question:—Who wrote this book, and what manner of man was he? Thenceforth I commenced to study the subject, and in 1887 I published the result of my researches.¹ I can well understand that many feel as I did, especially those who, having spiritual charge of others, advise them to read *The Imitation*. In the hope of giving to such, in very brief and simple fashion, the information which cost me long and laborious research, I shall now endeavour to condense all essentials into the smallest possible space.

Those who wish to study the subject deeply, will, I think, find in my essay quoted all they need. I believe it is impossible for any unprejudiced reader to master the evidence I have there produced, without arriving at the conclusion that the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* must be assigned to Thomas à Kempis, Canon Regular of St. Augustine, who lived and died in the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, in Holland. When I use the term authorship, I should explain the exact limits within which I believe it applies to à Kempis. It seems evident that he was not the sole or original author in the ordinary sense of the word. On the other hand, it is equally manifest that he was the skilled collector, compiler, and arranger of the book, which, when studied to the bottom, proves to be an epitome or hand-book, embodying especially the teaching of the Holy Scripture, St. Bernard, and the writers and inspirers of the school of Windesheim, to which latter we shall allude presently.

Before proceeding to consider and analyze the strange

¹ *Thomas à Kempis*. By F. R. Cruise, M.D. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. London, 1887.

controversy which formerly existed as to the authorship of *The Imitation*, it will be desirable to give a brief outline of the life and surroundings of Thomas à Kempis, the man towards whom all existing evidence points. In fact this course is necessary, because it opens up the history of the school of Wimplesheim, the cradle of the book in question, and of which a Kempis was pre-eminently the literary exponent. I may observe that I think it better to omit, as far as possible, in this essay, references to the various authorities from whom I quote. They may be found *in extenso* in my former work, and all interested in the subject can satisfy themselves, as I have done, of their accuracy and fulness. So far as I am aware, not a single one has been challenged or found erroneous.

Let us now look back into the years preceding the fifteenth century. Strange and troubled were those times, and fraught with scandal and confusion. Human ambition and the curses of wealth and worldliness had eaten their way, so far as God permitted, into the very fold of Christ. Prosperity had done its worst. What persecution had failed to do luxury bade fair to accomplish. To a considerable extent the morals of the people, and even of the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, were deeply corrupted, and the Church appeared in urgent danger. The Council of Lyons, summoned by Pope Gregory X., A.D. 1274, succeeded in adjusting for the time the schism of the Greeks, and peace reigned until the death of Michael Palaeologus, Emperor of Constantinople. Then the heresy broke forth again, and has never since been extinguished.

Amidst the confusion and disorder thus inaugurated, a still more scandalous revolt arose to harass and lay waste the Church of God—the Papal schism—the great schism of the West. An internal convulsion now shook the house of God. Rival popes struggled for the Chair of Peter. Christendom was bewildered, nations doubted whom they should obey, and the unity of faith seemed in peril. Never since the days of Julian the Apostate uprose a crisis so terrible or so dangerous. Still, above all came the promise

of God, that He would be with His Church all days, even to the consummation of the world. Hence neither persecution, heresy, nor laxity ever shook the faith, because as St. Bernard tells us: 'The generation of Christians can never come to an end; neither can faith perish from the earth, nor charity from within the Church.'

Just about this time a great religious movement commenced in Germany and the adjacent Low Countries. Holy men, gifted mystics of earnest faith and saintly lives began to teach, and so impressively to inculcate their doctrines, that the people, hitherto steeped in worldliness, and neglectful of all religious obligations, turned a willing ear, and came back in vast crowds to their spiritual allegiance. Pre-eminent amongst these great leaders I may point out John Tauler, of Strasburg, Suso, Ruysbroeck, and Henry de Kalcar.

The mention of the last name leads us directly to his illustrious convert, a most remarkable man, the model of a true reformer, some account of whose career and work must necessarily preface our study of à Kempis and *The Imitation*. This man was Gerard Groot, often surnamed The Great. The most reliable account we have of his life is from the pen of Thomas à Kempis. From this memoir, from his *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes*, and from John Busch's *Chronicle of Windesheim*, I shall extract an outline.

The venerable Gerard Groot, was born in Deventer, in Holland, about the year of our Lord 1340. His parents were people of wealth and good position, much honoured and distinguished in their country; and they watched with tender solicitude over the education of their son. While still a youth, but fifteen years old, Gerard was sent for the completion of his education to the schools of Paris. Whilst there, if he surpassed his comrades in luxury and extravagance, he steadily kept in view the motive which led him thither; namely, to make rapid progress in his studies. As yet the glory of God was not the main object of his thoughts: he pursued the shadow of a great name, and sought to gain renown amongst men. Very early, while but

in his eighteenth year, after the ordinary course of study, genius helping the aspirations of his ambition, Gerard took his degree of Master. Raised to this position, and combining brilliant intellectual powers with a taste for the pomps and vanities of the world, rich benefices were heaped upon him, amongst others a Canonry at Aix-la-Chapelle, another at Utrecht.

Behold him now fairly set forth on the broad path of life, his heart as yet untouched by Heaven's voice. But a great and merciful change awaited this gifted man—the call to an exalted sanctity and heavenly mission. This call and conversion came to pass through the instrumentality of Henry de Kalcar, already named, a saintly Carthusian, who lived in the Monastery of Monichuisen, near Arnheim. De Kalcar had known Gerard as a student, and hearing of his absorption in worldliness, determined to seek him out and reason with him. All this is told in a Kempis's *Life of Groot*, together with his submission, and long retreat at Monichuisen, where he gave himself up to prayer, and the study of the Scriptures, and of the fathers of the Church, especially St. Augustine and St. Bernard.

Later it was thought well that Gerard Groot should go forth to preach the Gospel, which he did with extraordinary eloquence and success, making converts by thousands. After a time, owing to some misunderstanding with the authorities, through no fault of his, he was interdicted from preaching, and, yielding without a murmur, returned to Deventer.

Out of evil good will often come. Debarred from preaching in public, Gerard occupied himself in consoling and exhorting communities and individuals, and devoted special care to superintending the work of scholars engaged in transcribing the Holy Scriptures and books of theology and piety, an employment of great importance and emolument in those days before the invention of the art of printing. Being settled once more in his native city of Deventer, he drew around him a number of exemplary men, both of the priesthood and laity, many of whom had been converted by his eloquent preaching. Living together in

a species of community, they were soon joined by others, of various rank and education—persons of ample means, scholars, copyists, and even artisans of skill in different handicrafts, all willingly renouncing the world and its attractions to embrace a life of mortification and sanctity. In order that holy women, aspiring to perfection, might not be excluded from participation in the good work, Gerard founded a convent adjoining his own house, where those who entered followed a similar life, and carried out various industries suited to their sex and capabilities.

It would appear that Florentius Radewyn, an illustrious and beloved disciple of Gerard Groot, took a very active part in the formation of this community, and was entrusted from the beginning with its care and organization. In fact, Busch tells us that it was Florentius who proposed to Gerard the idea of forming into a community the clerics and aspirants by whom they were surrounded. Groot was at first averse to the project, fearing the opposition of the mendicant orders; but he finally yielded to the solicitations of his disciple.

Under the direction of these two holy men, Gerard and Florentius, was thus originated the society subsequently known as ‘The Congregation of Common Life,’ and at that time called ‘The Modern Devotion.’ The leading idea which bound together these earnest seekers for holiness, was an endeavour to return to the Christian life of the apostolic age. All lived in community, in poverty, chastity, and perfect obedience to their superiors; all worked for the common good, and contributed their earnings to the general fund, spending any vacant time in prayer, pious reading, works of charity, and almsgiving. ‘And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul. For neither was there any one needy among them, for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things they had sold, and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles.’

This ‘Congregation of Common Life,’ grew apace; but still one important detail remained to be accomplished. Gerard knew that to make the institution a lasting success

it would be necessary to place it under some definite spiritual guidance. About this time he was led, mainly by a visit he made to the celebrated mystic John Ruysbroeck, at the Convent of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, at Groenendaal in Brabant, to select that Order for the spiritual direction of the new community. Returning to Deventer he resumed his labours, in the intervals of which he matured his plans concerning the new undertaking. Many difficulties had to be overcome, many details to be arranged and perfected, amidst all of which Florentius was the ever-faithful helper and confidant.

Meanwhile God had ordained that the holy Master should not see the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but that he should be called to his reward in the midst of his work. In those days the plague raged in Holland, and Gerard was stricken, catching the fatal infection from a friend whom he attended. He called around him his faithful disciples, spoke words of consolation and advice, confiding them and the 'New Devotion' to Florentius Radewyn. He then quietly sank, and died on the 20th of August, 1384, the feast day of his favourite St. Bernard.

Of Florentius Radewyn, his successor, it may be truly said that he realized the words which our Divine Lord addressed to His disciples, when He bade them follow Him in the lowly path which leads to the eternal kingdom, 'Take up My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart; and you shall find rest to your souls.' This holy man was born in the year 1350, at Leyderdam, near Utrecht. His father was a man of high reputation and independent means, and sent his son, while quite a youth, to Prague, the seat of a far-famed university. Gifted with rare intelligence, Florentius made rapid progress, and soon became distinguished in every branch of science. Having completed his studies, and taken his degree as Master, he returned to his native city. Pure of heart, and irreproachable in his life, he entered the Church and became a Canon of St. Peter's, at Utrecht. Ere long, however, God mercifully withdrew him from the temptations to which he was exposed, and inspiring him with an

ardent longing for holiness, led him to enter the ways of perfection.

Gerard Groot preached constantly in the Church of our Blessed Lady at Deventer, and Florentius often went to hear him. The inspired words of the great apostle sank deeply into his heart; a burning desire to renounce the world and devote himself entirely to God took possession of his mind. From a Master of Science he became a follower of Christ, saying with the Psalmist, 'O how great is the multitude of Thy sweetness, O Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee!' 'My sheep hear My voice; and I know them, and they follow Me.' Florentius had been Canon of St. Peter's, at Utrecht. After a time he resigned this prebend to become a simple curate at Deventer, in order that he might be near to Gerard, in whose work he was enlisted, and by whose teaching and example he desired to profit.

It is impossible just now to follow in detail the career of Florentius Radewyn. I must not, however, omit a brief sketch of the crowning work of his life—the foundation of the monastery of Windesheim. It will be remembered that Gerard Groot, when on his death-bed, exhorted his disciples to put their trust in God, to persevere in their good work, to submit themselves entirely to the guidance of Florentius, to place the newly-formed congregation under the spiritual guidance of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and to build a monastery for its accommodation. For some time this project was in contemplation, preliminary steps were taken, various localities visited and inspected; but it was not until the year of our Lord 1386, two years after the death of Gerard, that a commencement was actually made. Meanwhile the approval of Florentius Wevelichoven, Bishop of Utrecht, had been sought and gained. The spot ultimately chosen was a fertile tract, hitherto uncultivated, situated some twenty miles north of Deventer, and about four miles to the south-east of Zwolle. This valuable estate was the property of Berthold ten Have, a rich youth of Zwolle, converted by Gerard Groot; who generously offered it as a site for the new institution. To

supplement his munificence Henry Wilsen, of Kampen, and his brother James, men of wealth and position, added a large endowment.

In 1386, under the direction of Florentius Radewyn, a chosen band of six intrepid holy men set forth from Deventer to take possession, to commence the clearing of the woods, and the building of the new monastery, which was destined ere long to work such marvels in the vineyard of Christ, and to extend so salutary an influence over Holland, Belgium, and Germany. The locality, called Windesem (now Windesheim), was held in great reverence, and believed to have been sanctified by the visits of angels. Within a marvellously short time the grand design of Gerard may be said to have been accomplished. Windesheim had fairly set forth upon its magnificent career, and commenced to spread around its beneficial influence. Fascinating though the task would be, the needful brevity of this sketch obliges me to omit the history of the rapid and stupendous growth of the new monastery, likewise all details of the sanctity and devotedness of its inhabitants, the speed with which it absorbed, as the mother house, all the Augustinian monasteries of the adjacent countries, until it numbered as its affiliated children between seventy and eighty religious houses of men and women. Anyone who desires to study the subject will find ample details in Busch's *Chronicle of Windesheim*, Book I., from chapter xii. to xlvii. I shall only touch upon one feature of this glorious institution—namely, the character of the teaching of its spiritual school. I deplore my incompetency for this task, which I attempt solely because it is indispensable for the full comprehension of much which I shall have to bring forward later.

Let us recall, for a few moments, the thoughts which filled the minds of Gerard Groot and Florentius Radewyn when they inaugurated the Congregation of Common Life. In the first place, it was designed that its members should endeavour, from their hearts, to return to the life of the early Christians; to such a life as the Apostles led when following our Lord Jesus Christ on earth, and which they and their

companions carried out after His ascent into heaven. All were to live in common, to work for the general good, to hold their worldly possessions in community, and to spend their leisure hours in prayer and works of charity. This grand idea of returning to the apostolic life constituted the tie which held together the earliest members of the little band of scholars congregated under the guidance of Gerard and Florentius. The necessities of those times, before the invention of the art of printing, rendered the work of transcribing books a leading occupation, and one both needful and profitable. From it, moreover, arose a class of scholars whose minds became saturated with the teaching of those whose works they copied, and leavened with their sanctity.

Keeping this in mind, a little study enables us to understand the tone of the spiritual school of Windesheim, and to trace its source and development. Groot was a man of exceptional sanctity, ability, and erudition. Before he commenced his missionary life he had devoted himself, especially during his retreat at Monichuisen, to the study of the Holy Scriptures and of the fathers of the Church. In his famous protest against the edict which suspended him from the right to preach in public he tells us the sources of the doctrine he taught. Not alone had he mastered the Sacred Word of God, but he had also familiarized himself with the interpretations of all the great teachers of the Church—Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Bernard, Bede, Isidore, Hugo, and Richard. Their works, as he tells us, were his chosen riches on earth.

Such was the inheritance of the school of Windesheim. It is certain that it never strove to promulgate its teaching beyond its own circle, which was natural enough for those whose motto lay in the words of St. Augustine, '*Ama nesciri*,' 'Love to be unknown;' nevertheless it is impossible to study the works it has left without observing that *The Imitation* is largely drawn, word for word, and sentence for sentence, from its writers, and that in truth the book found its cradle in Windesheim. That it did so is the inevitable conviction

of all who have studied the subject profoundly without bias or prejudice.

In my next communication I will give an outline of the career of Thomas à Kempis, the Windesheimer towards whom all existing evidence points clearly as the author of *The Imitation*.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

ANGLICANISM AS IT IS

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, like the Irish family itself, is too generous to confine its attention to matters that more immediately concern itself at home. Its Catholic spirit has sympathies with all that interests the Church wherever she is to be found. I have, accordingly, been asked to say something about our own special work here in England in regard to what is popularly known as Anglicanism. Ireland has not, so far, been much troubled with this particular product of the heretical spirit: but there are signs that the difficulties with which we have to contend here in the world of controversy, may yet emerge even in that land of faith. The more naked forms of Protestantism can hardly content those who are brought into contact with the more cultured shapes of that Protean spirit; and Irish Catholics may yet have to deal with the curious claims to Catholicity which have fascinated so many on this side of the Channel.

The particular controversy of which I speak has its advantages; for perhaps we in England are led to lay more stress on the dogmas connected with the Petrine prerogatives, and on the notes of the Church, than would otherwise be natural: and it is a gain to the Catholic mind to be driven to survey our treasures, and note the glories of the Bride of Christ, which are but the reflection of His own. At the same time, one must not forget, that to Ireland we owe the very best treatise on this subject that we possess from an English-speaking divine, in the great work of

Dr. Murray, *De Ecclesia*. What I propose, then, in one or two articles, is to give such plain and simple thoughts as occur to one in considering the most recent phases of our controversy, with those whom we will call High Anglicans.

The subject that occupied the attention of religious men in England sixty years ago, was the 'Church.' After more than half a century of debate and teaching of various kinds on this subject, what is the upshot at this present time? It will be enough in this article to answer this question.

In republishing his celebrated essay on the 'Catholicity of the Anglican Church,' written when a Protestant, Cardinal Newman prefixed a few foot-notes, and a long invaluable note at the end. Amongst these foot-notes occurs one which the present writer noticed only after having written on the same subject, as the result of many years of anxious thought.¹ Newman is speaking of the Anglican contention, that all that is necessary for the unity of the Church is that hidden oneness which is secured by the union of believers with the one Lord of all through the use of sacraments. Barrow, whom he quotes, does not disallow the *duty* of what he calls 'political union' amongst Churches, but he disavows its necessity. Newman, writing as an Anglican, suggests, that 'brotherly' union would be a fitter expression than 'political;' but, as a Catholic, he adds these words in a note: 'Is not "visible" a better word still? and is not the proposition maintained in the text simply this, "The unity of the Church is an invisible unity?" But if that is allowed, will it be possible long to deny the proposition, "The Church is invisible"?'²

Cardinal Newman has here laid his finger on the real blot in the High Anglican theory. He is not alone in this; for Dr. Murray, of Maynooth, in his invaluable treatise, to which I have alluded, pointed out, that Dr. Pusey's theory of the Church amounts to a denial of her visibility just as

¹ *Anglican Fallacies*, p. 100. Catholic Truth Society, 21, Westminster Bridge-road, London, S.E. (1896). 8d.

² *Essays Critical and Theological*, vol. ii., p. 34.

certainly as does the theory of the Calvinists in Germany, and the Methodists amongst ourselves. It is, in a word, radically Protestant. It escapes the appearance of Protestantism by its insistence on visibility as a property of the Church, but it is in appearance only, that it differs from other non-Catholic theories.

In fact, Anglicanism, as such, never does rise to the full conception of an actually visible Church. The Church, to be a Church at all, must bear some sort of authority. But as long as she is divided (as in the Anglican conception) into at least three separate conflicting portions, she not only cannot speak with authority, but she cannot speak at all. Now this might be, conceivably, the case for some short period. But the Anglican argument contemplates such a persistent dumbness as covers three centuries and a-half, and an indefinite future. The Church, on this supposition, has simply ceased to be visible. For, of course, we are speaking here not of her material visibility, which consists in her being composed of visible men, and having visible sacraments, but of her formal visibility. Being one society, according to the Catholic hypothesis, instituted for the purposes of religion, she must be able to fulfil those purposes: one main purpose being that of teaching. We must be able to see where she is, to hear her voice, to learn her decrees. This, on the highest Anglican presupposition, is impossible. And it has been rendered ten-fold more inconceivable, that she should ever be able to do this, on the Anglican hypothesis, since the recent Bull on Anglican Orders.

The darling idea of the High Anglican has always been that some day there will be a General Council comprised of Roman, Greek, and Anglican bishops, in which many matters of present disagreement will be finally settled. Although this may not be a prominent feature of Anglican teaching, it is a fundamental one, kept in reserve for the inquirer who contemplates the idea of perpetual separation with horror. In July last, the *Church Quarterly Review*, an Anglican organ of the highest importance, said:—

It seems to us within the range of possibility that the Pope may recognise Anglican Orders, as the orders of the Greek Church

have always been recognised as good. Though they have never been acknowledged by Rome, yet they have never been formally condemned. If ever any such ratification [*sic*] of the English Ordinal should be achieved, it would be a gracious act, and worthy of the large-mindedness of Leo XIII., to invite the patriarchs of the East and the prelates of the English Church to an amicable discussion on the present state of the divisions of Christendom, and the best means of affecting their remedy.¹

One cannot help pausing a moment to notice how little our Anglican friends are in the habit of confronting facts. Imagine the present Archbishop of York and the late amiable prelate of Canterbury, meeting as bishops, with the patriarchs of the East and the Holy Father. The Archbishop of York would come to the meeting with the unfortunate stigma of having contracted a second marriage after he was made bishop, an offence that could hardly be condoned by patriarchs of the East, who disallow all marriage after receiving Holy Orders; the late Archbishop of Canterbury would have appeared with the Lincoln judgment on his shoulders, in which he had ruled that breaking the bread *before* consecration (a thing not done in the ancient liturgies, nor anywhere in the Catholic Church) must be done in sight of the people, as being an essential part of the original institution. And they would represent each of them prelates who include the Bishops of Liverpool and Lincoln. A very earnest young man, looking forward to the ministry of the Church of England, said to us the other day: 'If we had a really Catholic Archbishop, he would begin by excommunicating all the bishops.' And such is the feeling of many a young man in the same position at this hour. But on the theory we are considering the archbishops would have to represent all these bishops. Next imagine the legitimacy of the invocation of the saints coming on to the *tapis*, and the Eastern patriarchs discovering that no *single* bishop in England *allows* to be taught here what every one of themselves holds to be absolutely a matter of faith.

But to return. No one can now reasonably suppose that any Anglican bishop will ever sit in council at Rome *as* a bishop. The dream of the future Council could only now

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1896, p. 476.

be entertained by a mind incapable of grasping facts. The Bull *Apostolica Curæ* has so far changed the situation.

But this means that, on the high Anglican theory, the Church can never speak: in other words, the Church is not visible. She herself can never appear in action. She is nowhere to be found. The 'Roman' Church is to be found, the Greek Church is to be found, and (we will suppose) the English Church is to be found; but where is *the* Church to be found? In what sense is there an actual Church in existence? Is it in the sense that there is something *underlying* these three portions which puts itself forth in their various and conflicting voices? No Anglican seems willing to face this question. Or, if he does, it is by stating substantially the latter theory. But this is simply the doctrine of an invisible Church.

The difficulty pursues an Anglican into his answer to the question. Where is the Church of England herself to be found? We know, of course, that there is a religious body recognised by the law, as the Church of England; we know that, in some sense or other, the Sovereign of England, as represented by the judicial Committee of the Privy Council, is its final Court of Appeal; and that the Sovereign, as represented by the Prime Minister for the time being, fills the legal sees, and so far determines the character of her teaching; and that every bishop in his oath of homage, professes to receive his spiritualities as well as his temporalities from the Sovereign. We know that every clergyman of the Church of England promises to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, and gives his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. All this we know; but then, if the whole episcopate teaches that such and such a doctrine is enshrined in the *Book of Common Prayer*, our high Anglican friends tell us that that is not necessarily the teaching of the Church of England. If we ask, where then shall we find the Church of England? we shall obtain no intelligible answer. So that, in some sense, the Church of England herself is not visible. She cannot be apprehended. She is yet to come. That which has been taught in her name, for more than three hundred years, is not hers: it is not she

that taught: she is *in futuro*. She is not represented by convocation; for convocation is apt to go wrong. She is not represented by the bishops; for they would all be excommunicated by a Catholic archbishop. She is not represented by the majority of the clergymen; for they do not profess to offer the Holy Sacrifice, do not administer the Sacrament of Penance, and are lamentable failures, so we are told, in theology. Then, where is she?

It is, indeed, a serious question that we are asking; for only one answer can be given by anyone who cares to face the facts of the case. So far as she exists at all, she is on the down-grade. But in this sense: *she*, as one living *spiritual* entity, can hardly be said to exist; but if we take the trend of the majority of her prominent and teaching members, it is steadily undermining all belief in dogma. It could not, indeed, be otherwise, if we consider the developments that have been taking place within her which may be described thus:—In the awakening of religious activity which marked the early part of this century, the supernatural recovery of man's estate before God absorbed the souls of a number of English Christians; but in one point only, viz., the Atonement wrought on the Cross. It was something that hearts should be warmed at all with a responsive love in gratitude for that act of infinite love. But the character of these good men's faith was deficient in its form. It relied on 'the Bible, and the Bible only.' The religious movement at Oxford added something to the material of faith in the shape of 'tradition.' They saw the necessity of belonging to a visible Church, and of the existence of a traditional teaching within that Church. The logical sequence of this advance in the way of belief would have been the apprehension of a perpetual guardian of Holy Scripture and tradition. But to apprehend this was to hover on the borders of the Catholic and Roman Church. There came, therefore, a parting of the ways, with the result that some entered the Catholic Church, and others went on 'as best they could.' It is with these latter and their successors that we have to do at this moment.

It is, of course, evident to a Catholic that neither the

Scriptures nor tradition could be safe apart from their guardianship by the Church. It is an oft-told tale how the Scriptures have fared in the hands of those who succeeded the 'Tractarians' at Oxford. It is not so often considered how their attitude towards tradition has followed a natural law of development downwards. This is the peculiar feature of High Anglicanism at this hour, and it deserves more than a passing notice.

Having let the formal visibility of the Church slip from their minds, content with a merely material visibility—that is to say, having subsided into acquiescing in the idea of the Church as a body characterized by an external organization consisting of separate fragments of supposed similar make, with a visible side to the ordinances of religion, an episcopate, or rather not so much 'an episcopate' as a crowd of bishops (to use the expression of the Holy Father on this subject) who are not 'one episcopate, of which a part is held by each so as to unite into one solid whole,' to use St. Cyprian's words¹—having thus allowed the idea of the Church's visibility to be depraved, as something that cannot be *seen in action*, it was natural that our friends should go on to depreciate, and deprave, and disfigure tradition itself. This is seen in such writings as those of Canon Bright, the Rev. F. W. Puller, Canon Gore, and others who stand out just now as champions of Anglicanism in England. We will give instances from each.

Father Sydney Smith has lately reminded Canon Bright, that, considering the admission, which in deference to history must perforce be made by Anglicans, that the Petrine episcopate has been the tradition of the Church from at least the middle of the third century, it rests with Anglicans to prove that it was not cœval with the actual beginnings of Christianity. So many centuries of prescription in its favour throw the *onus probandi* on the side of those who deny the primeval existence of the tradition, even from a merely natural point of view. But if we regard the Church

¹ For this interpretation of St. Cyprian's words—*Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis presbiteris pars tenetur*, see Franzelin, *De Ecclesia*, p. 156.

as a supernatural entity—if we realize her continuous existence as the home of the Spirit of Truth and the appointed Teacher of the nations from generation to generation, the position taken up by Father Sydney Smith would seem to be absolutely impregnable. To say that we will not believe in the Petrine episcopate, although it has been the traditional teaching of so many centuries, *unless* it can be shown to be plainly written in the comparatively scanty records of the first two centuries—still more, to require such demonstration as would be sufficient apart from the known tradition of century after century since those first two—what is this but to fail to appreciate the logical consequences of saying, ‘I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.’ All that ought to be asked for in the way of proof, is that there should be nothing distinctly and decisively contradicting the tradition of ages. Expressions and phrases in the earliest centuries are to be explained, where they can be explained, by the subsequent age-long tradition. But to this Canon Bright objects, and thus furnishes an instance of how little value is set on tradition by those who do not believe in the formal visibility of the Church.

Next, Mr. Puller has to his own satisfaction accounted for the growth of the idea of a Petrine episcopate. It sprang from the Clementine Romance, which in some earlier form, that has to be presupposed, reached Rome, which also has to be supposed, in time to influence the orthodox Church of Rome, and induced her to take up with a pleasant tale in her own honour, which she effectually palmed off on the whole Christian world, saints and doctors of the Church, and opponents from the anti-Christian camp as well. What can be the conception of the Church in the mind of one who could argue thus? What value can be set on the ascertained tradition of ages? It must not, however, be forgotten by a writer of the I. E. RECORD, that the chief promoter of this queer solution of the difficulty as it must ever be to an Anglican, of the continuous tradition of the Petrine episcopate, from the third century onwards, hails from Trinity College, Dublin.

We turn now to Canon Gore. In his work called *Dissertations on subjects connected with the Incarnation*, he quite frankly sets aside the stream of fathers which makes against his heresy. 'Any writer who cares for Catholic sentiment and traditional reverence . . . must approach this subject with great unwillingness.' As Dr. Gildea observes: 'Canon Gore approaches the subject without the least sign of unwillingness. But then, he certainly does not care for Catholic sentiment. Whether he cares for 'traditional reverence' or not we are not prepared to say: that he does not care for the reverence due to tradition, his dissertation only too clearly proves.'¹ Canon Gore calmly admits further on that 'the great bulk of the language of ecclesiastical writers is, it is true, against us.'² But this does not much trouble Canon Gore, for 'in the special subject of this inquiry we do not see them [the fathers] at their best.'³

Nor does Canon Gore stand alone. Those who know Oxford well are aware that he has succeeded in imparting his tone of thought to quite a number of the rising generation. He has a disciple in his successor in the principalship of Pusey House, at Oxford, in Mr. Otley, who has recently written two volumes on the Incarnation, which may be fairly described as a defiance of tradition. He revises saints and doctors, such as Athanasius, Cyril, and Leo.

Now what this all means, is that those who in the person of their forerunners began with higher views of the Church, who were therefore called High Churchmen, are ending in a perpetual depreciation of tradition, which was precisely the element annexed to their faith by the early Tractarians. The theory has run its way, and has led those who followed it to its logical conclusion into the Catholic Church, whilst it has precipitated those who refused its logical consequence into the most unbridled exercise of private judgment. Beginning with grasping the idea of the sacraments, as the extension of the Incarnation, they are ending with the most serious

¹ *Diss. Pusey*, April, 1896, by W. Gildea, D.D., p. 348.

² *Diss.* p. 202.

³ Page 214.

assaults on the Incarnation itself. Writing under no apprehension of a living authority to guide and control their idiosyncrasies, they may end anywhere. The Church is not, to them, seriously visible. She cannot come down upon them, nor speak to them.

To be continued.

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

THE relations of the Catholic Church and the Republic of the United States are not unfrequently misunderstood or misinterpreted, as well by Americans themselves as by Europeans. Not a few still retain the opinion that Rome, to quote the words of Scott, 'damns each free-born deed and thought,' that the doctrines of the Catholic Church are utterly irreconcilable with the theories of civil and religious liberty so ardently advocated by Americans to-day; while others appear to think that the liberty which American Catholics enjoy has a pernicious effect upon their faith, making them indocile to Church authority and indifferent in religious matters. The Catholic bishops of this country ought surely to be competent to speak on the question: no body of men in the country can be more competent. In the pastoral letter addressed to the clergy and laity of their charge by the American bishops assembled in the third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), we find the following:—

We think we can claim to be acquainted both with the laws, institutions, and spirit of the Catholic Church, and with the laws, institutions, and spirit of our country; and we emphatically declare that there is no antagonism between them. A Catholic finds himself at home in the United States, for the influence of his Church has constantly been exercised in behalf of individual rights and popular liberties. And the right-minded American nowhere finds himself more at home than in the Catholic Church, for nowhere else can he breathe more freely that atmosphere of Divine truth which alone can make him free.

We repudiate with equal earnestness the assertion that we

need to lay aside any of our devotedness to our Church to be true Americans, and the insinuation that we need to abate any of our love for our country's principles and institutions, to be faithful Catholics. To argue that the Catholic Church is hostile to our great Republic, because she teaches that 'there is no power but from God:' because, therefore, back of the events which led to the formation of the Republic, she sees the Providence of God leading to that issue, and back of our country's laws the authority of God as their sanction—this is evidently so illogical and contradictory an accusation, that we are astonished to hear it advanced by persons of ordinary intelligence.

No less illogical would be the notion that there is aught in the free spirit of our American institutions incompatible with perfect docility to the Church of Christ. The spirit of American freedom is not one of anarchy and license. It essentially involves love of order, respect for rightful authority, and obedience to just laws. There is nothing in the character of the most liberty-loving American which could hinder his reverential submission to the Divine authority of our Lord, or to the like authority delegated by Him to His Apostles and His Church. Nor is there in the world more devoted adherents of the Catholic Church, the See of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ than the Catholics of the United States.

A brief examination of the leading principles of the American constitution will clearly show that no conflict exists between them and the teachings of the Catholic Church. The American Republic has declared itself incompetent to enact laws controlling matters purely religious, and has pledged itself to protect the Church in the exercise of her spiritual freedom. The rights of the Church here are not concessions from the State, but are recognised by the State as rights prior to and above itself, which it is bound to respect and protect. This is different from the red republicanism of Europe, which advocates separation of Church and State through indifference to or hatred of all religion.

If we attentively consider [says Balmes¹] the points of difference between the revolution of the United States and that of France, we shall find that one of the principal points of difference consists in this, that the American revolution was essentially democratic, that of France essentially impious. In the manifestos

¹ *European Civilization*, p. 389.

by which the former was inaugurated, the name of God, of Providence is everywhere seen ; the men engaged in the perilous enterprise of shaking off the yoke of Great Britain, far from blaspheming the Almighty, invoke His assistance, convinced that the cause of independence was the cause of reason and of justice. The French began by deifying the leaders of irreligion, overthrowing altars, watering with the blood of priests the temples, the streets, and the scaffolds.

This is not an irreligious nation. The fact that our political charter presupposes God and Christianity ; that our Government makes Sunday a legal day of rest ; that sessions of state legislature and congress are opened with prayer, and chaplains appointed at public expense for congress, the army, the navy and state institutions ; that our presidents and governors of states in official documents recognise the dependence of the nation on God and the duty of gratitude to Him ; that our courts decide questions of Church discipline and property that come before them according to the charter and constitution of the Church in litigation ; that Church property is exempt from taxation ; is sufficient proof that, though Church and State are separate in this country, they are not unfriendly or antagonistic to each other.

We do not believe, of course, that the separation of the Church and State is the ideal to be aimed at in modern society, and that the policy, to use the common phrase, of 'a Free Church in a Free State,' is one deserving of application in all countries. That the union of Church and State in past ages resulted in injury to both, especially to the former, we are ready to admit ; but that it necessarily has such an effect, we must deny. The best things may be abused, and that which is good remains good in spite of abuse. Moreover, we must not forget that if some evils arose out of the union of Church and State in the past, incalculable benefits have also resulted from that union, and that it has been mainly instrumental in producing the peace, the prosperity, and the civilization which made the Christendom whereof we are heirs. At any rate, it is, as a principle, indisputable that the two powers in an ideal State should work in harmony and mutually assist each other, and that an organic and mutual understanding should exist

between them. We are so apt to forget this principle in the United States, that Leo XIII. deems it necessary to remind us of it. In his encyclical letter to the bishops of this country (January, 1895), his Holiness, after speaking of the wonderful progress of the Church here and of the freedom which she enjoys, says:—

Sed quamquam hæc vera sunt, tamen error tollendus, ne quis hinc sequi existimet, petendum ab America exemplum optimi Ecclesiae Status: aut universe licere vel expedire, rei civilis reipublice sacrae distractas esse dissociatasque, more americano, rationes. Quod enim incolumis apud vos res est catholica, quod prosperis etiam auctibus crescit, id omnino tribuendum fecunditati, qua divinitus paret Ecclesia, quaeque si nullus adversatur, si nulla res impedimento sit, se sponte effert atque affert: longe tamen uberes editura fructus, si, praeter libertatem, gratia legum fruatur patricinioque publicae potestatis.

Church and State, no doubt, are distinct organisms, having different ends and separate functions; but it by no means follows that they cannot be mutually helpful to each other, or that God intended that they should be separate. When all the citizens of the State are of the same religious persuasion, the union of Church and State can be complete; but when the people of a country differ in religious belief, and there are many different denominations, as with us in the United States, the relations of Church and State are necessarily limited, and a complete union between them is impossible. The best that can be done, perhaps, in such circumstances is what has been done in the United States. The founders of this republic had to unify into a nation independent communities having established churches, and that unification would have been impossible if the Government recognised any one Church. The necessities of the situation compelled the Government to acknowledge the equality of all the Churches before the law, to abolish all religious tests as a qualification to office, and to guarantee to all denominations the fullest liberty. Moreover, the principle underlying the separation of Church and State here, namely, the incompetency of the State in religious matters, is a principle which the Catholic Church has in all ages maintained. The system, then, of almost total separation

of Church and State which we have in this country is a necessary consequence of the condition of our people, and is in no way opposed to the principles of Catholic theology; and to say that Catholics here are striving to bring about such a union of Church and State as existed in the middle ages, is a calumny. But, the anti-Catholic fanatics say, it is possible that the civil and ecclesiastical powers may sometimes clash; the line of demarcation between secular and religious matters is not so definitely drawn as to preclude the possibility of a collision; and in such an emergency Catholics maintain that the Church is supreme, and that it is her right to decide what comes under her jurisdiction, and what does not. This, they pretend to believe, is a menace to free institutions. That the Church has the exclusive right of deciding what things come under her jurisdiction, is unquestionable. She and she alone has the authority to teach what is the extent of the spiritual rights divinely committed to her; and, consequently, if she decides that a political measure encroaches on the domain of religion, she is to be obeyed rather than the political powers. The principle involved in this teaching no Christian, at least, can deny, for every Christian must believe that duty to conscience and to God is the supreme rule of judgment and of action. Nor is it so difficult to draw the line of demarcation between the two powers as some of our anti-Catholic friends pretend to believe. The rights of either power can be deduced from the end to which either tends and from the ordinations of divine positive law. 'Whatsoever in human things,' says Leo XIII. in his encyclical *Immortale Dei*, is in any manner sacred, whatsoever belongs to the salvation of souls and the worship of God, is under the authority and rule of the Church. But all things else, being included within the civil and political order, are rightly subject to the civil authority.' *Sacred things*, therefore, belong to the authority of the Church; *v.g.*, the preaching and teaching of the Christian faith, the administration and reception of the sacraments, the direction of public devotions, the preparation and discipline of the clergy, the administration of church funds, the erection of church

edifices, &c. Temporal affairs, such as commerce, agriculture, taxation, form of government, &c., are subject to civil authority.

There are some matters, however, pertaining in part to the civil authority and in part to the ecclesiastical authority, such as education and matrimony, about which there may be danger of conflict between the two powers. Take the education question. The Catholic Church does not deny to the State the right of providing for instruction and of directing schools, as required by its own legitimate end and the welfare of society; but she also claims for herself the right of directing schools, as far as her end demands, and therefore the right of watching over the faith and morals of Catholic youth, and of seeing that their faith or morals be not corrupted by the teaching given. The State may erect schools, appoint teachers, prescribe methods, but it must exercise these rights in due subordination to the prior and higher rights of family and Church. Catholics believe that the educational system of a Christian State ought to be Christian; that it is a great grievance to have to support schools to which they cannot conscientiously send their children; and that the rights of parents, of Church, and of State, would be best safeguarded by a denominational system of education. They believe that such a system would best harmonize with the spirit of our American constitution, which forbids all unnecessary meddling with private and parental rights; and they know, moreover, that it is the only means by which our people can be made good Christians and good citizens. In advocating it, therefore, they believe that they are acting for the best interests of this republic, and not a few non-Catholics share the same view.

Another question about which there may be some danger of clashing between Church and State in America is the question of matrimony. Catholic teaching grants to the State, as the guardian of public decency, the right to forbid such marriages as are opposed to the natural law, and also the right to control certain external forms or accessories, in order to insure the protection of individual rights; but the

Catholic Church denies to the State jurisdiction over the substantial features of marriage. When the State, therefore, enacts divorce laws annulling the marriage contract so that each of the contracting parties may marry again during the lifetime of the other, it usurps an authority which does not belong to it. The divorce laws existing in this country are a disgrace to a civilized people ; and the Catholic Church in combating them and in endeavouring to uphold the indissolubility of the marriage contract deserves well of every lover of this nation. The position which Catholics take with regard to these two questions, education and matrimony, commends itself to all religious, serious-minded men, and far from being indicative of disloyalty to the country, is the strongest proof of their love for the republic and their desire to perpetuate its free institutions.

That Catholic teaching also harmonizes with the American idea of political and civil liberty, no one who is acquainted with the one and the other can for a moment doubt. The fundamental articles of the American political creed, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, are these :— ‘All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.’ These are Catholic principles, proclaimed in all ages by the Catholic Church. Man by the fall of Adam did not lose his original faculties. He did not lose his reason or his free will, and consequently he did not lose the natural rights which flow from these gifts—the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All men are equal in regard to these rights, and therefore no man has the natural right to govern another man. The authority to govern comes, under God, from the consent of the governed. The Protestant doctrine of the total depravity of human nature and the loss of free will, as a result of Adam's fall, is a denial of these principles, and naturally enough led the early Reformers to exclude unregenerate man from all part in the organization of the State and all share in the rights and privileges of citizenship.

‘The proclamation of man’s natural rights,’ says Father Hecker, ‘involved the overthrow of the whole theological structure built by the reform theologians upon the cornerstone of man’s total depravity. The Puritans in signing the Declaration of Independence signed their own death warrant.’¹

There can be little doubt but the tyranny and intolerance which disgraced our colonial period, was in great measure due to the tenets of Puritanism; while, on the other hand, the civil and religious liberty which prevailed in the Catholic colony of Maryland was a natural outgrowth of Catholic teaching. This is only the history of European nations repeating itself in the New World. True liberty goes hand in hand with Catholicism. ‘The Catholic Church,’ says Lecky, ‘laid the very foundations of modern civilization. In the transition from slavery to serfdom, and in the transition from serfdom to liberty, she was the most zealous, the most unwearied, and the most efficient agent.’² The Catholic Church to-day is as ardent in advocating popular rights and civil and political liberty as she has been in the ages gone by. And why should it not be so? The subjection of the Church and the decline of her influence has been at all times in direct proportion to the progress of despotism.

I proclaim, without fear of contradiction [says Montalembert] that it is to liberty that we are indebted for the wonderful and unexpected success of Catholic interests. Yes, the struggle has everywhere been profitable to the Church, everywhere from the tribune of Westminster, of the Palais-Bourbon, and of the Luxemburg, unto the prison of the Archbishops of Cologne and Turin; and liberty alone renders contention possible. Yes, political liberty has been the safeguard and the instrument of Catholic regeneration in Europe. This regeneration has nowhere been witnessed, except where it has been provoked or preceded by political liberty.³

Popular forms of government have not been less beneficial to the Church in the New World than they have proved in the Old; and for this reason, if for no other, Catholics are

¹ *The Church and the Age*, p. 74.

² *History of Rationalism*, vol. ii., p. 209.

³ *Catholic Interests* [1852], p. 46.

the most ardent advocates and strongest supporters of the free institutions of this country.

But, we are asked, how can we reconcile the teaching of the Catholic Church with that freedom of conscience which is the great boast of Americans, and for which our Protestant friends in this country profess so much admiration. To answer the question, we must know what is meant by freedom of conscience :—

When men advocate the rights of conscience [says Cardinal Newman] they in no sense mean the rights of the Creator, nor the duty to Him, in thought and deed, of the creature, but the right of thinking, speaking, writing, and acting according to their judgment or their humour, without any thought of God at all . . . In this age, with a large portion of the public, it is the very right and freedom of conscience to dispense with conscience, to ignore a Lawgiver and Judge, to be independent of unseen obligations. It becomes a license to take up any or no religion, to take up this or that, and let it go again ; to go to church, to go to chapel, to boast of being above all religions, and to be an impartial critic of each of them. Conscience is a stern monitor ; but in this century it has been superseded by a counterfeit which the eighteen centuries prior to it never heard of, and could not have mistaken for it if they had. It is the right of self-will.¹

If by freedom of conscience is understood ' the right of self-will,' the right ' to think, speak, write, and act according to one's judgment or humour, without any thought of God,' we do not attempt to reconcile the teachings of the Church with such a theory. But if by freedom of conscience is meant, not this counterfeit, so well described by the Cardinal, but the freedom to obey that voice of God, in the nature and heart of man, which speaks in the soul as an eternal witness both of the existence and of the law of God, then, indeed, there are no more sincere advocates of freedom of conscience than Catholics. It is the teaching of the Church that conscience is the voice of God, and is, therefore, supreme, and that it is never lawful to act against one's conscience.

As a consequence of this, Catholics must believe in toleration in religious matters. It seems impossible, how-

¹ Reply to Gladstone's *Vaticanism*, p. 76.

ever, for some non-Catholic writers to grasp the obvious distinction between religious or theological toleration and civil or political toleration, and to understand how it is that Catholics, while religiously intolerant, can be, at the same time, politically tolerant. Civil or political toleration is the permission conceded by the State to its subjects to profess the religion of their choice; religious or theological toleration, presupposing that all religions are equally acceptable to God, is the permission granted by Almighty God to all men to profess any religion they please, or none at all. Catholics are, and must be, theologically intolerant. There is a strong tendency in this country to what is called Liberalism or Indifferentism; that is, to maintain that a man has the same facility of salvation in any of the Churches, a tendency to deny the objective certainty of truth, to make religion a matter of opinion. Now, Catholics hold the existence of the objective truth of religion; they believe that God has prescribed a supernatural religion, and has promulgated it with sufficient motives of credibility; and that all are bound, under pain of deadly sin, to accept it when it is made clearly manifest to their minds and hearts. To be indifferent, or religiously 'tolerant,' is to believe that all religions are true; in other words, to believe that contradictory things are true at the same time.

Nor is it impossible to hold the real or objective truth of religion and, at the same time, to be politically tolerant. The teaching of the Church is, that as man by his own free will fell from grace, so by his own free will must he return to grace:—

Faith [says Cardinal Manning] is an act of the will; and to force men to profess what they do not believe is contrary to the law of God, and to generate faith by force is morally impossible. We cannot, indeed, co-operate by any direct action to uphold what we believe to be erroneous, and we would that all men fully believed the truth; but a forced faith is a hypocrisy hateful to God and man. Moreover, in our shattered state of religious belief and worship, there is no way of solid civil peace but in leaving all men free in the amplest liberty of faith.

No doubt the civil power in the middle ages punished, and justly punished, open infidelity, heresy, and schism,

because then they were not only crimes against God, but also crimes against society, forbidden by the public law; but now, when that political order has passed away, and these sins are no longer violations of a public law, or crimes against society, the civil government has no right to punish them. That the action of the civil government in these ages was justifiable, no one who studies the history of the period, will deny:—

In the barbaric ages [says Brownson] which followed the destruction of the Western Roman Empire, the Church had a double mission to perform, and was obliged to add to her spiritual functions the greater part of the functions of civil society itself. . . . The lay society was dissolved by the ruin of the empire and of the civilized populations, and was no longer adequate to the management of secular affairs in accordance with civilized order. The Church was obliged to add to her mission of evangelizer, which is her mission of all times and places, the temporary and accidental mission of civilizer of the nations . . . Having the chief part of the work of civil society to perform, it became absolutely necessary that she should have a civil and political existence and authority—that she should be incorporated into the State as an integral element of the civil constitution, and have her worship, without which she could have as little social as religious influence recognised as the law of the land as well as the law of God . . . Infidelity, heresy, and schism, which were as directly in opposition to her mission of civilizing the nations as to her mission of evangelizing them, were then directly and proximately crimes against society, and as such were justly punishable by the public authorities.

These times have passed, and the circumstances that made necessary the incorporation of the Church with the State, no longer exist; and, consequently, infidelity, heresy, and schism, though sins against God, are no longer considered crimes against society; and, therefore, so long as their adherents demean themselves peaceably, and discharge their ordinary social obligations, Catholic teaching says that they ought to be tolerated by the civil government, and left to God to answer for their sin.

We believe then that we may reasonably conclude that the declaration of the American bishops in the pastoral

¹ Brownson, *Works*, vol. x., p. 224.

referred to at the beginning—that perfect harmony exists between the laws, institutions, and spirit of the Catholic Church, and the laws, institutions, and spirit of the United States—is founded upon fact, and patent to all who impartially examine both organizations.

The further declaration of the bishops—that there is nothing in the free spirit of our American institutions to injure our Catholicity—is equally evident. When this republic was founded, one hundred and twenty years ago, no one could discover any sign which would lead him to believe that the Catholic Church was to have any future in the country. Catholics were few and scattered, constituting only one in a hundred of the population, for the most part poor, hated, and despised by their Protestant neighbours. Other denominations had a far better start in this free country: they had greater wealth, superior education; every natural advantage was on their side. Yet, what do we find to-day? The religious outlook of a century ago has entirely changed. Protestantism has ceased to have any hold on the masses of the American people. ‘Let us look at England, Europe, and America,’ says Mr. Mallock, ‘and consider the condition of the entire Protestant world. Religion, it is true, we shall still find in it; but it is religion from which not only the supernatural element is disappearing, but in which the natural element is fast becoming nebulous.’ Such a substitute for the religion of Christ can never satisfy the cravings of the human heart for God and truth.

Poor wanderers, ye are sore distrest
To find the path which Christ has blest,
Tracked by His saintly throng;
Each claims to trust his own weak will,
Blind idol! so ye languish still.
All wranglers, and all wrong.

Reason has condemned Protestantism, because religion is not a system of opinions resting upon man’s private judgment, but is a body of revealed truths, adapted and necessary to the full development and perfection of man’s intelligence and heart, and depending upon an unerring and divine authority. Protestantism never has and never will

make any headway in America. Here, as in Europe, it is fast leading men into Agnosticism and infidelity. A practical and independent people like the Americans will not retain a purely speculative religion—a religion without faith, without sacrifice, without sacraments, without authority, without a single bond of unity. On the other hand, the Catholic Church has progressed in spite of many difficulties—the inadequate supply of priests and churches for the demands of an overwhelming immigration, the want of Catholic education, the contempt for illiterate Catholics and their creed, the poverty of our people. That progress is a proof not only of the inherent strength and vitality of the Church, but also of the fact that wherever she finds a fair field and no favour, she can prosper and grow strong, and that there is nothing in the spirit of free institutions incompatible with perfect docility to the Church of Christ.

But, some people are heard to say, the faith, the generosity, the docility of the people who made the Catholic Church what it is in America to-day, are mostly traditional race-traits inherent in those people who came to us from holy Ireland—from Germany, from France, from Italy, and cannot be expected to last for more than one or two generations. Will the American Catholics of the next generation, or the next century be as good, as generous, as faithful, as their Irish, German, and French forefathers? There is good reason to believe that they will. The descendants of the Irish may not retain that spirit of loyalty and fidelity which is characteristic of the Irish at home; the children of the French may not retain that *perfundum ingenium Gallorum*, that enthusiastic zeal, which is the leading trait of the good French Catholic in his own land; the Germans of the next generation may not have that steadfastness to what they believe to be true, as the German of to-day has. It would be unreasonable to expect that, when these people become thoroughly American, they will retain these characteristics. They will get their quasi-religious environment at home; and if those who have the spiritual guidance of those people are true to their sacred trust, there is no reason

why the American Catholics of the next generation, or the next century will not be as good as their ancestors were.

No doubt there are dangers menacing the faith of our people, some peculiar to this country, some common to all nations. The godless schools in which many of our Catholic children are instructed; the worship of the 'almighty dollar,' which, they tell us, is fast becoming the only religion of the American; the crowding together of our Catholic people in large cities where the atmosphere they breathe is poison to body and soul; the religious indifference, not to say downright materialism, which is around us, are serious dangers which those charged with the care of souls must avert if the faith is to be perpetuated here. That the Catholic Church will prove equal to the undertaking, no one who studies her past history, and is acquainted with the abundant means of sanctification which she employs, can for a moment doubt. Now the Church is well organized in the country. We are well supplied with priests; we have churches, and hospitals, and orphanages; our parochial schools are increasing in number, and becoming more efficient every year; we have an ample equipment of Catholic colleges; and, to crown all, we have a Catholic university in the national capital. This organization, of course, is not all-sufficient. It is only a means to an end. The end of religion is the union of men's hearts with God—personal sanctification. The Kingdom of God is within. Without personal sanctification our numbers, or wealth, or stately edifices are of little avail. Still organization is indispensable; the lack of it in years gone by was the cause of many losses to the Church; its existence to-day is the surest guarantee of the Church's prosperity in the future.

We are not among the sanguine few who look for the conversion of the United States, as a nation, to the Catholic Church; still, we believe with that distinguished convert, Father Hecker, that the affirmation of any one truth, logically followed out, leads to the knowledge and the affirmation of all truth:—

The American republic [he says] began afresh in the last century by the declaration of certain evident truths of reason.

The law of its progression consists in tracing these truths out to their logical connection with all other truths, and finally coming to the knowledge of all truth, both in the natural and supernatural order, ending in the affirmation of universal truth, and the union with the source of all truth—God. The dominant tendency of the American people is towards the law of the positive sequence of truth. The course of Europe was that of negation; the course of the United States was that of affirmation. The first was destructive, the second was constructive. The one was degrading, the other was elevating. That bred dissension, this created union. Europe, under the lead of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, turned its back to Catholicity, and entered upon the downward road that ends in death; the republic of the United States, in affirming man's natural rights, started in the eighteenth century with its face to Catholicity, and is in the ascending way of life to God.¹

Some of the ablest men and women from every station in life, and from every profession in this country, have become converts to the Church, and have found that she alone affords them an opportunity of becoming Christians without violating the laws of their reason, and without stifling the dictates of their conscience. The number of such conversions may be comparatively small, but it is increasing, surely and steadily. If the increase is to continue, if the Catholic Church is to succeed in Christianizing the American people as she has Christianized all European countries, it will be through the agency of an enlightened and zealous clergy. If those who are entrusted with the spiritual guidance of the people in this country, where the struggle between the Church and her enemies is mostly intellectual, have that broad education which will give them the right to speak and to teach with authority; if they are truly zealous, in sympathy with the people and with their surroundings, taking an active and intelligent interest in all movements for the social as well as the spiritual advancement of the people, the future of Catholicity in the United States will be a glorious one.

The prosperity of the Catholic Church, in this republic is also the surest guarantee for the preservation of its

¹ *The Church and the Age*, p. 97.

liberty, and its advancement along the lines of the highest and purest civilization. A republic can stand only as it rests upon the virtues of the people; and the Catholic Church in this country to-day is the only force mighty enough to stem the tide of moral corruption which threatens to inundate the land.

Here is our answer [says Dr. Brownson] to those who tell us Catholicity is incompatible with free institutions. We tell them that they cannot maintain free institutions without it. It is not a free government that makes a free people, but a free people that makes a free government; and we know no freedom but that wherewith the Son makes free.¹

P. GRIFFY.

¹ Brownson's *Works*, vol. x., p. 35.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENT OF FEAR—IS FEAR AN IMPEDIMENT OF THE NATURAL LAW—CIVIL DIRIMENT IMPEDIMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the wilds of Australia one man approaches another, and declares he will blow out his brains with a pistol, if he does not deliver up his money at once. The other replies : ‘Do not do that, and I will marry your daughter.’ Is the marriage valid ?

P. P.

This marriage is invalid. We do not know what particular difficulty presents itself to our correspondent’s mind. If we did, it may have been possible to dispose of it briefly. But the indefiniteness of the difficulty proposed, makes it necessary to devote our available space to the more obvious points that may be raised in such a case.

The solution of this question under its various aspects involves the discussion of several questions which have divided the theologians. We cannot settle what they have left undecided. But, at the request of our correspondent, we give our opinion, for what it is worth.

In the case made, it is assumed that matrimonial consent is given (*non ficte*) under the influence of fear, which in the technical knowledge of the theologians, is *grave* and *unjust*, but which does not take away the use of reason.

Now, abstracting for the moment from other difficulties, it may appear that one of the conditions necessary to constitute fear, a diriment impediment, is wanting. For, we find, that to invalidate marriage, fear must be—(1) *gravis* ; (2) *injuste incussus* ; (3) *incussus in ordine ad matrimonium extorquendum*. The last condition may seem to be absent : the threat of violence was used to extort money, not a consent of marriage.

Again, has fear coming from a third person, as in this case, the effect of invalidating marriage, just as if it came from one of the contracting parties?

And finally, as our correspondent travelled so far for his hypothesis, he may seem desirous of raising the much-disputed question, *quo jure matrimonium irritat aut irritare potest metus*. If the natural law itself makes fear a diriment impediment, then, of course, this marriage, *ceteris ponendis*, should be pronounced invalid, even though its validity is untouched by any positive law, civil or ecclesiastical. If the impediment arises from human positive law only, then the further question presents itself, Can this impediment be set up, in the case of unbaptized persons, by the State, so that the impediment may exist even in the case of those not subject to the Church; or can the impediment arise from ecclesiastical law only?

The first point raised is easily disposed of. It is, indeed, the generally accepted teaching of theologians, that fear does not invalidate marriage, unless it be used with a view to extorting matrimonial consent. It is not, however, necessary that this end should have been intended *ab initio*. Fear, originally used, from some other motive—to extort money, *v.g.*—may be afterwards continued so as to force a consent to marriage. This is what Lehmkuhl means when he says: ‘*Metus injuste debet esse incussus aut saltem protractus in ordine ad extorquendum matrimonium.*’¹ This is precisely what happens in the case proposed. At first, a threat is used to extort money; then, when the promise of marriage with the highwayman’s daughter is made, and accepted, the threat is still continued, in order to secure the fulfilment of that promise. The threat now takes the form, ‘marry my daughter, else I must have your money or your life.’ Such a threat, from the moment the promise of marriage with the daughter is accepted, is *in ordine matrimonium extorquendum*. So far, therefore, there is no reason to think that the conditions requisite for the diriment impediment of fear are not verified.

¹ ii. 736.

As regards the second point, it will be sufficient to quote Feije, to prove that fear, coming from a third party, has the same effect as if it came from one of the parties to the marriage :—

Invalidum est matrimonium . . . sive metus incussus ab ipso contrahente *sive a tertio*, aut absque aut ex mandato ejus illius; sive demum tertius ille utilitatem ex eo matrimonio referat sive non referat.¹

Thirdly, we inquired, does the impediment of fear arise from the natural law? If the answer be in the affirmative, the marriage in question is invalid independently of all positive legislation, civil and ecclesiastical.

Theologians are much divided on this subject. Sanchez, Lugo, Laymann, and Feije, may be quoted for the negative opinion; on the other hand, St. Alphonsus, Scotus, Molina, Diana, Gobat, Marc, Aertnys, Konings, and Ballerini, contend that the impediment (certainly, or more probably) comes from the natural law.

We are disposed to adopt this second opinion as more probable. For the natural law will not invest with irrevocable efficacy a consent extorted by grave unjust fear. Regarding contracts generally, theologians, therefore, teach that a contract entered into through grave unjust fear, is either void *ab initio* or voidable *ad nutum metum patientis*. But matrimony once validly contracted is indissoluble. Therefore, the natural law will not invest with efficacy a matrimonial consent extorted by grave fear; in other words, such a consent is *jure naturae* invalid *ab initio*.

Feije endeavours to evade the force of this argument by saying, that if this reasoning were sound, marriage contracted *ex dolo* would be invalid *jure naturae*. For, he contends, there is a perfect parity between fear and fraud in the case, and the necessity for invalidating the marriage is the same in both cases—*ad injuriam reparandam*. But he seems to overlook the fact, that the Church herself, on his own theory, makes the very distinction that he is at pains to ignore. For the Church, if not the natural law, has

¹ N. 135. Conf. Lugo, *De Jus et Jure*, xxii., sec. vii., n. 172.

made *fear* a diriment impediment; she has not constituted *fraud* an impediment. Surely, the Church has not made this distinction where she discovered no disparity. Feije, further, contends that there is no necessity for any remedy—invalidity or any other—for injury inflicted. For the person who suffers fear is not bound to give a *true* consent. It would seem to us that this argument overturns the common teaching of theologians—Feije himself among them—that bilateral contracts made *ex metu* may be rescinded. If his argument prove that marriage contracted *ex metu* is not *invalid* because, as he urges, a person might have given a fictitious consent, it should prove that a contract of sale entered into *ex metu* cannot be rescinded because the same remedy was available. We are, therefore, inclined to the opinion that fear is an impediment *jure naturae*, and that persons are, consequently, affected by it independently of all positive legislation.

We now come to the last point raised above. Can the State set up diriment impediments? The State can, of course, legislate regarding the *civil effects* of marriage. But can the civil law touch the *validity* of the marriage contract? The State has no power to make impediments affecting the validity of marriage between baptized persons. That power belongs to the Church alone. Has the State, however, a right to constitute civil impediments affecting the validity of marriage between unbaptized persons? If we believe, with Feije, for example, that fear is not an impediment of the natural law, can the civil authority make it an impediment to the valid marriage of unbaptized persons? According to English law, a marriage is, we believe, invalid, if force has been used in obtaining the marriage. Is this civil impediment capable of invalidating the marriage of two unbaptized persons—two Quakers—not merely before the civil law, but before God? In the case our correspondent makes, the marriage in question may be a non-christian marriage, and unaffected by the ecclesiastical impediment of fear. Then, if there be no impediment *jure naturae*, it remains to ask, whether the marriage may be invalidated in

virtue of a provision of civil law—if such there be—binding in the case contemplated.

Here, again, the theologians are divided. Sanchez, and the vast majority of the older theologians, and with them many recent writers—among them, Marc, Ballerini, Palmieri, Hammerstein—concede this power to the State. Many, especially among the moderns, with Perrone, Feije, Haine, Aertnys, deny the State the right to make diriment impediments.

Apart altogether from the authority of theologians, and the practice of the Church in this matter, it would appear clear to us that the State has jurisdiction over the marriage contracts of those not subject to the Church by baptism. For, it seems evident, in the first place, that *jure naturae* there should be some public authority having jurisdiction over the marriage contract—some authority to determine and define the limits and conditions of the impediments of the natural law, and, where the circumstances require it, to create new impediments. Therefore, antecedently to the establishment of the Church, and the promulgation of the Gospel, the State, being (for all those who had not, with the Jews, received a special revelation) the only existing public authority, must have had jurisdiction over the marriage contract. To say, with some theologians, that marriage, even of infidels, is a *res sacra*, and, therefore, is outside the jurisdiction of the civil power, is to misinterpret the functions of the State. In the natural order, would the State not be bound to provide for, and regulate external public worship? Before the promulgation of the Gospel, the head of the State not merely had the right, but, *per se*, he was bound to promote external public worship. And surely public worship is *res sacra*.

Now, however, the Gospel is everywhere promulgated; the Church is everywhere the divinely constituted guardian of the matrimonial contract. Has the State, therefore, lost *all* matrimonial jurisdiction? It has lost all jurisdiction over *Christian* marriages; this is certain. But the State still retains, we think, jurisdiction over *non-Christian* marriage—the marriage of the unbaptized, namely. For the

State is the only public authority to which the unbaptized are subject. Nor is there any sufficient reason for thinking that the promulgation of the Gospel has limited the civil power in relation to them. Even in regard to the marriages of the faithful, the sole reason why they are no longer subject to the State is, that in this case the marriage contract is elevated to the dignity of a sacrament ; and the Church is by divine appointment, the sole custodian of the sacraments. This is evidently the mind of Pius VI., when he writes :—

Dogma est fidei ut matrimonium quod ante adventum Christi nihil aliud erat, nisi indissolubilis quidam contractus, illud post Christi adventum evaserit unum ex septem legis evangelicæ sacramentis . . . *Hinc fit*, ut ad solam Ecclesiam, cui tota de sacramentis est cura concredita, jus omne ac potestas pertineat, suam assignandi formam huic contractui, ad sublimiorem sacramenti naturam evecto . . .¹

In the mind of the Pontiff, the fact that marriage among the faithful, is a sacrament, is *the* reason why Christian marriage, though a contract, is removed from the category of mere contracts, where it would be subject to the civil power, and is placed under the sole jurisdiction of the Church ; obviously, this reason does not touch non-christian marriages. They, therefore, remain subject to the civil authority.

But, whatever may be thought of these arguments, we can, fortunately, appeal to the authority of Propaganda and of the Holy Office in support of our view. Many of our readers will have seen it denied that there is any warrant for saying that the Roman Congregations have ever sanctioned or acted on the opinion allowing the State matrimonial jurisdiction.² But the rather recent publication of the *Collectanea Congr. de Prop. Fide* seems to settle this point. We find there the clearest evidence that the validity of civil diriment impediments has been more than once allowed by the Roman Congregations: In view of the statements and opinions of many recent writers, it will be

¹ Vid apud Palmieri *De Matrim.*, p. 265. Romæ, 1880.

² See Feije, n. 69.

interesting to print the following questions with the replies of the Congregations:—

S. C. de Prop. Fid.—C. P. pro Sin. 24 Junii, 1820—Vic. Ap. Tunk. Occid.—Vir infidelis qui cum muliere infideli matrimonium inierat, omitta quadam caerimonia, cujus omittio juxta Tunkini regestas censetur matrimonii impedimentum dirimens, ab ea muliere discessit et aliam uxorem christianam duxit; christianam ipse fidem amplectens, baptismum petit. Teneturne primam ab eo derelictam conjugem interpellare, an et ipsa Christi fidem profiteri et cum eo redire velit, an saltem pacifice cum eo, absque Creatoris contumelia cohabitare consentiat? Si Christiana fieri, aut saltem cum praefato viro pacifice cohabitare consentiat illa mulier, tenetur ne ad illam vedire? Si cum priore hac conjugē, facta christiana, reconcilietur, et stet inter ambos verum ac legitimum matrimonium, debetne ab iis renovari consensus? Uno verbo, impedimentum dirimens a Principe infidele sancitum, aut apud gentem infidelem antiqua et communi invectum consuetudine, redditne irrita et invalida matrimonia inter viros et mulieres infideles cum tali impedimento contracta?

R. esse *nullum primum* et secundum matrimonium; non esse hinc locum interpellationi, sed esse locum novo matrimonio, servatis, servandis, et detur instructio.

The Congregation clearly declares this marriage invalidated by the civil diriment impediment. At the request of the Congregation, an instruction on this case was prepared by Rev. D. A. (afterwards Cardinal) Frezza, from which we extract the following, as bearing out what we have above laid down regarding the nature and extent of the civil power:—

Ex quo enim Christus Dominus matrimonium, . . . ad sacramenti dignitatem erexit, saeculares Principes *nullam amplius* in illud ejusque vinculum potestatem *retinent* . . . Sed cum res sit de infidelium conjugio ratio Sacramenti, quae christianorum matrimonium Ecclesiae ordinationi subjecit, plane cessat . . . Sequitur hinc Principes saeculares, sive fideles, sive infideles, plenissimam potestatem retinere in matrimonia subditorum infidelium, ut scilicet, apposisis impedimentis, quae juri naturali ac divino adversa non sint, eadem non solum quod ad civiles effectus sed etiam quod ad conjugale vinculum penitus rescindant.

We stated that the force of civil diriment impediments had been more than once admitted by the Roman Congre-

gations. We venture to add here, therefore, a reply of the Holy Office to bear out our assertion:—

S. C. S. officii 20 Sept. 1854, Vic. Ap. Jun-Nan. In istis missionibus saepe evenit ut minor fratris sui majoris defuncti uxorem ducat et postea convertatur. Difficillime separari possunt propter prolem jam susceptam vel periculum ne avertantur a fide. Ipsorum matrimonium invalidum esse videtur, utpote omnino a lege civile prohibitum, etiam sub poena mortis. Verum post baptismum ad convalidandum eorum matrimonium satis ne est ut tantummodo suum remonent consensum?

R. Praevia dispensatione disparitatis cultus et *primi affinitatis gradus* per facultates quibus missionarii gaudent, consensus esse renovandum. Quod si superventura mala deprehendantur, relinquendos in bona fide.

There was question of a marriage between two infidels—the marriage of a man with his deceased brother's wife. They were not subject to the ecclesiastical law, regarding affinity. Affinity *in gradu collateralis* is not an impediment of the natural law. The only question, therefore, was whether the civil law, which declared this affinity a diriment impediment, thereby invalidated the marriage. The reply is in effect, that the marriage was invalid, owing to the civil impediment of affinity; that dispensations in *disparitas cultus*, and in affinity having been granted, matrimonial consent was to be renewed.

In view of these authentic documents, we adhere, then, to the opinion of those, who grant the State jurisdiction over the marriages of infidels. This opinion is in harmony with the teaching and practice of the Roman authorities.

And to recapitulate, we say—(1st) that fear, originally used for another motive, but afterwards *ad matrimonium extorquendum*, invalidates marriage; (2nd) that *positis ponendis*, fear excited by a third party, invalidates marriage, as well as if it were to come from a contracting party; (3rd) that, in our opinion, fear, is an impediment *juris naturalis*; (4th) that the State has power to set up diriment impediments to the marriage of infidels—the impediment of fear, for instance, if it be not an impediment *juris naturalis*.

We can now reply very briefly to our correspondent's question. In the case he makes, the marriage is certainly invalid, *jure ecclesiastico*, if there be a question of Christians; if there be question of marriage *inter infideles* it is, we think, invalid if contracted with a *civil diriment* impediment; finally, if the case is covered by no positive law, civil or ecclesiastical, the marriage is still invalidated, in our opinion, by the natural law itself.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART ON THE FIRST FRIDAY OF THE MONTH

THE WASHING OF PURIFICATORS, CORPORALS, &c.

REV. DEAR SIR,—An answer to the two following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD will much oblige:—

1. The feast of the Sacred Heart was raised by our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., by Brief dated 25th June, 1889, from the rite of a greater double to that of a double of the first class. By the same Brief his Holiness granted the following privileges, which do not appear to be generally known; viz.—‘In those churches and oratories where on the first Friday of each month, in the morning, a special exercise of piety is practised in honour of the Sacred Heart, with the approbation of the Ordinary, the Holy Father has granted that to these exercises may be joined the celebration of the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, provided that a feast of our Lord, a double of the first class, or a privileged feria, vigil, or octave, does not fall on the same day.’ I have not read the Latin text of the Brief, but the above quotation is taken from an English version. Now the question I wish to ask is this:—Does this privilege of saying a Votive Mass apply to only one Mass, or when several priests celebrate in the same church, may each one say the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of the month, provided ‘a special exercise of piety is practised in honour of the Sacred Heart’ in that church?

2. How many times should purificators, corporals, and palls be washed, in the first instance by a priest? In some churches this washing is given twice, in others three times. May this be done by either a deacon or sub-deacon?

SACERDOS.

1. To our correspondent's first question we might reply, in the form consecrated by the usage of the Roman Congregations, *Affirmative ad primam partem; Negative ad secundam*. In other words, only one Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart can be celebrated, in the circumstances contemplated by our correspondent, on any day that excludes the celebration of an ordinary Votive or Requiem Mass. The terms on which the privilege was conceded make this sufficiently clear. The following is the original Latin text of the concession:—

In eis vero ecclesiis et oratoriis ubi feria vi, quae prima in unoquoque mense occurrit, peculiaria exercitia pietatis in honorem Divini Cordis, approbante loci Ordinario, mane peragentur; Beatissimus Pater indulsit, *ut hisce exercitiis addi valeat Missa votiva de Sacro Corde Jesu*; dummodo in illam diem non incidat, aliquod Festum Domini, aut duplex primi classis, vel Feria, Vigilia, Octava ex privilegiatis, de cetero servatis rubricis.

The words we have italicized seem to show that the motive of this concession was, that the Mass said in connection with the devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart, on the first Friday of the month, should correspond with these devotions, and should be, as it were, their complement. The decree says: *hisce exercitiis addi valeat Missa votiva*, and these words leave no room for doubt. We think that it is only the Mass said in connection with the devotions that enjoys the privileges mentioned in the decree. Moreover, this Mass, even when celebrated as a private or Low Mass, possesses all the solemnity as to rite, &c., which a Solemn Votive Mass possesses; and we are certain the Congregation of Rites never intended to permit the celebration of several Solemn Votive Masses (or their equivalents) in the same church on the same day.

2. A deacon or subdeacon, as well as a priest, may wash corporals, purificators, &c. It is not customary in this country, so far as we know, for anyone not in Holy Orders to be allowed to perform this office; but, according to Wapelhorst¹ and others, there is elsewhere a custom permitting this washing to be done by clerics in Minor Orders. All that our present information justifies us in saying about this custom is, that it is not condemned by any rubric or decree. It would seem that it is only the first washing that need necessarily be done by one in Holy Orders, or by a cleric, if we adopt the custom mentioned by Wapelhorst. The other washings may be committed to a lay person, though the altar linens, while washing, should in all cases be kept separate from other linens. It is, however, becoming that these linens should be washed a second time and a third time by the same person who is permitted to wash them the first time, and it is imperative that the water used for the first washing should be poured into the sacrarium.

COMMEMORATIONS IN THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly say what commemorations, if any, are to be made in the Mass of the Sacred Heart, which is now allowed in several churches and oratories on the first Friday of each month. Are we to make a commemoration of the displaced feast, of the *feria* in Lent and Advent, of the octave, &c.

SACERDOS.

We replied to a question similar to the above in the October number of the I. E. RECORD for 1892. This votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, as has been stated in the preceding reply, possesses the characteristics of a solemn votive Mass. Hence no commemoration whatsoever is made in it, nor is the *Oratio imperatu* said. The *Gloria* and *Credo* are both said, and the last Gospel is always the beginning of the Gospel of St. John.

¹ No. 10, 4.

THE RENEWAL OF RELIGIOUS VOWS

In the November number of the I. E. RECORD for 1896, we published a question on the above subject recently addressed to the Congregation of Rites, together with the reply of the Congregation. In the question reference was made to a general decree on the same subject, issued in 1894. At the request of several correspondents, who are anxious to study for themselves the terms of the decree of 1894, we here print it. The decree requires no commentary; we may, however, call attention to the difference in the ceremonial prescribed for the first emission of the vows, and for their annual renewal.

DECRETUM GENERALE.

Non semel a S. Rituum Congregatione exquisitum fuit: Utrum, et quomodo sollemnis votorum professio, aut eorum renovatio, quae in plerisque religiosis tam virorum quam mulierum Congregationibus locum habet, intra missam peragi valeat. Porro in peculiaribus casibus non una eademque fuit responsionis ratio, quin unquam Generale Decretum hoc de re editum fuerit. Quapropter, ad omnem ambiguitatem de medio tollendam, et uniformitatem inducendam, eadem Sacra Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Cardinali eidem Praefecto, cunctis mature perpensis, atque iis praesertim, quae in Bulla sa. me. Gregorii Papae XIII. 'Quanto fructuosius,' data kalendis Februarii, 1553, pro approbatione Constitutionum Societatis Jesu, hac de re continentur, in Ordinariis Comitibus subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequentem methodum, servari posse constituit: 'Celebrans profitentium vota excepturus, sumpto Ssmo. Eucharistiae Sacramento, absoluta confessione, ac verbis quae ante fidelium Communionem dici solent, Sacram Hostiam manu tenens, ad profitentes sese convertet: hi vero singuli alta voce professionem suam legent, ac postquam quisque legerit, statim Ssmum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum sumet. In renovatione autem votorum, Celebrans ad altare conversus expectet donec renovantes votorum formulam protulerint; qui, nisi pauci sint, omnes simul, uno praecunte formulam renovationis recitabunt, ac postea ex ordine Ssmum. Corpus Domini accipient. Haec tamen methodus, cum recepta fuerit, in respectivis Congregationum Constitutionibus minime apponenda est. Non obstantibus quibuscumque particularibus Decretis in contrarium facientibus, quae prorsus revocata atque abrogata censeantur.' Die 14 Augusti, 1894.

Facta autem SS. D. N. Leoni Papae XIII. per me infra-

scriptum Cardinalem Praefectum de praemissis relatione, idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster sententiam Sacrae Congregationis approbavit, ratam habuit, ac Decreta in contrarium facientia per praesens penitus abrogata esse declaravit. Die 27 iisdem mense et anno.

✠ C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.
L. ✠ S. ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ON A LESSON IN THE MAYNOOTH CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Your kind invitation in the November number of the I. E. RECORD for 1896, soliciting opinions on that very important subject, the Catechism, tempts me to trespass on your space. Allow me to express to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Diocesan Committee, my sincere thankfulness for the work they are doing in bringing out a new Catechism. I am one of those who have been sighing for such a work these many years, and I hail its approaching completion with the highest satisfaction.

But I fear many will desire no change, and, wedded to old ideas, and influenced by old memories, will not accept the new Catechism as the boon to catechists which I, though I have not seen it, confidently expect it to be. To show its need, and thus in a small way to assist indirectly in the ultimate object which His Grace and the Committee have in view, I propose to subject to examination—of no deep and searching kind—a lesson in the Catechism ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth. I select the chapter on the Church, as it treats of a subject of the utmost importance, and affords evidences—I do not say special ones—that bear upon my purpose.

Now, it will be admitted by all, that a proportion of parts should be observed in all catechisms. Since a catechetical primer cannot be a full course of instruction, and cannot embrace every point of doctrine, the proportionate importance of subjects should be well considered. Those doctrines which affect but little for good or evil the spiritual life of the people, should hold a subordinate position. On the contrary, those doctrines which are

bound up with vital religious principles and needs, which are the foundation of faith and morals, or their safeguards, those should receive the space, prominence, and attention due to their importance. Again—another side of the same principle—those tenets of Catholicity which are exposed to the frequent attacks of the enemy, with danger to the virtue of the people, should be surrounded with double walls of question and answer.

Now, I fear, I must say that in the Maynooth Catechism this principle is not always observed—is certainly not observed in this chapter. No one will deny that the divine authority of the Church is the most fundamental of doctrines after the existence of God. Shake it, and you shake Christendom as with an earthquake. Yet it receives not much more space, and not as much attention, as the sin of Adam. To the latter subject twelve rather long questions are devoted, while only twenty are given to the Church and the Primacy of the Pope. And who will say that that is the ratio of the respective importance of these subjects?

But besides this unjustly curt treatment of the subject the lesson has other defects of a more serious kind. One, that he who runs can read, is the absence of all reference to our Rule of Faith. One would think that order and logical necessity would demand an explanation of it in the very beginning of a chapter on the Church: it is not explained, nor even referred to. And we know how fond Protestants are of boasting of their Rule—‘the Bible, and the Bible alone.’ We know, too, they often attack Catholics—with no inconsiderable amount of success—on the strength of their principle. Would it not have been well to have pricked this bubble of Protestantism, shown its hollowness, and thus saved many Catholics from shame and injury to their faith? It could have been done with the waste of a very few words. It would have been enough to give but two reasons intelligible to any ordinary mind—the difficulty of understanding the Sacred Scriptures (2 Peter iii. 16), and, on account of the scarcity of Bibles, the impossibility of the multitude making use of such a rule for fifteen centuries after the Ascension. But this fundamental weakness of Western heresies is left untouched, and the opportunity is missed of solidly establishing the faith in the mind of the child.

But to pass on to the examination of the text. The answer to the second question—‘The true Church is the Holy Catholic Church’—is an assumption, premature and unproved, and would

be in its place only towards the end of the lesson. The answer to the third question, founded on this assumption, is largely useless in its scope and feeble in its argument. The necessity of faith, charity, and good works, is here proved, but it could have been omitted, and the chapter would gain in consecution of thought and clearness of arrangement. That the true Church has four marks, we must admit on the authority of the author. To establish this criterion of truth and error no appeal is made to Scripture or Creed, and the four marks themselves are applied to the Catholic Church in a manner that is scarcely theologically sound. The *external* unity is attempted to be proved by an *internal* quality—‘in being *one body* animated by one spirit, and one fold under one head and shepherd, Jesus Christ, who is over all the Church.’ This is confusing the marks of the Church and her qualities.

But the sanctity of the Church fares badly indeed. As explained in this lesson it fails to a considerable extent as a mark. All communions, as Perrone points out, claim sanctity as regards their founder, their doctrine, their sacraments, and many of their members. They have some show of reason for their claim, too, we must admit, when we consider the many cases in which hypocrisy puts on the garb of holiness, or respectability is taken for virtue, or love of self looks like the love of God. Hence we can appeal with much effect to the sanctity of the Church as a mark of her divinity only when it becomes *heroic*. Special stress should, therefore, be laid upon the practice of the evangelical counsels as found in Sacred Scripture. ‘*A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos* ;’ and if so, no more distinctive mark of the true Church could be given than the fruit, ripe and luscious, of poverty, chastity, and obedience borne by the Catholic Church. And further, why not mention the *charismata*, and especially the gift of miracles, giving Scripture reference and the doctrine of the Church regarding it? The power is so distinctively Catholic—a feature which the denial of miracles by Protestants heightens—is so characteristic of the apostolic age as represented in the New Testament, is so pregnant with meaning, that by itself it looks like a fifth mark. It is certainly of such importance as an evidence of truth that it should not be overlooked. For these reasons it is to be feared that the mark of sanctity, as explained in the Catechism, is lost upon those outside of the Church, and brings conviction to the mind of those within largely through their own prejudices.

The exposition of the Catholicity of the Church is better, but is not distinguished for correctness of theology. Towards the end a quality of the Church—the indefectibility—is dragged in to serve as a mark, and a prophecy is indulged in, piously enough, but uselessly. That the Church ‘shall last to the end of time’ is a prediction which can be proved fulfilled only at the end of the world, and can be of no service to us of this day.

The apostolicity has scarcely had justice done it. The derivation of the Orders and the mission of the Church through the unbroken line of her pastors is omitted. And why not make mention here—or in connection with the primacy—of that great chain of two hundred and fifty-seven Popes, connecting by link after link the Church of to-day with the Church of Peter and the other Apostles? It would have been just the thing to catch the mind of a child, and take it from the region of abstract thought—a difficulty with the young—into a real flesh-and-blood notion. Here too, as in the last, the exposition ends in prophecy and declamation: the Church is apostolical ‘because it never ceased, and never will cease, to teach their [the Apostles’] doctrine.’

But I will end here. Without examining the chapter on the Primacy of the Pope—which is not perfection—enough has been said to show that this lesson is a failure and unworthy of its subject. In saying this, I trust I am free from exaggeration. Its omissions of fundamental principles, its assumptions in the answers, its want of orderly treatment and correct theology, its neglect to bring out the weakness of heresy and the divine characteristics of Catholicity, are so plain on the face of it, that I cannot help saying so. Those who do not agree with me in all that has been said will agree with me at least in this: that there is room, if not need, for a new Catechism.

I remain, dear Mr. Editor,

Faithfully yours,

V.

DOCUMENTS

DECREE GRANTING TO THE DIOCESE OF CORK THE FEAST OF THE HOLY FAMILY FOR THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY, WITH THE PRIVILEGE OF TRANSFERRING IT AS OFTEN AS IT IS IMPEDED ON THIS SUNDAY

BEATISSIME PATER

Alphonsus O'Callaghan Ord. Praed. Episcopus Corcagiensis humiliter supplicat privilegium pro clero universo tam seculari quam regulari, Dioecesis Corcagiensis celebrandi quotannis Festum S. Familiae Nazarenae, Dominica III. post Epiphaniam sub ritu duplicis majoris cum officio et Missa nuper approbatis, facta potestate idem festum transferendi in primam subsequentem diem liberam juxta rubricam, quoties enunciata Dominica occurreret.

Ex Audientia Ssmi. habita, die 24 Novembris, 1896.

Ssmus. Dominus Noster Leo, Divinia Providentia P.P. XIII., referente me infrascripto, S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia in omnibus juxta preces : Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus ejusdem S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Die et Anno uti supra.

A. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

DECREE GRANTING TO THE DIOCESE OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN ALL THE INDULGENCES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE 'QUARANT 'ORE' THOUGH THE EXPOSITION IS INTERRUPTED DURING THE HOURS OF NIGHT

BEATISSIME PATER

Jacobus Lynch, Episcopus Kildarensis et Leighlinensis quo magis erga SS. Eucharistiae Sacramentum plebis sibi commissae devotio accendatur magnopere cupit preces quadraginta horarum in suam, quibus convenit locis, introducere dioecesim. Ut vero incommoda et pericula praecaveantur per me infrascriptum Coadjutorem humillime petit, ut occasione precum praedictarum in

sua dioecesi concedatur sine detrimento privilegiorum et indulgentiarum SS. Sacramentum tota die juxta morem expositum post Benedictionem singulis Vesperis populo factum tabernaculo reponere.

PATRITIUS FOLEY, *Episcopus Coadjutor.*

Ex Audientia Ssmi. habite, die 8 Septembris, 1896

Ssmus. D. N. Leo Divina Providentia P.P. XIII. referente infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario attentis expositis, benigne indulsit, ut in Ecclesiis et publicis Oratoriis memoratae diocesis Kildarensis et Leighlinensis peragi valeat pium exercitium quadraginta horarum, facta expositione SSmi. Eucharistiae Sacramenti per triduum horis diurnis tantum a mane usque ad vesperam, horis autem nocturnis interpolatis, cum applicatione omnium indulgentiarum eidem pio exercitio a Summis Pontificibus concessarum, quamvis ea omnia servari nequeant, quae in Instructione sa. me. Clementis VIII. (XI.?) praescripta sunt; caeterisque in contrarium nihil obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die et anno ut supra.

Pro B. P. D., Secr.
C. LAURENTI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

OUR MARTYRS: A Record of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith under the Penal Laws in Ireland. By the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Fallon & Co. 1896.

ON reading the title-page of this book, the public will be reminded of the great loss which the country sustained some months ago in the death of its distinguished author. A zealous priest of an illustrious order—a profound scholar in the history and general antiquities of his country, indefatigable in research, skilful in compilation, an active member of every movement for the furtherance of historical and antiquarian studies, the official promoter of the cause of the Irish martyrs—it was with reason he was held in respect while living, and it is with reason his memory claims respect after death. The labour of his life has been fruitful in valuable results—many, it may be, unrecorded, as are often the best achievements of lives like his, but many too which history will gratefully acknowledge and transmit. Perhaps his best known work is *Cromwell in Ireland*, a characteristically truthful narrative of that dark but glorious chapter in the record of our country's sufferings. His *History of Ireland* is the best school manual on the subject we know of. His merit as an editor of manuscript materials is established by the publication and translation of the *Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii S. Crucis in Hibernia*, and *Synopsis Nonnullorum Sanctorum Illustriisque Hibernorum Monachorum Cisterciensium* (1 vol. 4to, 1891). The present work was already in the press at the time of Dr. Murphy's death, and, with the exception of the preface, which has been written by another hand, the book comes to us as he left it.

We may best estimate its worth by explaining its purpose and plan. It does not pretend to paint the lives and sufferings of our martyrs with the literary skill and dramatic effect which the subject would well admit, but merely to introduce to the public, partly by quotation, partly by reference, the authentic materials of their history, collected originally by Dr. Murphy for the purpose of a judicial process. The book bears pretty much the same relation to a finished history as an attorney's instruction

to a counsel's defence. We have no right to find fault with Dr. Murphy for not attempting the counsel's part; what he did attempt he has, as far as we can judge, satisfactorily accomplished, and there is no higher praise to bestow. Of the industry employed, we may form some conjecture from the extensive catalogue of old, rare, out-of-the-way books and manuscripts which are given as among the more important sources quoted from or referred to. If any subsequent worker in the same field possesses the talent and feels the noble inspiration to perfect the work and popularize the memory of our martyred heroes, it is he, we believe, will appreciate the value of Dr. Murphy's labours as a preparation for his own.

The plan of the book is determined by its purpose. Dr. Murphy had written a discussion on the theological definition of martyrdom, and its application to the case of his clients; but, as it could not be found among his papers, its place has been supplied by the writer of the preface. The Introduction gives an excellent digest of the penal laws, intended to show that their spirit was essentially hatred of the Catholic religion, and that, consequently, the victims of their operation were truly martyrs in the theological sense. To some this might appear superfluous, but for Dr. Murphy's purpose it is very apt. Then follows the record proper, where will be found, arranged under the years of their death, the names of more than two hundred and fifty martyrs, together with several communities, some of forty and fifty members, whose names, we take it, have been lost to history though inscribed in the Book of Life. The sketches given, some very brief, others more extended, as materials offered, are almost entirely transcripts from contemporary authorities, in many cases recording the testimony of eye-witnesses. As a rule, there is given only the account of one writer, but where corroboration seemed necessary other authorities are quoted, and in all cases reference is made to all the known sources. Seldom does Dr. Murphy make a statement in his own words; never without indicating his authority. Discrepancies between the original authorities, where they occur, are pointed out, and some useful critical remarks subjoined in the foot-notes. The period covered by his researches is one hundred and fifty-six years, from 1535 to 1691; and though it is true that heaven alone holds a complete list of our martyrs during those years, we may take it that human records have few, if any, additional names to yield.

The martyr-roll itself, as we have it in this book, is an interesting study. Seven archbishops are among the names of glory, all four provinces contributing. Armagh still holds the primacy with those purple-clad, palm-bearing champions; Cashel follows after with two; and Dublin and Tuam with one each. Nine rulers of suffragan sees swell the mitred throng. Priests, secular and religious, in mingled concourse, surround the Pontiff band; while knights and soldiers and citizens, virgins and widows and matrons make a fringe for the shining crowd. It will be noticed that some of the names in Dr. Murphy's list are already *venerable*, being included among the English martyrs whose cause was admitted in 1886 to the Congregation of Rites. They are rightly claimed as *our* martyrs, for though it was English soil that was sanctified by their blood, the blood itself was Irish, and, beside its shedding there, some of them had no connection with the sister isle.

P. J. T.

CANTIONES ECCLESIASTICAE ad voces aequales. Ecclesiastical Chants for Soprano and Alto voices. By Michael Haller, op. 43. Three Parts. Ratisbon : A. Coppenrath.¹

THIS collection of compositions by Haller will, doubtless, prove very acceptable to choirs consisting solely of female voices. Especially the third part will be very welcome to convent choirs, as it contains some of the chants for the ceremonies of reception or profession. It gives settings, for three equal voices, of the *Regnum mundi*, *Veni electamca*, *Desponsari, dilecta, veni*, *Veni sponsa Christi* (two settings), and *Haec est quae nescivit*, to which is added an Offertory, *Ave Maria*. The first part also contains a three-part *Veni sponsa Christi*, and *Qui confidunt in Domino*, together with an *Ecce Sacerdos*, and some hymns to the Blessed Sacrament. The second part gives compositions to texts, which, we are sure, many choirs have often been anxious to sing; namely, a Hymn and an Offertory of the Holy Name, and the Gradual and Offertory of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. There are, besides, two four-part compositions for Easter time. Separate voice parts are published for each of the three parts of this useful work.

¹ Complaints have frequently been made about the difficulty of procuring music published on the Continent. If anyone who experiences this difficulty will send his order to the Rev. H. Bewerunge, Maynooth College, he will see that it will be promptly executed.

CATHOLIC CHURCH MUSIC. Parts VI. and IX. Eucharistic Hymns for two, three, and four female voices. By Joseph Modlmayr. Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath.

As there is a great demand for hymns to the Blessed Sacrament composed for equal voices, we beg to recommend the above artistic and devotional settings. The work in question contains three compositions for two parts, four for three, and two for four parts. Separate voice parts are published.

REPERTORIUM OF CHURCH MUSIC. Part 5 Missa in honorem St. Cæciliæ, for three equal voices and organ. By P. Piel. Part 38. Missa VI.^a in hon. Purissimi Cordis B.M.V., for three male voices and organ. By Jos. Beltjens.

UNDER the general title of *Repertorium of Church Music*, Messrs. Feuchtinger and Gleichauf, of Ratisbon, have brought out in a neat and handy form some useful compositions which have been published first as musical supplements of the *Courrier de Saint Grégoir*, in Liège. The above-mentioned three-parts Masses, Piel's, for either female voices or male voices, and Beltjens' for male voices, can be particularly recommended as fairly easy and melodious compositions. The voice parts are printed separately.

MISSA SEXTA DECIMA. In honorem S. Antonii de Padua. Mass with organ accompaniment. By Michael Haller, op. 62. Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath.

THE German composers of the Cecilian School rarely edit Masses with organ accompaniment, most of the continental choirs preferring the *a capella* style of singing. As the conditions of our choirs, however, generally necessitate the use of the organ for accompaniment, we must all the more welcome Haller's easy and pleasing Mass in honour of St. Antony. There are two editions of it, for both of which scores and separate parts are published—one for two mixed voices, and one for four mixed voices. Choirs with a small number of singers, or with one part insufficiently provided for, could not do better than select the first edition, in which all the female voices sing the one part, all the male voices the other. This arrangement will produce, in the case mentioned, a fuller effect than if the voices were distributed over the four parts.

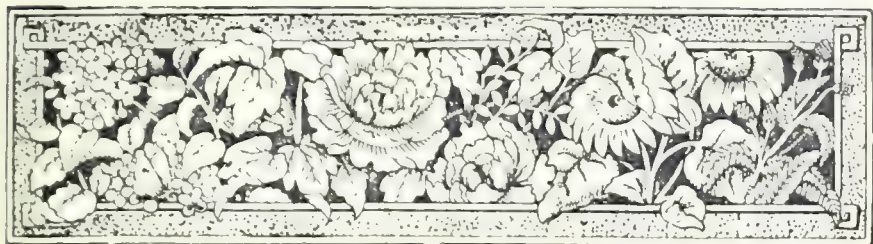
H. B.

THE WONDERFUL FLOWER OF WOXINDON. Freiburg:
Herder

THIS is the title of a volume of 500 pages, by Rev. Joseph Spelman, S.J. It is an historical romance, dealing with the Penal days under Elizabeth, and principally with the time and circumstances of the conspiracy of the ill-fated Babington and his associates for the release of Mary Stuart. The incidents portrayed are of authentic history, with a slight thread of fiction to connect the principal details of the story. The scene is laid in London and the country in its vicinity. The story is told in the form of reminiscences of three of the principal actors, each taking up the narration of that part in which he himself was principally engaged. The execution of this plan gives a quaint and archaic colouring to the whole.

The author has succeeded in giving us a very vivid picture of the political and religious life of this troubled period. He has imparted also much valuable information with regard to the character and conduct of the Queen of Scots. He has followed closely in this the authority of the Protestant historian, Hosack, whose revelation of the treacherous and intriguing statecraft of which she was made the victim is truly appalling. In a few touches here and there the character of Elizabeth is also well delineated by one of the autobiographers. The sufferings of the Catholics under the Penal *regime*, the many stratagems adopted by the pious priests in ministering to their co-religionists, and the zeal and ardour displayed by the members of the illustrious Order of St. Ignatius, supply the tale with many affecting and elevating incidents. To one thing in the story we make objection—the incident of the Wonderful Flower. This we consider too improbable, even for romance; and, if we except that it furnishes a catching title to the volume, it seems to serve no useful purpose, as it neither furthers nor retards the action of the plot. The volume is neatly printed and bound.

C. M.



IRISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

IT is more than a thousand years ago that good Walafrid Strabo spoke of the migratory tendencies of the Irish people: 'Quibus mos peregrinandi paene in naturam conversa est.' Since then they have certainly not belied the judgment of the old magister, and the annals of the Continent are proof that a multitude of the Irish Gael has found its way to every nation and every city of Europe, especially since the downfall of the Irish State at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We read with astonishment that nearly a million of Irishmen fought and perished in the service of the French crown, and we instinctively add to that number all those who followed the wavering fortunes of Spain, Austria, and Russia during the same epoch, not to speak of the minor powers of Europe. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ireland seems to have been, like Switzerland in the fifteenth, a *pepinière* of swordsmen and lancers, an inexhaustible source of warlike men.

The discovery of the New World opened up to the Gael, as to all other European peoples, boundless occasions for the satisfaction of the spirit of adventure, and when the domestic struggle for political independence that fills and consecrates the sixteenth century in Ireland was over, and the great earls had fled in despair, we see the Irish Gael appearing in the New World, in constantly growing numbers, and exercising upon its fortunes no despicable influence. Tradition has it that Miles Standish was an Irishman and a

Catholic. An Irishman, William, is put by Navarrete among the companions of Columbus. Sir Thomas Dongan of Cork, 'a far-sighted and able man,' was Governor of New York towards the end of the seventeenth century, and in the course of the eighteenth many a stout ship bore its hundreds of Irish immigrants into the ports of Philadelphia, New York, New London, and Baltimore. Colonial development, war, foreign commerce, domestic discontent, religious oppression were among the causes that filled with Irishmen the vessels that regularly sailed from Dublin, Cork, and Londonderry. Their descendants, unhappily, are lost to the faith to-day by no fault of theirs. It is sad to think of the religious privations of men like Daniel O'Sullivan, the Kerry schoolmaster, who penetrated the wilds of New Hampshire about the middle of the eighteenth century, and became the progenitor of the revolutionary Sullivans and of other families famous to-day in the New England States. During the eighteenth century, the colonial ports were never without their fair proportion of Irishmen, for the sea has ever been as dear to the men of Erin as to the men of England, and they may praise with equal zeal—

This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone, set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house.

It is certain that Northern New York and Pennsylvania received large accessions of Gaelic Catholics in the first half of the eighteenth century, both Scotch and Irish Gael. Scarcely a month passes that the newspapers of the period do not chronicle the arrival of hundreds. In the latter half of the century New London, in Connecticut, was a favourite port of entry for Irish immigrants, and the eastern portion of that State was largely settled by Irish, though of Protestant faith. The revolutionary war brought many Irishmen to the colonies, for several of the British regiments were entirely composed of the Gael. On the American side a good portion of the soldiers were Irishmen, according to the testimony of General Lee, cited by the British General Robertson before the Committee of the House of Commons,

in 1778. In this country we are all familiar with similar evidences of George Washington and of Verplank, not to speak of the famous phrase of Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington, that 'in the revolutionary war Ireland furnished one hundred men to any single man furnished by any foreign nation.'

Coming down from the earliest English settlement of this territory, there is in the United States, especially in Virginia and New England, a deep strain of Gaelic blood, one of whose sources is the steady kidnapping, during the seventeenth century, of thousands of Irish girls and boys, brought over to the West Indian Colonies, and to Virginia and New England in particular. The curious researches of Mr. John Prendergast in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, and the 'permits' of Cromwell in the 'State Papers' of England, are irrefragable proofs of this practice. Nevertheless, neither this infusion of Gaelic blood, nor the great number of eighteenth century Irish redemptioners (temporary bondsmen), nor the other sources of Irish immigration previous to the opening of the nineteenth century, would ever have brought about the marvellous results that have since come to pass through the mighty exodus of an entire people from the venerable seat of its history and its power. This exodus is yet too near us, and its results are yet too personal and present, to permit my discussing it from a philosophical point of view. Hence I shall confine myself to some facts, and to such considerations as seem best fitted for the direction of those who intend in the future to cast in their lot with the great Republic of the West, the world's great bulwark of liberty without license, and individual freedom without anarchy or despotism.

We are told by Dr. Edward Young, formerly Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, that 'prior to the year 1820 no official records were kept of the influx of foreign population to this country.' The same official estimates that between 1776 and 1820 the aggregate immigration was about 250,000. The entire population of the colonies at the opening of the war was about

3,000,000, one-third of whom were probably born on the other side of the Atlantic, while the parents of a large portion of the remainder were among the early immigrants. If we apply to this first period, when immigration statistics were unknown, the ratio of proportion which has steadily obtained since then between the emigrants from the British Isles, we shall conclude that from 1776 to 1895 Ireland has contributed fully seventy per cent. of the emigration from the political island-world of Great Britain. The total trans-atlantic immigration to the United States since 1820, from all parts whatsoever, is put down at 17,708,331. Of this vast number the British Isles have contributed, during these seventy-six years, 6,743,783, in the following proportion:—

Ireland	.	.	.	3,723,356
England	.	.	.	2,647,230
Scotland	.	.	.	373,197

In the same period Germany contributed 4,940,538; Norway and Sweden, 1,136,875; Austro-Hungary, 716,266; Italy, 680,568; and France, 392,359. It is to be noted that the strength of the Irish immigration antedates that of most other European nations, and, relatively to all, was long enormously in advance, when we consider the small bulk of the population whence it has been drawn. Premising that the total population of the United States according to the census of 1890, was 62,622,250, and that of this number, 53,332,063 were native born, 9,290,167 foreign born, that 55,157,210 were white, and about 7,470,040 were black, it may be of interest to the readers of the I. E. RECORD to read the following table, in which the Bureau of Statistics has tabulated the arrivals from Ireland by decades since 1820:—

1820-1830	.	.	.	50,724
1830-1840	.	.	.	207,381
1840-1850	.	.	.	780,719
1850-1860	.	.	.	914,119
1860-1870	.	.	.	435,778
1870-1880	.	.	.	436,871
1880-1890	.	.	.	655,482
1890-1895	.	.	.	242,282

3,723,356

This enormous Irish immigration to America is fully appreciated only when we remember that Canada, Australia, South Africa, the West Indies, and all the English colonies have been drawing heavily for their increase of population on the ever-teeming bosom of Ireland.

We must remember too that the nation which furnishes this multitude of immigrants is now one of the smallest on the earth, and that in less than fifty years it has sunk in population from about eight to considerably less than five million souls. Yet, strange phenomenon! while the nation has dwindled, the race has increased beyond all imagination, and it is calculated that to-day there are in the world no less than 20,000,000 men of direct Irish descent.

Our Treasury statistics show that the Irish immigration is drawn from that element of the population which furnishes the natural increase of any people. Between June 30, 1892, and June 30, 1893, out of a total of European immigration of 488,832, there came from Ireland 49,233 souls. Of that number 2,781 were under fifteen, 1,929 over forty, and 44,523 between fifteen and forty years of age. Of this number, 21,435 were males, and 23,088 were females.

In the decade 1880-1890, the Irish immigrants under fifteen were 92,308; over forty, 48,085; while those between fifteen and forty numbered 515,089. Thus Ireland contributed in *ten* years to the population of the United States about *one-ninth* of her own actual brawn and sinew, her grace and her gentleness. And the most ancient social organism of Europe is still pouring westward an endless stream of men and women, to those regions of Hy-Brasil that Brendan, doubtless, gazed upon, and whose sands the holy feet of Ailbe may have trodden!

In fifteen years the United States has received from Ireland about *one-fifth* of her actual population, as the following table shows. The figures are taken from the

latest Treasury statistics (1896), and the years begin and end on June 30 :—

1881	.	.	.	77,342
1882	.	.	.	76,432
1883	.	.	.	81,486
1884	.	.	.	63,344
1885	.	.	.	51,795
1886	.	.	.	49,619
1887	.	.	.	68,370
1888	.	.	.	73,513
1889	.	.	.	65,557
1890	.	.	.	53,024
1891	.	.	.	55,706
1892	.	.	.	55,467
1893	.	.	.	49,223
1894	.	.	.	33,904
1895	.	.	.	5,888

860,670

The greater part of this immigration has been and is yet drawn from the labouring classes, though it is pleasing to note that Ireland sends us, proportionately, as large a percentage of professional and skilled labour as any other nation. Our immigration laws are becoming more exacting as the nation awakens to certain dangers inevitable from the uncontrolled inpouring of European and Asiatic humanity, and to-day paupers or persons without any visible means of support, or likely to be a charge to the State, are rigidly excluded. Contract labourers are also excluded in the interest of our own multitude of workingmen, and the trend is towards a still more sweeping legislation. It is not likely, however, that the doors of the United States will ever be shut to those human elements that have brought it growth and greatness in the past, and are in harmony with the fundamental principles and the spirit of the principles of the American State ; whose responsibilities, it is true, grow greater with every decade, but whose possibilities open ever more widely to the eye of the patriotic citizen.

Where have these multitudes of Irish gone, and what are they doing? They are everywhere, in manufacturing New England and New York, in mining Pennsylvania, in the

agricultural Middle States and the North-west, on the Pacific slope, in the South Atlantic and the Gulf States. There is to-day scarcely an American hamlet in which the blood of the Milesian is not represented. The Irish are exceedingly numerous in many of our great cities, such as New York, Chicago, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, and others. In the Southern States, for obvious reasons, their number is not so great at present, but with the increasing prosperity of this favoured region we may expect soon to see a larger influx of the children of Erin. In many Western States, in communities that have sprung up within this generation, and in which ancient prejudice is weak, or comparatively unknown, the Irish enjoy a high degree of consideration and are among the prominent pioneers of this wonderful complexus of young and vigorous States. In the older States the social and religious dislike that once operated to the detriment of the Irish is disappearing rapidly, owing to several important reasons, chief among which is the ease with which the Irish immigrant merges into the political and social life around him, bringing with him the now common language, and accustomed from youth to a life of political activity and responsibility, and to the exercise of most, if not all, of the rights of a freeman.

No man born out of the United States may be president or vice-president; but in the Senate and the House of Representatives, on the judicial bench, in the army and navy, in the civil service, is an ever-growing number of men of Irish descent who shed lustre on their origin, and are beyond reproach as men and citizens. In education, law, journalism, literature, the plastic and applied arts, they hold foremost places, and their ardour and generosity lend much zest and colour to our national life. More than one critic of our manners notices a certain indescribable something in the American character borrowed from long and close contact with the Irishman, perhaps one expression of the strain of Irish blood that surely exists here from a very early date.

The presence of the Irishman may be traced all over the United States, if only by the nomenclature of towns and

cities. And many of their names date from the last century, while others are of yesterday. But in every State, in the oldest as in the newest, there are communities whose first settlers were numerous and affectionate enough to perpetuate in the New World the sweet name that recalled all they had sacrificed in the Old.

Very naturally, I will be asked what advice ought to be given the intending immigrant from Ireland. I might answer by referring to the natural advisers at home and here, as well as to the admirable literature which has grown up about this question in past years. Fr. Stephen Byrne, the works of Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, John Maguire, M.P., and Bishop Spalding, as well as the reports of the Colonization Society, contain invaluable suggestions, and are far from being antiquated. The files of the older Catholic newspapers, like the *Boston Pilot*, the *New York Freeman's Journal*, the *Philadelphia Standard and Times*, the *Baltimore Mirror*, and others, contain much valuable advice and direction, that any student of this question might well ponder over and digest before writing on it *ex professo*. I can only offer a few general suggestions, of a moral and political character, leaving to others the more practical and economic view of this grave problem.

1. The Irish immigrant ought to be a *model of the natural virtues*. He is usually a Catholic, and if the supernatural life of grace is not raised upon a foundation of natural virtue, he is apt to give a false impression of the nature, scope, and value of his religion. He must, therefore, adapt himself to the land in which he seeks a refuge, and he must remember that he owes a debt of gratitude to that country which opens wide its doors to him, and places within easy reach what is to-day the greatest of civil privileges, the American citizenship. He leaves a land where as yet he is debarred, directly or indirectly, from many things that his heart desires, but that his race or religion, or both, prevent him enjoying. He comes into the chief state of the New World, and in five years he walks a king among men, clothed with the panoply of free citizenship, with the right of suffrage, active and passive, eligible to every office but the highest,

from which, however, his children are not debarred. The very magnificence of this American political generosity makes many foreigners forget that it is a boon pure and simple, to which they have no right, and which may be curtailed or denied as easily as it has been lavished.

2. The American people admire thrift, perseverance, business honour, faith of contracts. Their's is a mighty commercial state; but it is no nation of shopkeepers, if by that be meant a 'gross, vulgarian' soul. They love the virtues that adorn the days of peace, but they are surely not deficient in those that befit the strenuous period of war. The energy which elsewhere is spent on mighty armaments and on mutual checkmating, is here expended on the forces of nature. From the mill-dam that treasures the 'power' for the New England factory to the wonderful harnessing of Niagara; from the turnpike and canal to the great iron roadways that bind the Atlantic and Pacific across a stretch of three thousand miles; from the modest steam-boat of Fulton to the mighty Indiana, or the Massachusetts, there has been in this country such a continuous development of all the business and commercial virtues as the world has never seen. What if there be excesses or dangers? Every healthy body has its crises, its perils, and states are not free from them. But the recuperative powers of this state are beyond calculation, for deep in the hearts of the vast majority of its citizens are planted religious conscience, belief in one God and His revelation, admiration and practice of virtue, natural and scriptural, charity and forbearance, belief in a future life of rewards and punishments.

3. There is here no public legalized blasphemy, no ostentatious violation of the Sunday rest, no cynical disregard of the claims of virtue, nor will the immigrant see here the idea of God and His guiding Providence relegated to the family or the individual. This nation of seventy millions reads with gladness and piety the annual formal message of our President, wherein God, Providence, Prayer, Christianity are formally allowed and commended to every citizen. The American heart is, therefore, a religious, nay, a Christian

heart; and in that heart lies the panacea for the crescent ills of our political life.

We have just gone through a most exciting election, in which the greatest domestic issues were involved, yet to-day peace reigns supreme over the land, and men look hopefully and fraternally into one another's eyes, who but yesterday contended in the political arena. We have great political parties divided on many public issues; yet all have confidence in the executive, and the rumours of war, or the complications of international problems, are calmly entrusted to the representatives of the people, with the most solemn confidence that they will not belie their mandates, will not act with haste or passion, or allow the dignity of the state to suffer.

4. It will not be amiss if I say here a few words on *good citizenship*. The Irish immigrant who arrives on our shores beholds before him a most varied political life, in which ward, town, city, county, state, and nation play each a *role* of absorbing interest. He is already half fitted by his language, domestic political training, and certain innate tendencies or qualities, to enter into this life. He usually does, and with no small share of success, for the Irish race has developed the world over, a rare political capacity, as the history of the English colonies alone will show, or a cursory view of the foreign relations of England in this century. On this blessed soil of freedom the Irish immigrant needs to cultivate every civic virtue, interest in all public problems, conscientious study of public issues, the sense of union for the common weal, unprejudiced devotion to the growth of the State, incorruptible exercise of the sacred right of the ballot, which is the holy fountain of our political life and well-being, and to poison or trifle with which is to cut at the root of our State. The laws guarantee and promise to protect the free exercise of the right of suffrage, and condemn any unwarranted interference with it. They provide for secret balloting, and they have left nothing undone to place the individual voter in a position to register his personal, conscientious opinions. Nor should anyone imagine that it is a slight thing to cast a vote against one's conscience, or as the result of a barter or trade. Beside

the scandal, there is the wrong done to the popular sovereignty, the *Majestas Americana*, which is endangered by no act so much as by the corrupt use of the ballot, an act which more than any other tends to justify the enemies of our State and our institutions.

5. It would not be proper for me to recommend publicly to immigrants any particular part of the United States. But it will not be out of place if they are recommended not to immigrate without some definite knowledge of where they are going, and what they expect to do. This is a dictate of natural prudence. There was a time when the Irish labourer alone controlled the labour market in the United States; but that day is gone, and this honourable labour is now contended for among us by many other European, and even Asiatic nationalities, driven to our hospitable shores by sorrowful circumstances, not unsimilar to those which motivated the coming of so many children of Erin. For various reasons they are often successful competitors in the lower kinds of labour; and while this forces the Irishman to go up in the social scale, it often deprives the arriving immigrant of that sure and permanent support which he could once count on during the first years of his American life.

6. When he can command it, the immigrant ought to bring with him a sum of money as large as his means or circumstances permit. This would be wise, even in a new colony. It is much more needed in these times, when the great cities are becoming congested, and sudden economic disturbances frighten the world of commerce and business into inactivity. It takes means also to cross the great stretches of the country, to purchase land, stock it, and live until the land is productive. Some of our staples have lately fluctuated greatly in value—for temporary and artificial reasons, all believe; nevertheless the penniless emigrant, who expects to live by the land, is gravely affected by these conditions, much more so than the native farmer, whose employed children, distant connections, familiarity with the country, may enable him to weather the storm. Ordinarily speaking, capital invested in the United States is most productive. There are many hundreds of millions of English capital

here—in our railroads, bridges, mines, mills, breweries, and the like ; and there is no reason why those who have capital in Ireland should not invest it here with great profit, especially if they come in person to superintend its employment. I recall more than one instance where Irishmen have prospered greatly on the funds they brought with them and invested in some of our American enterprises.

Perhaps someone will ask what I think of Irish immigration in general. Ought the Irish to stay at home, or ought they emigrate very largely, and especially to the United States? It is a grave problem. Ireland is a very ancient nation, with a very glorious history, and her race of men is pre-eminently adapted to the soil on which they live. Divine Providence seems to have matched the lovely and fertile island with a population of brave and industrious men, and pure and beautiful women. Surely this has not been in order to tear them roughly from the farm and the hamlet, the mill and the forge, the cradle and the spinning-wheel, to scatter them like the leaves of the forest or the sands of the sea. The natural development of any race is on the ancestral soil, where nature and tradition are the venerable nurses of manhood and womanhood, where the racial virtues are natural and frequent, and the racial vices most easily extirpated or counterbalanced. Then, too, history is a great magician, and throws still over every feature of the landscape, as well as over the whole ‘sweetest isle of the ocean,’ an irresistible charm, in which it is hard to tell what element prevails the most—the deep human love of one’s accustomed haunts, of ‘the cabin-door fast by the wild wood,’ or the ineffable devotion that feeds and grows upon the awful sorrows which beset it ; the sweet sense of kinship with the long lines of clan-ancestry that fade off into the dawn of history, or the ineradicable passionate longing to see secular injustice righted, and the harp of Innisfail once again ‘strung full high to notes of gladness.’ Whatever be its component elements, there is no gainsaying the material charm of Ireland, and in the chain which binds her children to her it is, perhaps, not the least resistful of the links.

Yet this same history shows us the Irish race as possessed beyond all others with the spirit of the world-wanderer. The earliest reliable utterances of their history bear witness that they were seafaring, adventurous people ; and since their conversion to Christianity there can be no doubt that this spirit has been heightened and consecrated by religious ardour for the propagation of Christianity. Willingly and unwillingly, wittingly and unwittingly, they have been a people of missionaries longer than any other race. No other people ever gave themselves *en bloc* to Christian missions as they ; no other people ever suffered for their Catholic faith as they. And when, with the dawn of this century, the remarkable movement began which has to-day produced some 130,000,000 of English-speaking people, and been the chief element in the *renaissance* of Catholicism from its Continental tomb, it was the Irish who were the pioneers, they being then almost the only English-speaking Catholics, and devoting themselves the world over to the planting of the Catholic faith, the support of its claims and its missionaries, and the sustenance of the Papal authority. They are no longer the only English-speaking Catholics, though they are yet everywhere the majority ; but we would be base and ingrate to forget that it was they who bore the brunt of the struggle for many decades of this century.

I would not, therefore, discourage Irish immigration, because there are at stake more than economic considerations. There are at stake the interests of the Catholic religion, which in this land and in this age are largely bound up with the interests of the Irish people. God's hand is upon them, going and coming ; and I prefer to believe that He who harmonizes the motion of the planets and the flow of the tides is also the First Agent and the Prime Mover in those no less mysterious movements by which peoples pass from one land to another, even as Israel went down out of Egypt into Canaan, or the Wandering Nations came out of the frozen North and overflowed the Roman Empire.

✠ J. CARD. GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

THE INDEX IN IRELAND

AMONG the innumerable evils prevalent in this age, there is hardly any which is more deplorable, or which does greater damage to the faith and morals of Christians, than 'that most noisome plague of books in which sin is taught, and which are circulating in such numbers everywhere. These books are written in a good style, though full of fallacy and artifice; they are scattered broadcast at enormous expense, unto the ruin of the Christian people; they disseminate everywhere their pestiferous doctrines, and deprave the mind and heart of those especially who are not on their guard.' ¹

Nor can we pretend in the least that this most doleful condition of things does not exist even among ourselves in Ireland; although it is not so bad here as in other places.

For there are everywhere on sale, and may be had for a trifle, books, pamphlets, novels, periodicals, the writers of which either openly or insidiously attack and endeavour to subvert religion and morality. And writings of this kind are sometimes bought by Catholics, are taken into their homes, and are read indiscriminately by children and servants.²

This is how the bishops of Ireland, assembled in synod at Maynooth, described the condition of things that prevailed in this country in 1875.

Twenty-one years have passed since, and it may be asked whether there has been any subsidence of the deluge which Pius IX. saw spread over the civilized world; whether the plague of impure and irreligious literature shows any sign of having spent its force and of passing away.

It is very much to be feared that the reverse is true: that there is an increase in the number of those who think themselves at liberty to read books and periodicals in which un-Catholic or even heretical doctrines are advocated; and that, whilst the moral tone of the novel is not improved, this class of literature is circulating more and more extensively among our people; so that not only men, but even

¹ Pius IX. *Encycl.*, *Qui pluribus*, 9th November, 1846.

² *Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth*, nn. 347-9.

women and girls—and perhaps these especially—now read openly and without scruple what would have brought a blush of shame to the cheeks of their mothers and their aunts in the days of the Synod of Maynooth.

To some this may appear the language of exaggeration : pray God it may be so. But from what I myself know of the books that are freely read both by clergy and laity ; considering, moreover, the class of literature one sees exposed for sale not only at railway book-stalls, which are patronized by persons of all creeds, but in the shops of our Catholic booksellers ; and bearing in mind what one hears from priests who have spent years on the mission in our towns, I dare not hope that things are better now in Ireland than they were twenty-one years ago. The poison has spread into the daily and weekly press ; perhaps it would be more true to say that the virulent principles propounded in these organs from the beginning have now developed into almost open irreligion ; so that people who never read either a book or a review are weakened in faith and deprived of moral tone by the unwholesome pabulum supplied to them under the name of politics or of general news.

I.

If this be anything like a fair representation of what is going on among our people, it is surely the duty of the clergy to consider seriously how they may cope with so great an evil. The only remedy I know of,—besides prayer, which is not a specific for this case,—is, to warn the faithful of their obligation in the matter ; to do this in social intercourse, as well as in the confessional, from the pulpit, and in the press ; and to show them good example by abstaining, for our own part, from reading publications which we condemn as dangerous to the faith and the morals of the laity.

Here the question arises : What are the obligations of Irish Catholics with regard to dangerous books and periodicals ? What are we to preach ? Are we to confine ourselves to inculcating the natural law, which undoubtedly

forbids one under pain of mortal sin to expose oneself to serious spiritual danger, except under stress of some necessity proportionate to the risk? Or, should not a priest go further; and, as the Church has made special laws to preserve her children from this particular form of contagion, may it not be better, in the confessional and elsewhere, to insist on the observance of these special enactments, and to be himself the first to give the good example of obedience in a matter of such importance?

There are many zealous priests who prefer the first of these courses. I propose to examine the reasons by which they are influenced; and I would ask those who may read this paper, and who take an interest in the subject, to supply any arguments that may escape my attention, and generally to discuss the whole question with an honest desire to discover the best and most prudent course, and not with any view to securing a petty dialectical triumph.

II.

Those who would have pastors of souls in Ireland confine their teaching with regard to dangerous books, to admonitions based on the natural law, seem to be influenced by two main reasons. In the first place, they do not regard the legislation of the Church as actually and proximately binding in this country; and, as a consequence, they maintain that those who without necessity or dispensation deliberately read books written for the express purpose of advocating heretical doctrine, do not commit any sin against ecclesiastical obedience, nor incur any ecclesiastical penalty, even though they violate the natural law and sin grievously against the virtue of faith.

In the next place, there seems to be a feeling that, even supposing the faithful in Ireland to be proximately bound by the Rules of the Index and the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, in the sense explained, yet in the present state of the Irish Church it is not prudent to insist on the observance of this special legislation; inasmuch as we should thereby for a certainty multiply evils, whilst it is extremely doubtful

whether we should secure anything like a proportionate gain.

Moreover, of those who are influenced by this latter reason, some, at least, seem to entertain doubts as to whether these special laws of the Church are of any use for the end they are intended to promote. It is sometimes said that in the past the Inquisition and the Index did more harm than good to the Catholic cause; that, in any case, the day is gone by when we could hope to gag the press; that an educated public are sure in the end to discern and cleave to the truth; and that, instead of forbidding books and periodicals to the faithful, our endeavour should be to leaven these publications with sound Catholic doctrine; and we should thus not only keep our own flock safe, but win over many who are at present straying in the darkness of heresy and unbelief. The atmosphere of the world, we are reminded, is cold and harsh; and as the faithful cannot remain always within the hot-house of good Catholic society, they are all the safer for being hardened by occasional exposures to the evil influences against which they shall have to struggle through life. This and much more to the same effect is what one hears advanced occasionally in justification of the liberal views which seem to have crept in among us with regard to this matter of dangerous reading.

Now, it is not easy to see how any reflecting Catholic, with the laws and traditional practice of the Church before him, can maintain that either now or at any other time it could be anything but a calamity if the faithful read, or were allowed to read, bad books. That there is danger—serious danger—in bad literature, is a proposition which for Catholics needs no proof. That it is wrong to expose one's faith to peril, unless one be justified by reason of some proportionate necessity, is equally undeniable. Free-thinkers and advocates of private judgment may reject one or other of these two propositions; but surely no right-minded Catholic can agree or sympathize with them in this.

It is equally in accordance with the Catholic tradition to

believe that the natural law which forbids us to expose ourselves to this danger, except under pressure of a proportionate necessity, is safeguarded by the addition of an ecclesiastical precept to the same effect. Bad books have been condemned by ecclesiastical authority almost from the beginning; they have been ordered to be burned, and the faithful have been commanded, under the severest penalties, to abstain from reading them. The policy of the Index is traditional in the Church; so that I do not know how any Catholic can pronounce it a mistaken policy, of little or no use as a safeguard to faith or morals.

There remains one other position to fall back upon, for those who may be inclined to regard the legislation of the Index as unsuited to the present day; they may maintain that, in the social conditions prevailing at present, everyone is under a necessity of reading whatever he may lay hands upon.

This position may be false, but it is consistent; how far it is true or false, I shall discuss later on. What I would insist on here is, the admission which is forced from everyone imbued with the true Catholic spirit, that the non-observance of the laws of the Church forbidding the faithful, under severe spiritual penalties, to read books of a character dangerous to faith and morals, is a great calamity, even though it be the *less* of two evils, one or other of which we cannot avoid.

III.

I propose now to consider in order the two main arguments of those who hold that in admonishing his flock of their obligations in this matter, a pastor of souls in Ireland does well to confine himself altogether to the obligations arising from the natural law. The first and principal of these reasons, as it seems to me, is based on the contention that the faithful in this country are not bound by the Rules of the Index or any similar legislation; not even by the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, as far as it regards the reading of books. Of course, if these laws do

not bind in Ireland, it would be criminal folly on the part of a pastor to teach his flock that they are actually in force.

It is due to those who maintain that the faithful in Ireland are not bound by these laws, to mention here the modification which they are careful to attach to their opinion. They do not say that these laws are not in force, or do not bind; they are in force, and do bind, but only radically, remotely, or, as some say, *in actu primo*; formally, proximately, or *in actu secundo*, they are not obligatory. The net result of which is, that, as a matter of fact, in Ireland one may read heretical or infidel books to one's heart's content, without committing any sin of disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, or incurring any ecclesiastical penalty; although one must be always careful to say that these laws are in force, and bind our consciences in some way which imposes on us no actual restraint. They are binding on us in the same way as the law of fasting in Lent binds one who has been duly dispensed from its observance,—an obligation which, as long as the dispensation lasts, does not place the slightest restraint on the appetite of the person concerned.

I cannot feel satisfied that in this country the laws of the Church which forbid indiscriminate reading, are of so ineffective a character. My reasons are the following :—

When a law has been duly promulgated, it binds those for whom it was intended, so that they are guilty of disobedience if they refuse to conform to it, unless in so far as the legislator may have consented that they should not be so bound. This is a first principle, so far, at least, as ecclesiastical law is concerned; the rulers of the Church do not get their authority from the people, nor can the faithful, of themselves, ever make null and void any act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Now, the Rules of the Index and the Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis* have been duly promulgated for Ireland; nor has the Pope consented in any way that these laws should

not be operative generally. If this be so, it follows that in Ireland we are bound by this portion of the Canon Law just as much as by any other ; we must obey, unless we get a dispensation, or unless in particular cases we may presume on the indulgence of the Holy See.

With regard to the greater portion of this argument, there is not, I imagine, any difference of opinion among educated Catholics. It is not denied that the laws in question have been promulgated for Ireland ;¹ nor that, once promulgated, the consent of the Pope is required to exempt us from the necessity of actually observing them. The whole question turns on this one point,—whether or not the Pope has consented in some way or other that the Rules of the Index should not be in force with us, formally and proximately in the sense explained.

Now, there are various ways in which a legislator may consent to exempt his subjects from the necessity of actually complying with a law duly promulgated. He may do so *expressly*, or *tacitly*, or *legally* ; and there is, in addition, what is known as *presumed* consent.

1. Consent is *expressed* by some external sign, such as a spoken or a written word, a nod, or any other such perceptible manifestation. Dispensations are ordinarily given in this way ; and when a legislator wishes to abrogate a law, he does so usually by publicly proclaiming it to be his will, that after a certain time the law in question shall cease to exist. Needless to say there has been no such general abrogation of all the Rules of the Index or of the Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis* ; nor has there been any general dispensation given for all in Ireland, though express dispensations of a more or less limited character have been procured by many individuals.

¹ 'Nous disons que l'Index romain n'a pas en besoin d'être promulgué dans les provinces du monde chrétien, pour y devenir obligatoire. En effet, les Souverains Pontifes en promulguant l'Index à Rome, ont inséré une clause qui fait qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de promulguer l'Index dans les provinces du monde chrétien.' *Analecta Juris Pont.*, 6 ser., col. 1,725. Comp. Icard, 6th ed., vol. i., p. 178.

2. *Tacit*, like express consent, is actually present in the mind of the consenting party; but, whereas the latter is manifested externally by positive signs, the former—that is, tacit consent—is made known by silence or the absence of any positive manifestation. In our dealings with men it often happens that we are made aware of the mind and intentions of others by what they do not say or do, as well as by what they positively express. Not that silence gives consent in every case; it does occasionally; when, for instance, a superior sees one of his subjects acting against the words of the law, and refrains from admonishing him, without having any special reason for so abstaining. If a father sees one of his boys abstracting a sum of money from the paternal purse, and does not interfere to prevent the abstraction, though he can do so without inconvenience, the boy knows well that he has his father's permission. The Pope or any other ecclesiastical superior may do in like manner. As a matter of fact, there are certain liturgical laws—such as the rubric which prescribes that a cup of unconsecrated wine be given to the faithful after communion—which have been so abrogated. The Congregation of Rites and the Pope are aware that this rubric is not observed either in Rome or anywhere else; they could, without the least inconvenience, insist on its observance; they do not insist, and thereby show sufficiently what their will is in the matter.¹

Now, it seems beyond question that the Rules of the Index have been and are modified in some particulars by a tacit consent of this kind on the part of the Holy See. Thus, for instance, the tenth Rule forbids the publication of any book or manuscript whatever, until it has been submitted to ecclesiastical authority and the publication authorized. In 1848 this enactment was modified for the Papal States by Pius IX., who decreed that it should apply only to such publications as treat of religious matters. The modification was never expressly extended to the whole

¹ *Missale Rom.*, Ritus celebrandi, x., 6, in fin. *Rituale Rom.*, Ordo administrandi Euch., i; *O'Kane on the Ritual*, n. 649.

Church; but everyone understands, not without reason, that this is the sense in which the Holy See wishes the law to be interpreted over the whole world.

It is equally certain that the authorities in Rome do not consent tacitly that the faithful should be free to disregard *all* the Rules of the Index. Whenever they have had a fair opportunity of making their mind known about the matter, they have invariably insisted that these Rules are everywhere still in force. This must mean, at least, that there are some portions of these laws with regard to which the Pope must not be understood to consent either expressly or tacitly that the faithful may consider themselves free to disregard them. He may know what is going on, and yet make no protest; but is he free to admonish his children without doing more harm than good to their souls? How many material sins would he thereby convert into formal? There is such a thing as economic silence; it is practised by prudent men in Church and State, as well as in the family circle, and it is very different from tacit consent or connivance, which supposes the superior to be physically and morally in a position to make known his mind. One is not morally in that position when one cannot speak without exposing to danger what one holds dear,—to a danger, perhaps, exceeding that which, by remaining silent, one does not strive to prevent.

If, therefore, the Rules of the Index are modified somewhat, though not altogether withdrawn, by the tacit consent of the Holy Father, how is one to know how far the modification extends? By making out, as best one can, the facts of the case; by considering these in the light of the principles by which rulers are guided in giving their consent tacitly to a modification of an existing law; and by consulting the experts who have given any opinion on the matter. It seems to me that as far as those publications are concerned in which heresy or infidelity is propounded directly, the indiscriminate reading of which is the evil we have most to fear, there can be no difficulty. No expert would dare to assert that the Holy Father tacitly permits the

second clause of the *Apostolicae Sedis* to remain a dead letter.¹

3. Legal consent is that by which customs are authorized. It is contained in the Canon Law, in which there is an enactment to the effect that the Church does not insist on her legislation, whenever it is opposed to the customs of a community, provided these customs be reasonable, and have a legitimate prescription.²

¹ It does not seem unreasonable to say that, in addition to the modification of Rule 10, referred to in the text there is tacit consent of the Holy See for the following changes:—

Rule II. seems to be withdrawn, as far as regards books written by heretics, and not treating of religious matters. Neither in Rome nor anywhere else does anyone consider himself bound to abstain from reading a work on Mathematics, or a political or social article in a newspaper, merely because it was written by a Protestant, and not examined by Catholic theologians and approved by a bishop. But, what everyone does everywhere,—even the law-givers with their officials and intimate friends,—may be said to be tacitly permitted by the authorities.

Rule IV. has been modified so far as not to bind the faithful any longer to get from their bishops permission to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, when the copy of the Bible they wish to use has been published in the authorized manner, either with the approbation of the Holy See, or (if it have Catholic notes) with that of the bishop. Some canonists contend that Benedict XIV., and later on (in 1836) the Congregation of the Index, expressly authorized this modification (see Bouix, *De Curia Rom.*, pp. 554, &c.; Craisson, vol. i., p. 737). Others (*Analecta Juris Pontif.*, quoted by Craisson, l. c.) contend that the modification is not expressly contained in these documents. It seems to me that in this matter it is not unreasonable now to say that we have the tacit consent, at least, of the Holy See. The reason for this view is the universal practice that exists at Rome and elsewhere.

Rule V. has reference to such works as dictionaries, concordances, &c., compiled by heretics; it is modified in the same way as II.; the reason is the same in both cases. The reading of books of controversy, written in the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, is forbidden by Rule VI., in the same way as the reading of the Bible is by Rule IV. These two Rules seem now to be modified to the same extent.

Rule VIII. regards such books as are good in the main, but incidentally favour heretical or infidel opinions. In accordance with Rule X., as it was understood originally, works of that kind could not be published without the permission of the ordinary. Rule VIII. permits him to allow the publication, but only after the work has been expurgated. Now Rule X. has been modified, as we have seen, so that for the publication of such books episcopal permission is no longer necessary, at least when the work does not deal with religious matters *ex proposito*. Is it not reasonable to suppose that this modification of Rule X. carries with it a modification of VIII., so that it would be no longer forbidden to read such books without a dispensation? The latter modification is not, I am aware, necessarily contained in the former; but would anyone in Rome ever think it forbidden to read an excellent history or a work on art merely because it contained one sentence in which an heretical opinion was incidentally expressed? Icard (vol. i., p. 192) quotes Schmalzgrueber, Reiffenstuel, Layman, Weistner, Engel, Pichler, and even Billuart, in some sense such as this.

² L. l. Decr. tit. 4, *de consuetudine*, c. 11, *cum tanto*.

It might not unreasonably be contended that with us in Ireland the community has for many years paid no attention to the Rules of the Index, with the exception, perhaps, of such as regulate the publication of books treating of religious matters, and the reading of unauthorized versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. I do not deny that such has been and is the case; I deplore the fact, and this is why I resolved to call attention to the matter. But, will anyone maintain that the Holy See regards this custom as reasonable?

M. Icard says: 'The custom alleged [in certain places on the Continent] has been reprobated by the supreme Pontiffs; whence, under that aspect, it lacks a necessary condition. Moreover, it is unreasonable, inasmuch as it exposes the faithful to the greatest danger of corruption in faith and morals.'¹ It is well known that this is the teaching of all modern canonists.²

Hence, those who in Ireland read books or periodicals in which heretical or infidel doctrines are propounded of set purpose, have no right, in justification of their practice, to rely on custom or the legal consent of the Pope. But it has been already shown that they have as little right to rely on his express or tacit consent,—unless in so far as they may have got a special dispensation. Accordingly, if their conduct be justifiable at all, it must be by reason of what is known as the *presumed consent* of the Holy Father,—the only form of consent that remains to be examined. As a matter of fact, I believe it is in virtue of this presumed consent that those who incline to liberal views in this matter

¹ *Praelectiones Juris Can.*, vol. i., p. 178.

² Writing for the United States, Dr. Smith says: 'As to custom abrogating the laws of the Index, Reiffenstuel very justly points to the fact that, so far from being tolerated by the Roman Pontiffs, these customs have been expressly and repeatedly condemned by them, and are therefore abuses.' *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law* (6th ed.), vol. i., p. 275, p. 503.

In an article in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii* (4th series, col. 1, 402) I find the following:—'Quand bien même on trouverait que certains pays n'ont pas observé l'Index, cela ne prouverait rien contre le droit; vu que l'obligation d'observer la loi subsiste, d'autant plus que les coutumes contraires n'ont pu devenir légitimes à aucune époque; ces coutumes ont été cent fois abrogées par les souverains Pontifes qui ont fait publier de nouvelles éditions de l'Index jusqu'à nos jours. La volonté du législateur étant bien connue, il n'y a pas lieu de faire appel à la coutume.'

justify their position, for which reason, and because this portion of the question presents special difficulties, I think it better to reserve it for special treatment in the next section.

IV.

When an ecclesiastical law commands or forbids anything, if one cannot comply with the obligation without suffering an extrinsic and accidental loss,—a loss proportionate to the nature of the obligation,—and if there is not time or opportunity to go to the superior and get a dispensation, it is admitted that one is justified in such circumstances in presuming that the superior does not wish to urge his authority, and consents that one should be free to disregard the law. This is what is known as *epieicheia*—equity. We may always presume that our superiors allow us to do what is reasonable in the circumstances. In this connection St. Thomas observes:—

It often happens that it is useful for the public weal that something should be done, as a rule, although in some cases it is very injurious. Since, then, the legislator cannot have every single case in his mind, he proposes his law in accordance with what occurs most frequently, intending the common good. Hence, if a case should occur in which the observance of such a law would be injurious to the common weal, the law is not to be observed. Thus, if in a beleaguered city there were a law prescribing that the gates should remain closed, it would be useful for the common safety, generally speaking. If, however, it should happen that the enemy were in pursuit of some of the citizens by whom the city is guarded, it would be most injurious to the city if the gates were not opened: and so, in that case, the gates should be opened, contrary to the words of the law, that the public weal, which the legislator intended, might not suffer.

It must, however, be borne in mind that if the observance of the letter of the law does not expose one to a sudden danger, which it is necessary to provide against at once, it does not belong to everyone to make up his mind as to what may be useful or injurious to the city. This is reserved to the prince, who, to provide for cases of this kind, has authority to dispense in the laws. But if the danger should be sudden, not allowing of delay so as to make it possible to have recourse to the superior, this very necessity carries with it a dispensation, inasmuch as necessity has no law.¹

¹ 2, 2, q. 96, a. 6; cf. 2, 2, q. 120, a. 1.

1. Accordingly, if it be really impossible, or very difficult, either for the Irish Church in general or for individuals, to observe the Rules of the Index, there can be no doubt that, so far as this necessity extends, these laws cease to bind.¹ The real question, therefore, is, whether there is or is not any very great difficulty in the matter. It should be borne in mind that the question is not whether now and then an individual may be under some necessity of reading an heretical author, in circumstances when it would be altogether impossible for him to get a dispensation. No one doubts of that.² The question is, rather, whether in every case there is such necessity in Ireland. Those must be prepared to answer in the affirmative, who maintain that no one now is ever bound in this country by this portion of the Canon Law.

I am not prepared to take the responsibility of answering this question, and of granting everyone in Ireland the liberty which follows as a necessary consequence from the state of things which such an answer implies. A priest or layman goes into a bookseller's shop, or is attracted by a book-stall at a railway station; he sees exposed for sale a volume, say, of Herbert Spencer's, or of the late Professor Huxley's, or some periodical which contains an article directly impugning the inspiration of the Bible, or a translation of some of the works of Haeckel or Renan, or even such a book as Gladstone's *Studies Subsidiary to Butler*, or the Duke of Argyll's or Mr. Arthur Balfour's works on the Foundations of Belief. What special necessity is there to compel any ordinary Irish Catholic, priest or layman, in such circumstances, to purchase any of these publications, and peruse it quietly in the privacy of the railway carriage or of the study? Are we in Ireland under any greater stress in relation to such matters than the educated

¹They cease to bind proximately, but continue to exist radically, in this sense, that they do not require to be promulgated anew when the necessity passes away. In cases of dispensation and *epicicheia*, the law is not abrogated, but a certain person or community is exempted for a time from the necessity of observing it. This is true also of custom, which, according to the better opinion, has the effect of suspending, but not of abrogating, the law.

² St. Alph., l. 7, n. 283, *in fin.*

Catholics of Paris, Rome, or Vienna? But these latter are not exempt from the necessity of actually conforming to the Rules of the Index, nor from the censures contained in the second clause of the Bull *Apostolicae Sedis*.

2. If there is any difference between the position of Irish Catholics and the faithful in other portions of the Church, with regard to the reading of such books as have just been mentioned, and in the circumstances that have been described, it is this, that in Ireland, England, and the United States, few educated Catholics, lay or clerical, have any difficulty about reading such publications, as long as they can make up their mind that their faith is not in much danger; whereas, in France and Italy priests and pious laymen would not do so without permission. Here no one thinks it necessary to observe the laws of the Church on the matter; there the same laws are observed, at least by the *sanior pars fidelium*. Is an individual bound to observe a law, where no one but himself pays any attention to the enactment?

This, as it seems to me, is the real core of the whole question; the only way in which the liberal opinion may be defended with the least appearance of plausibility;—so far, at least, as that opinion allows all the faithful to read indiscriminately all kinds of books, even those which come under the censure of the *Apostolicae Sedis*, provided the reader does not commit a sin against the natural law. For other reasons,—as, for instance, the impossibility of providing a staff sufficient to supervise the publication and sale of books and periodicals, in accordance with the letter of Rule X., it may be necessary in Ireland to do some things which are not in conformity with the Rules of the Index; but with regard to the private purchase and reading of heretical or forbidden books, for mere curiosity, or to see what the authors have got to say, apart from what has been said in the last paragraph, there is no reason why an ordinary Catholic should not observe the letter of the law in Ireland any more than in Italy. And for those whose duty it may be to make themselves acquainted with such literature, there is no more reason here than there is in

Rome why they should not get a dispensation. Of course, a sudden emergency may arise; but I refer to what is done freely, without any particular stress or cause, rather than to cases of sudden emergency.

Is it, then, to be admitted as a principle capable of universal application in law, that whenever an enactment has been duly promulgated, but is not observed by the majority of the community, the minority of the same community are free to disregard it. St. Alphonsus writes ¹: —

The question is, whether, when it is not stated that it is the will of the legislator to bind his people independently of their acceptance of his law, an enactment of his is binding of itself, without the people's consent. With regard to Papal laws, . . . the second opinion, to which we subscribe, affirms [that such a law is binding] . . . Some doctors limit [this] . . . 1, . . . 2, . . . 3. If the greater and more prudent [*sanior*] part of the people have not received the law; for, although those who do not at first receive it are guilty of sin, if the custom has not yet lasted the term required for prescription, nevertheless the rest are not bound to the law. For it is presumed that the legislator does not wish to bind them to observe a law which is not received by the greater part [of the community]. So, the Salmant., with Suarez, Pal., Tap., &c., with Busemb. and Lessius.

Here St. Alphonsus seems to lay down a universal principle, to the effect that a minority may follow the majority in disregarding any ecclesiastical law whatever. True, he qualifies this by supposing the majority to be also the *sanior pars populi*; but every majority thinks itself the *sanior pars*; and every minority must of necessity think the majority with whom they do not agree, to be guided by unsound principles. Accordingly, that an ordinary law should go into desuetude, it is sufficient that the custom of not observing it prevail among the majority of the community.

This line of argument is plausible enough. Nevertheless I find it hard to believe that St. Alphonsus, or any other theologian or canonist of repute, would propound the foregoing principle as applying to all cases of ecclesiastical legislation. Let me propose one case which actually occurred.

¹ *Theol. Mor.*, l. i., nn. 138-9.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the law of clerical celibacy was disregarded by the greater part of the clergy in some portions of the Western Church; there were even dioceses in which it may be said to have been disregarded altogether. 'The Bishop of Constance gave public permission to his priests to retain the wives to whom they had been married. And the Bishop of Metz declared that he was powerless to give effect to the decree against clerical concubinage in his diocese.'¹

The laws of the Church forbidding clergymen in Holy Orders to marry, were, according to Jungmann, 'believed to have been abolished by custom, and on that account such marriages were considered lawful; so much so that they were contracted even publicly by clergymen without any fear.' Jungmann quotes from the brothers Ballerini, editors of the works of Raterius, Bishop of Verona, in the middle of the tenth century, the following passage:—'If I were to expel from the clergy those who have been twice married [*multinubos*, the Holy Order itself being considered one marriage], whom but boys should I leave in the Church?' And Guy, Bishop of Milan, was not ashamed to reply as follows to those who denounced these abuses:—'You say that it is impossible for priests to commit adultery and offer sacrifice; which is true. But our priests, thank God, have hitherto neither been nor been called adulterers, but carefully observe the precept of the Apostle, that they should be men of one wife.'²

Here, then, is a case in which all the conditions mentioned by St. Alphonsus were fulfilled: an ecclesiastical law, not observed by the greater part of those for whom it was intended. It was so, at least, in many places; and there is reason to believe this to have been the condition of the Church at that time in Italy, France, Germany, and even in England.³ Did the popes and the holy bishops who

¹ Gilmartin, *Church History*, vol. ii., p. 7.

² See Jungmann, *Dissertationes*, vol. iv., pp. 116 seq., nn. 18, 19.

³ See in this connection, by all means, Jungmann's *Dissertationes* for the period, especially that on the Law of Celibacy (2d th.), and the following on the Pontificate of Gregory VII. In December 1074 this Holy Pontiff wrote as

wept in those days over the condition of the Church, console themselves by reflecting that these incontinent clergymen were justified in following the practice of the majority? If a candidate for Holy Orders were to ask Abbot Hildebrand in confession for direction as to whether or not he could lawfully get married and then take Holy Orders, what kind of an answer do you think he would receive?

This one example shows conclusively that the principle which has been quoted from St. Alphonsus is not to be understood as applicable to all cases. Indeed, when one carefully considers the limitation already alluded to,—that not only the *major* but the *sanior pars communitatis* must have ceased to observe the law,—one sees that there is some limitation insisted on by the saint himself. For, curiously enough, the term ‘*sanior*’ is not used when the theologians and canonists are treating of custom. Why is the word used in the one case, and not in the other, if it be not intended to act in some way as a limitation?

Since, then, the principle is not to be applied universally, the question arises: where is one to draw the line? I have a notion that we might get light as regards this question by considering another case to which it is allied.

When a general law of the Church is promulgated, it may happen that it will be found very much unsuited to the circumstances of certain districts. In that case, the bishops are justified in permitting their flocks to disregard the law; but the canonists who allow this, are careful to add that the bishops must proceed to lay the matter before the Holy See. Should the Pope insist on the observance of the law,

follows to the faithful in Germany:—‘*Audivimus, quod quidam episcoporum apud vos commorantium, ut sacerdotes et diaconi et subdiaconi mulieribus commisceantur, aut consentiunt aut negligunt. His, praecepimus, vos nullo modo obedire vel illorum praeceptis consentire, sicut ipsi Apostolicae Sedis praeceptis non obediunt, neque auctoritati SS. Patrum consentiunt. Testante S. Scriptura, facientes et consentientes par poena complectitur.*’ And the chronicler, Lambertus, a contemporary, bears witness to the zeal with which the holy Pontiff urged the bishops everywhere to make and enforce laws against incontinent clergymen similar to the decree passed in the Synod of Rome, in 1074. ‘*Hoc decreto per totam Italiam promulgato, crebras litteras ad episcopos Galliarum trans mittebat, praecepiciens ut ipsi quoque in suis ecclesiis similiter facerent, atque a contubernio sacerdotum omnes omnino feminas perpetuo anathemate reseccarent,*’ &c. Jungmann, vol. iv., pp. 272-4.

there is nothing for it but to obey;¹ and he may be expected to insist in all cases where customs *contra legem* would not be tolerated by the Holy See.

Is it not reasonable to draw the line at the same point, when the law is not observed by the greater part of the community, whether there is question of a recent enactment, or of an old statute which is beginning to fall into disuse? In the first case there can be little difficulty about allowing the minority to be guided by the majority, until it is known for certain that the Pope regards the non-observance of the law as an abuse. *A pari*, in all cases where custom will not be tolerated, individuals are not justified in presuming on the consent of the Holy Father, merely because the majority of the community are not observing the law.²

Now, it has been shown already that in this matter of the Index all customs have been invariably reprobated by the Holy See. It follows, therefore, that we are not justified in presuming that the Pope allows us to read books in which heresy is propounded, merely because the law is not observed by the community generally. Indeed, I should like to know whether the majority of Catholics in Rome or in Paris are careful to comply with this portion of the Canon Law. If so, they must get credit for more respect for the authority of the Church than we are accustomed to give them. I refer to the majority only; but it is a majority of those who are not outside the pale of the Church. Of course, many of them are Liberals and anti-clericals; still they are Catholics, and count among the majority. If majorities were to be calculated on the basis of reckoning those only who observe the laws of the Church, it might be a question whether there is in Ireland a majority who do not comply with the Rules of the Index.

¹ See Lehmkuhl, v. i., n. 126.

² In this connection Lehmkuhl remarks very justly:—‘*Leges, quae a maiore et saniore parte populi acceptatae non sunt, sive civiles, sive ecclesiasticae, reliques ligare non censentur, nisi superior deum cas urgent. Ita etiam ante legitimum desuetudinis tempus legis obligatio cessare vel suspendi potest, quia (a) legislator praesumitur nolle paucos obligare ad discrepandum a communitate, (b) in iis circumstantiis praesumi saepe potest, propter difficultates legi adversantes epikiae locum esse.*’ *Theol. Mor.*, vol. i., n. 127, 5. The italics in the passage are mine.

Let me here guard against being misunderstood. There may well be other reasons for presuming on the consent of the Pope in these and similar cases. There may be special difficulties attaching to individual cases; and, if so, there might be room for *epieicheia*. My conclusion is limited to the one consideration—of the law not being observed by the majority. I do not see how this mere fact justifies one in presuming on the permission of the Holy See. And I may repeat here that in the vast majority of cases in which Irish Catholics read heretical or infidel publications, there does not seem to be any other consideration that could be advanced in defence of their conduct.

To sum up briefly this portion of my case. The Rules of the Index have been duly promulgated for Ireland, as laws, by competent authority. Catholics, therefore, are bound by them, unless in so far as they may have been relieved by the consent of the legislature. In Ireland there is no general dispensation; neither express, nor tacit, nor legal; nor may we presume on a general permission. Hence, every Irish Catholic who has not got a special dispensation, and is not placed in any special position of urgent and grave necessity, is bound under sin to conform to these Rules. There is a censure of excommunication attached to the violation of some of them—the reading of books in which heresy is propounded of set purpose and not merely incidentally, also of such publications as have been condemned by name. This censure is incurred *ipso facto*; it binds as proximately and effectually—unless ignorance excuses—as does the law to which it is attached. Is there any man of position in Ireland who will say that the second clause of the *Apostolicae Sedis* is a dead letter in this country, and may be practically disregarded as far as the reading of bad books is concerned? That clause, however, is but one of the Rules of the Index,—the Rule which is of all others the most important for safeguarding the faithful from the poison of heresy and infidelity.

V.

But even though that it were admitted that the Index binds in Ireland, it might still be doubted whether pastors of

souls would do well to admonish their people of this obligation. Economic silence, it has been already observed, is not unknown in Church policy; and it is not wise to turn material violations of the law into formal sins. This is a very serious question, with regard to which a new policy should not be inaugurated until the matter has been well considered from all points of view.

1. This objection, serious as it undoubtedly is, applies to other countries just as much as to Ireland; yet canonists elsewhere have not hesitated to raise the question of the obligation of the Index, both in their books and in periodicals. It is discussed by M. Icard in the text-book which we use in this College; indeed there is no text-book in use anywhere in which the question is passed over in silence. It was raised by Dr. Smith in America; and when in the first edition of his work that writer propounded liberal opinions with regard to this obligation, he was called to account by Dr. Quigley, in a periodical not at all so restricted in circulation as is the I. E. RECORD. The question has been fully threshed out by the editor of the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*,¹ and it was touched on more than once in the pages of the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

The authors of these books and papers were not unaware of the evils that might flow from the policy of insisting on this obligation; they must have hoped for good effects more than sufficient to counterbalance the evil. As for the necessity of consideration, I admit it freely; and only ask whether we ought not at least to begin to consider. How or when shall our consideration bear any fruit, unless we proceed to an exchange of views? And how shall this be done unless some one begins? It is not with a view to inaugurate a new policy, so much as to start a discussion and exchange of views—consideration of some practical kind—that the question is raised by the present writer, who would be sorry if his paper should come very much before the laity; nor does he apprehend much danger on that score from its being

¹ See the 4th Series, col. 1401, where the writer discusses the question of the reception of the Index in Germany; the 6th Series, col. 1724, where the same question is discussed for Belgium; col. 1761 for Portugal.

published in a periodical which circulates almost entirely among priests.

2. As for the reasons there may be for allowing the question to rest, lest by raising it material sins should become formal, there is more than one aspect under which this deserves to be considered.

In the first place, it is to be feared that the faithful are not only not told of the obligation arising from Rules of the Index, but that they are positively advised that there is no such obligation. Of course, this advice, at most, is but materially sinful; but such a sin is a much greater evil than is the mere reading of many books. Not that this, or even a much greater evil, might not be permitted to take its course unmolested, if there were sufficient reason for not interfering; but it is well to understand in what precisely the evil consists with which we are just now concerned. It is not only that dangerous and even bad books were being freely read by the faithful in Ireland; but that it is in the air somehow that those who are capable of judging are of opinion that such conduct in Ireland is not a violation of any ecclesiastical law. To one who believes that an ecclesiastical law does exist,—a law of such importance as to exclude the possibility of a reasonable custom to the contrary,—this state of things, if true, must have a gravity of a peculiar kind.

It may be well to observe here that, in this matter, as in so many others, one can teach more effectually by example than by precept. And though prudent economy may require one to keep one's lips closed occasionally, lest one should interfere with the *bona fides* of some of the faithful, it does not demand that we ourselves should read bad books; or, if we read them, that we should in social circles proclaim aloud what we have been doing. Here, again, of course, there is at most but a material violation of the law; but, surely, it cannot be so very dangerous to remind the clergy of their obligations. They will either be convinced of the obligation or they will not. If they are convinced, there is little doubt but that they will comply with the law; and if they remain uncon-

vinced, they will know how to make up their consciences before disregarding it.

When it comes to a question of preaching from the pulpit or of writing to the newspapers, then, indeed, one should be particularly cautious. One is then dealing with people of whom many are *in bona fide*, and who may not be disposed to receive and follow the light. Hence, before taking any step of so public a character, it would be well to wait for guidance from the higher authorities; or, at least, until the matter has been thoroughly threshed out by our canonists and theologians. I, for one, do not recommend any parish priest or curate to whom this paper may have brought personal conviction, to proceed at once to force this conviction on others from the pulpit or in the newspaper press. It is different with regard to our own practice, as well as with regard to the advice and admonitions we may be called on to give to penitents, or which may drop from us in conversation with the educated laity. In any case, I admit that some damage may be done by the discussion I am raising. It can only be, however, if readers of the I. E. RECORD are convinced that the doctrine I am advocating is practically certain; and the improvement that would gradually take place in the Irish Church from the operation of such a conviction in the minds of the clergy, is so great as, in my opinion, to far outweigh any harm that might also accrue.

For, it is not the policy of speaking out, alone, that is attended with danger to the community. The evils resulting from economic silence are enormous,—witness the words of Pius IX. and of the Synod of Maynooth, with which this paper began. The Council of Trent was inspired by the Holy Ghost to provide special means of combating these evils; it provided the Rules of the Index. Under the guidance of the same Holy Spirit the chief pastors of the Church have ever since maintained these Rules, going so far as to denounce as abuses any customs to the contrary that may have been brought under their notice. May it not be very imprudent to continue to disregard safeguards provided and maintained under the guidance of the Holy Ghost? Is there

not danger on both sides? Did not the Popes foresee the many material sins that would be converted into mortal offences by their refusal to tolerate in other places the customs that prevail with us?

No nation—not even Ireland, if there be any peculiar privilege of indefectibility attaching to our national Church—can afford to expose the faith of its children to the danger arising from unnecessary reading of heretical and infidel publications. There is no individual or class of individuals—not even priests—who may not lose the faith; or, what is almost as bad, have their spiritual perception weakened, so as to leave them practically without supernatural light. Simple faith is, after divine charity, the greatest of all earthly blessings; it is the root, of which charity is the blossom, and the bliss of heaven the fruit; it goes far to bring heaven down to earth. Ireland has often been represented as the most miserable country on the face of the globe. Those who say so have not seen or have not taken into account the religious peace that is enjoyed by so many of the Irish poor, their patience in times of trial, the confidence with which they look up to the Almighty Father in life, and above all at death. It is the result of their simple faith. Now, if that faith is not extinguished, it is to be feared that its lustre is very much dimmed in Ireland, among those who read without scruple and without necessity books in which heretical or infidel opinions are broached; and this dimness may easily grow into darkness. The prayers of St. Patrick are no guarantee that we also may not fall away from the faith; other nations have had their apostles and martyrs no less than we. Economic silence may have its advantages, but it is not without its dangers. God grant us light to discern on which side the greatest danger lies.

W. M'DONALD.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

II.

WHILE the great religious movement which I have endeavoured to portray was in process of development, while Gerard Groot was evangelizing Holland by his preaching, and with the aid of Florentius Radewyn was bringing into existence the holy confraternity which culminated in the formation of the Congregation of Common Life, and the founding of Windesheim, a child was born in the far east of Rhineland who was destined to occupy a foremost place in the mighty work of regeneration, and to bequeath to posterity a book and a name undying in the history of Christendom. This child was Thomas à Kempis.

In the wide expanse of country between the Rhine and Meuse, not very far from Dusseldorf, lies a small town named Kempen, in the diocese of Cologne, and in it there lived in those days a pious couple, John Haemerken and his wife Gertrude. Not amongst the ranks of the nobility or gentry, but in the lowliest path of life, this worthy pair earned their bread by the sweat of labour, and reared their children in poverty, and in the fear and love of God. John Haemerken was a simple artisan, and his wife no higher in rank than himself. So far as we can ascertain he was probably an artificer in metal, an industry specially cultivated in Kempen from time immemorial to the present day. The word Haemerken, or Haemerlein, as it is sometimes written, means in German 'a little hammer,' and very likely, after the custom of those simple times, indicated his calling. In the well-known Latin editions of Thomas's works the name is translated into 'Malleolus.'

Tradition tells us that Gertrude kept a school for little children. If we may take the progress of her sons in holiness as an index of her solid piety, it must have been great indeed. History is clear respecting two sons of this worthy

pair—John, born about the year 1365; and Thomas, who first saw the light about the year 1380. A faint rumour alludes to another son, Gobelinus,—probably older than Thomas, who, like his brothers, gave himself to the service of God, and lived and died in the odour of sanctity in the monastery of Mount St. Jerome, at Hulsbergen. John, the eldest son, had gone from Kempen to Deventer before the time when we have any information concerning Thomas, and there joined the Brotherhood of Common Life. Thomas, born as we have stated about 1380, remained under the care and tuition of his parents, aided by the teaching of the grammar school of Kempen, until he was thirteen years of age. Then he too betook himself to Deventer to join his elder brother. Deventer, it should be remembered, besides the attractions it possessed for him from being the head-quarters of the Congregation of Common Life, amongst whom John à Kempis was enrolled, was in those days a noted centre of learning in Holland, and was much more accessible to the inhabitants of the adjacent countries than Paris or the German universities.

Let us glance at the map, and think how the little youth—child, indeed—made the long and arduous journey from Kempen to Deventer. History tells us nothing of that pilgrimage, for such it must have been—how much he travelled by land, how much by the Rhine; but assuredly all can sympathize with the good parents in the anguish they must have felt in parting with their boy as he set forth alone upon the wide world. So tender in years and poor in all worldly resources, the child needed an earnest faith in Providence. His good parents had taught him to trust in Heaven, and that confidence was not in vain. Certain it is, from his own account, that to Deventer Thomas came, and sought his brother John. Disappointment awaited the youth. John had gone from Deventer, and was then at Windesheim, full twenty miles away. To Windesheim he journeyed and was tenderly received by his elder brother. Fortified with an introduction from him to Florentius Radewyn, he returned to Deventer. He tells us how kindly that holy man received him, and all he did to provide

for his immediate wants. John a Kempis was already a brilliant light amongst the congregation of Windesheim, and doubtless his recommendation obtained for his youthful brother a favourable reception, enhanced by the intelligence and fine disposition of the boy.

Scanty as the materials of our information about Thomas a Kempis are up to this epoch, from thenceforth they are far otherwise. It is impossible to read his works attentively without finding ample details which indicate step by step his subsequent career. The difficulty lies rather in the selection of the most salient and interesting points. To begin, let us see the impression made upon the youthful aspirant by the example he beheld amongst the Congregation of Common Life. We shall take his own words:—

Having come in my youth to Deventer to pursue my studies, I sought my way to Windesheim, to visit the Canons Regular there, amongst whom I found my own brother. By his advice I was led to seek the acquaintance of a certain curate of the Church of Deventer, named Master Florentius, a most devout and excellent priest, the fame of whose holiness had spread to the northern parts of Germany, and whom I had already been drawn to love. The crowd of students who assembled round him when he celebrated the divine Mysteries sufficiently denoted the high estimation in which he was held; for he was noble in presence and speech, and pleasing to all beholders, a true servant of God, an obedient and devoted child of our Holy Mother Church. The reverend father received me most kindly, and, moved by charity, kept me awhile in his own house. He also placed me in the school, and provided me with books needful for my studies. Finally he obtained for me hospitality with a certain excellent lady, who treated me and other clerics with the greatest benevolence. In the holy company of Florentius and his brethren I had before me daily examples of the most edifying kind, which excited my warmest admiration. I reflected on the regularity of their lives, and upon the words of grace which flowed from their lips. Never, within my recollection, have I met such men as those,—so fervent, so pious, so animated with charity towards God and their neighbour. Living amongst seculars they were in every respect wholly unworldly, and appeared perfectly indifferent to all things of earth. Dwelling at home in peaceful retirement they devoted themselves to the copying of books, to pious reading and meditations, only relaxing their hours of labour by the utterance of ejaculatory prayers. Every morning after matins they assembled in the church, and there during the

celebration of Mass, prostrate in humble attitude, they raised their hands and souls to God, pouring forth their prayers and sighs, imploring His mercy through the intercession of the saving Victim.

The founder and first spiritual director of this most excellent Congregation was Florentius Radewyn. This great Master, adorned by every virtue and filled with divine wisdom, had truly studied the Lord Jesus Christ, and together with his priests and clerics strove humbly to imitate the manner of life of the Apostles. All were united, heart and soul, in Almighty God. What each possessed was given to the common fund, and using a frugal fare and humble raiment they dismissed from their minds all solicitude about the future. Consecrating themselves with willing hearts to the service of God all obeyed absolutely their Rector or his Vicars, and accepting obedience as their fundamental rule strove with their utmost vigour to conquer themselves, to resist their passions, and break down self-will; all the while earnestly begging that they should be severely reprimanded for any faults or negligences into which they might happen to fall.

It is needless to say how rich in grace and in the spirit of true devotion were these holy men. Their words and example edified many, and the patience with which they endured the contempt of the frivolous moved numbers to despise the false joys of this world. Those who had formerly scorned them and judged their lives as ignoble and foolish, presently converted to God, touched by conscience and experiencing the grace of devotion, confessed that these men were manifestly true servants and friends of the Lord.

Thus, crowds of men and women, despising all worldly gratifications, turned themselves to God, and strove, under the guidance of Florentius, to obey the precepts of the Church and devoutly practise works of mercy towards the poor. All his brethren, clinging to the words of life, aided the holy master, and like brilliant stars in the firmament shone forth amidst the darkness of a decaying world. Some amongst them, priests distinguished for sacred lore, preached with great ardour in the churches, and by their exhortations the faithful were instructed unto justice, hearing the Word of God and doing good works.

Such were the impressions made on à Kempis' mind during nearly seven years which he spent at Deventer prosecuting his studies in preparation for the religious life he had chosen. We are indebted to his pen for a touching history of his companions there, whose holy edifying lives prepare us for the great spiritual treatise—*The Imitation*—which later in life he put together. In

truth the sentiments and teaching of that book are foreshadowed in all we read of the life he witnessed at Deventer, and later at Mount St. Agnes and Windesheim. In my former essay I have entered into many details on this subject, which the brief space now at my command obliges me to omit.

Besides Florentius Thomas's special friends at this time were Arnold van Schoonhoven, Boehm, Gronde, Berner, Brinkerinck, Brune, Gerard of Zutphen, Van Buren, James of Viana, and John Ketel.

In the year 1399 Thomas was nearly twenty years of age, and then, as he tells us, he betook himself to the Monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle (one of the affiliated houses of Windesheim), where his brother John was Prior, and earnestly besought admission. This was the year preceding the death of Florentius, and we have reason to believe that this step was taken by his advice and under his direction. Certain it is that he was admitted, and there commenced the long career of religious life which ended only with his death, in 1471. We may imagine the joy with which the brothers met on this touching occasion, realizing the words with which Thomas opens his first sermon to the Novices: 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' Thomas, entering Mount St. Agnes in 1399, was invested as a member of the Order in 1408. According to the continuator of the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes* he was ordained five years later, in his thirty-third year.

Here commences to develop, for those who ponder over his works, the beautiful picture of the life of Thomas à Kempis. It is only there we can realize what manner of man he was,—how simple, and yet profound,—how merciful to others, although so perfect himself,—what a priest—preacher—confessor—master of novices—historian—and bright example of all virtues. Then it becomes easy to understand how he, so keen to appreciate and profit by all he saw, could reap the harvest of holiness, and garner in *The Imitation* the pith and philosophy of virtue.

It would scarcely repay my reader were I to reproduce at

any length the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes*, detailing the early struggles and poverty of the new monastery, the subsequent increase of its resources and members, their edifying lives and deaths, the indomitable courage and perseverance of its first Prior, John à Kempis, and of his successors, William Vornken, Theodoric Clive, and others, who brought the Institution to completion and prosperity. I must even omit all account of the generous assistance given in the hour of need by earnest friends, such as Everard Eza, the skilled physician to whom à Kempis attributes his rescue from a dangerous illness. Yet his was a wondrous and touching story. Sceptic in faith he came one day through curiosity to hear Groot preach in Deventer. Smitten by the words of the great missionary, he 'who came to scoff remained to pray,' and mastered by the influence of the gifted evangelist entered religion, and after a life devoted to the service of God and his neighbour, as Pastor at Almelo, died in the odour of sanctity, in 1404.

John Cele, rector of the schools at Zwolle, the companion of Groot's visit to Ruysbroeck, was another of Thomas's friends over whose career I would gladly linger, but I must not tarry. Perhaps some who feel interested in this little sketch will turn to the sources from whence I draw, and satisfy their longing for a rare history of holy lives and deeds. It is necessary, however, that I should direct attention now to an event which I believe exercised a potent influence in moulding the spiritual career of Thomas à Kempis, and contributed materially towards fitting him for the compilation of the great book—*The Imitation of Christ*.

When John à Kempis, the first Prior of Agnetenberg, resigned office, he was succeeded, in 1408, by William Vornken, of Utrecht, a distinguished member of the Congregation of Windesheim. This new Prior was evidently, as we find by the account given of him by Thomas, and more fully by Busch, a most remarkable man. If we turn to page 35 of the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes*, and chapter xxxiii. of the first book of the *Chronicle of Windesheim*, we find details concerning Vornken which forcibly remind us of *The Imitation of Christ*. In fact it

almost seems as if that book was the reflection of the holy Prior's life, virtues, and teaching. The love of poverty, contempt for all things earthly, persevering industry, and, above all, deep devotion to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, were his leading characteristics. In addition, he was conspicuous for his profound knowledge of Holy Writ, for love of discipline, prudence in advising, patience with the afflicted, kindness in consoling the tempted, endurance in adversity, exemplary diligence in all things, love of solitude and silence, compunction, meditation, gratitude to God for all His blessings, devotion to the feasts of the Church, relish for all things that appertain to God, trust in Providence in the hour of trouble, sympathy with the ailing, and charity in praying for the dead.

As Vornken remained prior for sixteen years, it will be observed that he was Thomas's immediate Superior from 1408 until some years after *The Imitation of Christ* had made its appearance, and the internal evidence of similarity between this holy man and the book is irresistible and significant, adding a link to the long chain of reasoning, which as we shall later see, points to Thomas as the author. This has been already noticed by Grube in his able history of John Busch.

In the year 1424 John Vos van Huesden, Prior of the Mother House of Windesheim, died. Shortly afterwards he was succeeded by William Vornken, who was transferred from Mount St. Agnes, and Theodoric Clive was elected to fill his place. Although the precise date is not expressly named in the *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes* we have good reason to believe that about this time Thomas à Kempis was elected sub-Prior, and undoubtedly we find him occupying that office in 1429.

In this latter year a grievous visitation fell upon the brethren of Windesheim and Mount St. Agnes. Owing to a dispute concerning the appointment of a new bishop the diocese was placed under interdict by the Holy See, and as a large section of the laity resisted the decision of the Pope (Martin V.), the Brothers were subjected to persecution and obliged to fly for safety. Those from Mount St. Agnes,

leaving their convent in charge of a few lay brothers, departed first to Hasselt, and thence, by a perilous voyage on the Zuyder Zee, betook themselves to a monastery at Lunenkerk, near Harlingen, in Friesland, to escape from ill-treatment, and to carry out needful reforms at their destination. All did not remain at Lunenkerk. A certain brother John, one of the oldest members of the community, who, in spite of age and infirmity, wished to accompany the others to Friesland, was sent home on account of his failing health, and died in 1430.

In the following year Thomas à Kempis was himself sent to assist his ailing brother John, who was then Rector and Confessor at the Convent of Bethany, near Arnheim. There he remained for fourteen months, until, in the month of November, 1432, he closed his brother's eyes in the peaceful sleep of a holy death. Just about that time the storm of persecution against the brothers subsided, the interdict was removed from the diocese (by Pope Eugenius IV.), the exiles returned from Lunenkerk to Mount St. Agnes, and shortly afterwards Thomas joined them there. From this date until his death in 1471 he remained at Agnetenberg, occupying at first the office of Procurator, and later that of sub-Prior, to which he was re-elected in the year 1448. So far as we can judge from all the information available this latter period was one of repose and devotion to the spiritual life. We are indebted to Thomas's anonymous and nearly contemporary biographer for the information that he was once elected Procurator, or Bursar. The *Chronicle* contains no such record; yet it seems but natural that the author of the essay *On the Faithful Steward*, even mystical as it is in certain respects, should have occupied at some time this post. According to the same authority Thomas was relieved of this duty, which was uncongenial to him, and re-elected as sub-Prior, in order to enable him to devote himself unreservedly to the cultivation of the interior life.

Aided by the many interesting personal details which we find in the memoirs of Thomas à Kempis written by his anonymous biographer, by Ascensius, Tolensis, and Rosweyd,

we can easily picture to ourselves his saintly old age at Mount St. Agnes. The convent, which he remembered in its commencement in poverty and hardship, was now completed and prosperous; but those who had made it so, his own brother included, had gone to their reward. To use his own poetic words, often repeated in the obituary records of his *Chronicle*, they had 'migrated,' and now rested with the Lord; while he, who had taught so many to enter the narrow gate, and tread the thorny way of perfection, still lingered on earth. But what an honoured old age!—'It is good for a man when he hath borne the yoke from his youth.' 'But they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.'

We can picture à Kempis in our minds as his portrait and the descriptions help us. A man of good figure, scarcely under middle height, of dark complexion and vivid colour, the forehead broad and high, the face a little elongated—a noble head, with elevated crown, and piercing intelligent eyes, always gentle and kind, lenient and charitable to the weak, encouraging to the timid, occupied at all times with his various duties, and unceasingly at work. We can think of him at the altar, offering the Holy Sacrifice, burning with the ardour which he infused into the Fourth Book of *The Imitation*. Again, in the choir, singing the Holy Office, standing erect—unsupported—almost raised from earth, with eyes uplifted to heaven, and visage irradiated by holy awe and delight. We can imagine him as he pours the words of consolation into the ear of the weeping penitent, or points out to the wavering the road to security. We can picture him preaching, as he was ever willing to do, to the crowds who flocked to hear him at Mount St. Agnes. We can imagine him surrounded by the community, silent while other topics are discussed, then bursting into eloquence when God and His saints are named, and pouring forth in a limpid torrent the words of wisdom.

Again, in the privacy of his little cell, scourging himself with a heavy discipline, and chanting his favourite hymn *Stetit Jesus*. We can picture him as he walked and conversed

with the brothers, suddenly feeling the inward voice of God, and saying: 'Beloved brethren, I must go. Someone awaits me in my cell.' Who the visitor to his cell was we know from *The Imitation*, where we can realize his communion with God. We can picture him as he comes from lauds, refusing himself further sleep or rest, and devoting the dawn of morning to his writings. Idleness he abhorred; Labour, as he tells us, was his companion; Silence his friend; Prayer his auxiliary.

Thomas had ever been an indefatigable writer, and copied books innumerable, both for the use of the monastery and for sale. He had written out the whole Bible in four great volumes, also a large missal for the use of the brothers; some of the smaller treatises of St. Bernard; and moreover had composed a vast number of spiritual treatises. How truly he revered the work of the copyist we know from his twentieth *Concio*, in which he writes as follows:—

Verily it is a good work to transcribe the books which Jesus loves, by which the knowledge of Him is diffused, His precepts taught, and their practice inculcated. Neither can it be doubted that thou wilt be loved by Him, and amply rewarded if thou dost diligently write out holy books for the honour and glory of God and the good of thy neighbour. If he shall not lose his reward who gives a cup of cold water to his thirsting neighbour, what will be the recompense to him who by copying good books opens unto others the fountain of eternal life?

À Kempis' love for study was so proverbial that when his portrait was taken he was represented sitting in the open air, the buildings of Mount St. Agnes in the distant background, while on the pages of a volume at his feet are inscribed the words, 'I have sought rest everywhere, and never found it, unless in a little nook with a little book.'

It is quite possible, with a little labour, to trace a Kempis' spiritual progress in his works. The difficulty lies in selecting illustrations from the boundless field of choice. The earlier stages are pictured in *The Soliloquy of the Soul*; its later development appears in *The Imitation of Christ*; and his final ascent into the realms of mysticism is manifested in the opening chapters of his almost unknown essay on

The Elevation of the Mind. If space permitted I should wish to tarry over this theme, to show by many illustrations how completely and with what versatility he measured the heights of spiritual elevation, fathomed the depths of human feeling, and indicated the way to perfection. I might point out his study of the virtues of poverty, humility, and patience, as taught in *The Three Tabernacles*; likewise his spiritual exercises, his ideas of true compunction, of solitude and silence, of mortification of self, of a good and peaceful life, his instruction of youth, and of the novices and brethren under his guidance. All these topics and many others are exhaustively discussed in the second volume of his works; but it is impossible to enter upon them now.

The Imitation of Christ, the best known of his works, represents less than one-tenth of the whole. There are not a few amongst them which strongly resemble it, and fully bear comparison with that great masterpiece. I only regret they are not better known. All who study à Kempis' works must love them for the truthfulness, simplicity, and unction.

In his latter days, from the time of his re-election as sub-Prior until his death, he would seem to have been devoted entirely to his favourite occupations—praying, reading, composing, transcribing, teaching the novices, consoling and directing those who sought his aid, and quietly jotting down the simple records of his monastery. Meanwhile, the years rolled by in calm and peace, as the *Chronicle* tells, and Thomas was growing old. Not, indeed, that we can observe in his manuscripts the signs of weakened sight or faltering hand. It is said that he never required spectacles; and the codex of 1456, written when he was in his seventy-sixth year, is as perfect as that of 1441, and quite a masterpiece of caligraphic art.

Finally, we come to the last entry in his *Chronicle*. I will give it here in its touching simplicity:—

In the year of our Lord 1471, on the feast of St. Anthony the Confessor [February 12], in the morning after High Mass, a devout laic named John Gerlac died. He was a native of Dese, near Zwolle, and nearly seventy-two years old. He had lived with us for more than fifty-three years, in great humility,

simplicity and patience, and had endured much labour and many privations. But, amongst other virtues which he possessed, he was pre-eminent for taciturnity, so much so that often he would speak very little for a whole day, and even in his labours he gave to others an example of silence. Shortly before his death he was seized with apoplexy, and became in a measure delirious. He was buried in our cemetery with the other laics.

So far as we know these were the last words ever written by Thomas à Kempis. He himself died in the following May, and the continuator of the *Chronicle* records the events in these words:—

In the same year [1471], on the feast of St. James the Less [May 1], after compline, our Brother Thomas Haemerken, born at Kempen, a town in the diocese of Cologne, departed from this earth. He was in the ninety-second year of his age, the sixty-third of his religious clothing, and the fifty-eighth of his priesthood. In his youth he was a disciple, at Deventer, of Master Florentius, who sent him to his [Thomas's] own brother, who was then Prior of Mount St. Agnes. Thomas, who at that period was twenty years of age, received the habit from his brother at the end of six years' probation, and from the outset of his monastic life he endured great poverty, temptations, and labours. He copied out our Bible, and various other books, some of which were used by the convent, and others were sold. Moreover, for the edification of young persons he wrote various little treatises in a plain and simple style, but in reality great and important works, both in doctrine and efficacy for good. He had a special devotion to the Passion of our Lord, and understood admirably how to console those afflicted by interior trials and temptations. Finally, having attained a ripe old age, he was afflicted with dropsy of the limbs, slept in the Lord in the year 1471, and was buried in the east side of the Cloister, by the side of brother Peter Herbolt.

Such is the brief outline which I venture to offer of the life of the great Thomas à Kempis. Those who seek to understand his glory and true grandeur must study his spiritual works. Lowly monk as he was we find in his career and writings the characteristics of a master-mind,—of one who, having realized the greatness of God, and fathomed the shallow nothingness of this world, was enabled to practise, and to teach as no other man ever taught before or since (the Apostles excepted) the one great lesson,—that in patient suffering we must imitate Christ if we would be

with Him in eternity. 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me. Having, then read and searched out all, be this our last conclusion—that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God.'

In my next communication I will commence to exhibit the proofs which demonstrate the solid grounds upon which I rest my belief, that, despite vexatious controversy, Thomas à Kempis was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

ARCHBISHOP USSHER

A REPRINT of *A Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, by Archbishop Ussher (Dublin: John Jones, 1815), contains a biographical sketch of the most renowned of the Irish Protestant Archbishops, to which the following note is prefixed by the anonymous author:—'In his life of the illustrious prelate, he has carefully noted every circumstance, which, though omitted by one biographer, has been recorded by another.' From this account of his life we learn that the birth of James Ussher took place in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the City of Dublin, on the 4th day of January, 1580: 'a day much to be prized,' writes his enthusiastic biographer, 'as on it Heaven gave to earth one of the most valuable and useful characters that ever graced our orb.'

His father's family, originally named Neville, claim that one of them came over from England as usher to King John; hence the distinctive family name. Arnold Ussher, the Archbishop's father, himself a man of talent and learning, was one of the six clerks in the Irish Chancery. Another brother, Henry, was made Protestant Archbishop of Armagh during the minority of his most distinguished

successor and nephew. His grandfather, on the mother's side, James Stanihurst, was three times Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and Recorder of Dublin. The mother clung to the religion of her forefathers, and died a Catholic at Drogheda. In his eighth year, young Ussher was sent by his father to a school, then opened by Fullerton and Hamilton, both Fellows of the University of Glasgow. These gentlemen had been sent over by King James to look after his interest amongst the Protestant gentry of Ireland. When James became King of England both were knighted for their services, and Hamilton was afterwards created Viscount Clandeboye.

In 1693, having arrived at the age of thirteen years, he became a scholar of the recently-founded University of 'the Sacred and Undivided Trinity,' being still under the direction of his former preceptor, Hamilton, who had been elected a Fellow of Trinity. The first incentive to Ussher's future fame as an historian came from that celebrated passage of Cicero: 'Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit est semper esse puerum.' His mind was so much impressed with the importance of this sentiment, that he immediately commenced Sleidan's work, *De quatuor Imperiis*, and from that time he became constantly engaged in historical researches. At the age of fourteen he began to collect materials for his celebrated work of the Annals. When he was but fifteen he had drawn up a chronicle of the Bible as far back as the Book of Kings, and a parallel chronicle of the heathen world.

In 1596 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and two years after distinguished himself as respondent in a philosophical disputation, which was held by the College in honour of the Earl of Essex, on his arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. On the death of his father about this time, the family estate descended to him as being the eldest son. As his estate was involved in much litigation, burdened with the fortunes of seven sisters, and as so much care would interfere with his literary labours, he resigned it to his brother, reserving for himself only so much as was necessary for his maintenance in college, and for the

purchase of books. This anonymous biographer informs us that :—

When only eighteen or nineteen years of age he was considered the most proper person to contend with Henry Fitz Symonds, a learned and daring Jesuit, who was at that time a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and who had challenged the greatest and most learned champion in the controversies between the Romish and Reformed Churches, to contend with him. This challenge Ussher alone was found competent to accept. He accordingly came forward to oppose this mighty boaster. A public disputation ensued between them on the subject of Bellarmine's Controversies, which was to be continued one day in every week ; but this wily Jesuit soon found Ussher's wit too strong, his arguments too forcible, his skill in disputation greater than he imagined ; and, therefore, after the second conference, he declined the combat, left the field of battle to the vanquisher, and fled ingloriously.

The learned Protestant, Boyle, laughs at the whole story ; the honest Protestant, Anthony Wood, says simply that the Jesuit 'grew weary of disputing,' with his youthful kinsman ; a writer in Moreri's *Dictionary* scouts this tale, and says that Ussher in his best days would not have been a match for Fitzsimon.

The following is Fitzsimon's own simple account of the controversy, in his *Britannomachia*, dedicated to Aquaviva, his Father General :—

While I was a captive for five years in the Castle of Dublin, I did everything in my power to provoke the parsons to a discussion, except perhaps during the two years in which hardly anyone was allowed to see me, so strictly was I guarded. Whenever I knew that they were passing in the corridors, or the Castle yard, I tried to see them, and by word or gesture to attract their attention towards me. But they neither wished to look up at me in the tower, nor did they pretend to hear me, when from the Castle or the cell I challenged them in a stentorian voice. Once indeed, a youth of eighteen came forward with the greatest trepidation of face and voice. He was a precocious boy, but not of a bad disposition and talent, as it seemed. Perhaps he was rather greedy of applause. Anyhow, he was desirous of disputing about most abstruse points of divinity, although he had not yet finished the study of philosophy. I bid the youth bring me some proof that he was considered a fit champion of the Protestants, and I said that I would then enter into a discussion

even with him. But as they did not at all think him a fit and proper person to defend them, he never again honoured me with his presence.

On this Dr. Parr observes, that Fitzsimon living to know our author better, terms him: *A catholicorum doctissimus*.

In 1600, Ussher was appointed Proctor, was chosen Catechetical Lecturer to the University, took the degree of Master of Arts, and on the Ash Wednesday of the same year defended a public thesis in philosophy with much credit to himself. It was on the same day that the Earl of Essex was beheaded—that ill-fated nobleman before whom, as Lord Lieutenant, he had sustained his first public discussion two years previously. Although under canonical age, and even then appointed to give controversial lectures at Christ Church, he was ordained on the Sunday before Christmas, 1601, by his uncle, Henry Ussher, then Protestant Archbishop of Armagh. He was soon afterwards appointed afternoon preacher to Government, at Christ Church. At this time the Lord Deputy and Council gave directions to the Protestant ministers of Dublin to disperse themselves through the different churches, and by their sermons endeavour to communicate all necessary information upon the subject of their religion to the Catholic countrymen, who were reported, since the defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale, to have shown an inclination to confirm to the enactment which required their attendance at Church during divine service.

It is related that Ussher was for a time rather successful in attracting a number of Catholics to listen to his catechetical instructions. But suddenly, we are told—‘the operations of the Statute were suspended, the power of the High Commission was no longer exerted to enforce its observance, and Popery with all its evils, was again permitted to return, and destroy the fair hopes which were entertained of an early abundant harvest in the Lord’s vineyard.’ Ussher loved the city of his birth, and wrote thus in praise of it: ‘Dublin, the city of my birth, is full of people, and is most beautifully situated; the river and the neighbouring sea are full of fish.’

It is related that the English army which defeated the Spaniards at Kinsale, anxious to render the country a literary, as well as military service, subscribed the sum of £1,800 to purchase a library for the University in Dublin. Ussher and his kinsman, Dr. Challoner, were selected to buy the books.

In 1606, he was presented with the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, by Archbishop Loftus, who was then Chancellor of Ireland. In the same year, he again visited the metropolis of England, for the purpose of examining and purchasing such manuscripts and books as were necessary for him to consult in reference to English history. During his stay in England at this time he formed an intimate friendship with Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Camden, the two celebrated antiquarians of that age. The latter was at this time employed in publishing a new edition of his *Britannia*, to which, as he gratefully acknowledged, he was enabled to make many important additions from the information he received from Ussher respecting the ancient state of Ireland.

On the occasion of his previous visit to England, Ussher had made the acquaintance of the celebrated Sir Thomas Bodley, who was at that time engaged in procuring for the University of Oxford, that magnificent library, which has since so deservedly perpetuated his name. In 1607, the subject of our sketch was appointed professor of theology in his *Alma Mater*. This chair he occupied for thirteen years. In 1609, he wrote a treatise on the *Termon or Ancient Church Lands of Ireland*. This was considered a very learned disquisition, and fraught with much critical research. As it referred to the Corban lands of England, as well as Ireland, it was sent by him in manuscript to Bancroft then Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him presented to King James. Sir Henry Spelman was indebted for his information on this subject to what he extracted from the treatise of Ussher. He published part of it in the first part of his *Glossary*, and mentions the source from whence he derived it, in the following words:—‘Thus copiously have I obscured a light, which that renowned

Pharos of the learned world, James [Ussher], Bishop of Meath, kindled for me.'

The Fellows of Dublin University unanimously elected Ussher their Provost in 1610, when he had attained the 30th year of his age. This office, however, he did not find himself free to accept, as it would interfere too much with his literary occupations.

In this year he married Phoebe, the daughter of his friend, Dr. Luke Challoner. This lady, it seems, was an heiress of a considerable fortune, and her father on his dying bed implored her never to connect herself with any other person if Dr. Ussher should propose for her.

The couple appear to have enjoyed a happy married life for the period of forty years. They had only one child, a daughter, Elizabeth, who was afterwards married to Sir Timothy Tyrrel. Hence, the Rev. James Ussher, referred to by Dr. Milner, in his *Tour Through Ireland*, as a convert to the Catholic faith, cannot have been Archbishop James Ussher's 'immediate descendant.' Ussher having occasion to visit England about the close of the year 1619, and having been suspected as favourable to Puritanism, the Lord Deputy and Council gave him the following letter to the Privy Council of England:—

The extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr. Dr. Ussher, prevaileth with us, to offer him this favour, which we deny to many that move us, to be recommended to your Lordships: and we do this the rather, because we are desirous to set him right in his Majesty's opinion, who it seems hath been informed that he is somewhat transported with singularities, and unaptness to be conformable to the rules and orders of the Church. We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your Lordships, as a man orthodox, and worthy to govern in the Church when occasion shall be presented. And his Majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being one that hath preached before the State for eighteen years; and has been his Majesty's Professor of Divinity in the University these thirteen years, and a man who has given himself over to his profession; an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness; and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him are yet constrained to love and admire them. And for such an one we beseech your Lordships to understand him, and accordingly to speak to his Majesty; and thus with the remembrance of our humble duties we take leave.

When this character of Ussher had been read, James sent for him, and after a long interview, he ended by exclaiming: 'The knave Puritan is a bad man; but the knave's Puritan is an honest man.' Ussher had been previously one of the King's Chaplains. To test his ability as a preacher, James chose a text in the Book of Chronicles, and desired him to expound it in his presence, 'which,' as Ussher wrote to a friend, 'was very hard bones to pick.' The bishopric (Protestant) of Meath was at this time vacant; and the King, to show his high opinion of him, without any influence beyond his own free selection, nominated him to the vacant see. While he was detained in England, before his 'consecration,' a Parliament was convened at Westminster, on the 1st day of February. Dr. Parr has the following passages extracted from the diary of the bishop elect:—

I was appointed by the House of Parliament to preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the House, spoke to the King that the appointment might stand. The King said it was very well done. February 13, being Shrove-Tuesday, I dined at Court; and between four and five I kissed the King's hand, and had conference with him touching my sermon. He said I had charge of an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundreds should be tied, upon so short a warning [lest some Catholics had been elected] to receive the communion upon a day; all could not be in charity; after so late contentions in the House, many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation; that himself required all his household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better. To exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their King and country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat, qui cito dat*.

On the first Sunday in Lent he preached, taking as his text, 1 Cor. x. 17. Having insisted on the union of the members in the body and to the Head, he next very copiously enlarges on the members being disunited from those who

were not of the same body, the necessity of their being dis-severed, especially from idolators, which he endeavours to prove Catholics to be. The house sent Sir James Perrot and Mr. Drake to give him thanks, and to desire him to print the sermon.

After his consecration and induction into the see of Meath, by Primate Hampden, he preached before the Lord-Deputy Falkland, on the text: 'He beareth not the sword in vain,' strongly impressing on him the duty of strictly enforcing the laws which had been made against the Catholics. His own explanation of the discourse is related in a letter addressed to Lord Grandison:—

The day that my Lord of Falkland received the sword, I preached at Christ's Church; and fitting myself to the present occasion, took for my text those words in Romans xiii.: 'He beareth not the sword in vain.' I wished that if his Majesty, who is, under God, our supreme governor, were pleased to extend his clemency toward his subjects that were recusants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not give us public affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. And that it might appear that it was not without cause that I made this motion, I instanced in two particulars that had lately fallen out in mine own diocese. The one, certified unto me by Mr. John Ankers, preacher of Athlone, that going to read prayers at Kilkenny, in Westmeath, he found an old priest and about forty with him in the church, who was so bold as to require him, Ankers, to depart until he had done his business. The other, concerning the friars, who were not content to possess the house of Multifarnham alone (whence your Lordship had dislodged them), but went about to make collections for the re-edifying of another abbey, Mulengarre, for the entertaining of another swarm of locusts. Thirdly, I did entreat that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly, I made a public protestation that it was far from my mind to excite the magistrates unto any violent courses against them, as one that did naturally abhor all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the W—— of Babylon than of the Church of God.

Again, November, 1626, we find the Irish Protestant bishops assembled in the house of Primate Ussher,

unanimously agreeing with him in subscribing the following protestation:—

The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both, apostatical; to give them, therefore, a toleration, or consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin."

Ussher also seems to have taken a very active part, as Privy Councillor, in advising the suppression of convents, friaries, Mass houses, &c.; for Lord Falkland, in a letter, which he wrote to him, dated April 14, 1629, refers to a proclamation of this nature which was issued on the first of that month, reminds him that he had assisted in the consultations respecting it, and requests him to inquire into some particulars of its operation. In reply, a return was furnished of the Popish conventual houses at Raphoe; and May, 1629, the Privy Council addressed a letter to him on the same subject, making some further inquiries, and stating that they had given directions to his Majesty's Attorney-General to proceed against the proprietors of the houses mentioned by his Grace in his communications to them.

Ussher had been appointed Archbishop of Armagh, in 1624, when he was forty-four years of age. He then took up his abode in Drogheda, at the East Gate. Lord Stafford wrote to Archbishop Laud, concerning the Protestant Primate's palace: 'It is the best house I have seen in Ireland.' We are informed that he assembled the members of his household to engage with him in devotional exercises at six every morning, at eight every evening, before dinner also, and before supper. He, moreover, delivered, every Friday evening, a regular lecture for their fuller instruction in the principles of the Gospel, in his private chapel: and on the evening of Sunday he obliged his chaplains to expatiate on the principal features of the sermon which he himself had preached in the morning, in order to impress it the more strongly on the minds of those who were inmates of his house. He had the words, '*Man, remember the last day,*' cut upon a bank of grass in his city garden.

When the Lord Deputy Falkland was recalled to England, Ussher attended him to the place of his embarkation; and it is related by his Protestant biographers, to the credit of both, that when Falkland approached the Primate to bid him farewell, he first prostrated himself upon the earth, and implored his blessing.

Father Fitzsimon relates that when Father Francis Slingsby was lodged in the tower of Dublin, he was twice assaulted by the prime pretended prelate, Ussher. 'The second time he craved to begin, on both sides, in these words: *Be he in this instant damned of us both who varieth by mouth from his conscience.* The debate thereby was interrupted, the said primeman relenting.' Protestant writers give the credit to Ussher of having advanced Bedell to the Provostship of Trinity College. They endeavour, in vain, to defend the Primate from the charge of having permitted excessive exactions and corruptions in his ecclesiastical courts, brought against him by this most worthy and tolerant of the Irish Protestant bishops, Bedell. Ussher attempts to justify himself as follows:—

Though I do not justify the taking of fees without good ground, yet I may truly say of a great part of mine own and of many other bishops' dioceses, that if men stood not more in fear of the fees of the court than of standing in a white sheet, we should have here among us another Sodom and Gomorrah.

In 1630, Downham, Protestant Bishop of Derry, published a treatise on the final perseverance of believers in their contest against sin. Ussher had furnished him with some of the materials, and was, of course, favourable to the publication. It must then, have been very grating to his feelings to have received the Royal Mandate, procured through the influence of Archbishop Laud, to suppress it.

About this time, he also received a circular letter from Charles the First, in which it is stated that the King had received information from the Privy Council of Ireland, respecting the increase and growth of the Romish faction, and *the neglect* of the Protestant clergy, '*who were not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service, or the*

*honour of themselves, and their profession, in removing all pretences of scandal in their lives and conversation.'*¹

On the occasion of the national rising, in 1641, Ussher with the greater number of the Irish Protestant bishops fled to England. Bedell, the worthy Protestant prelate of Kilmore, has left it on record how little reason they had to apprehend any hurt or injury from their Irish Catholic countrymen. The only harsh treatment that Ussher then experienced was from a party of Welsh Royalists. They dragged him and those that were with him from their horses, and pillaged his luggage, including several chests of books and valuable MSS.

I know [said he to his daughter] that it is God's hand, and I endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned, for I am troubled in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning and the good of the Church.

However, after some months, the greater portion of his books and manuscripts were restored to him intact. On the 5th November of the same year, he preached a sermon at Oxford on the Gunpowder Plot, which he essays to prove, from some pamphlets, said to have been printed at Rome, as having been devised there, and that prayers were offered up at Rome for the prosperous success of it. The honest Anthony Wood assures us that he could find no notice of when or where these incriminatory pamphlets were printed. And the non-Catholic origin of the plot is becoming more evident every year from the publication of contemporary documents.

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, selected Ussher to attend him at the time of his execution by the Puritans of England; and beside him he knelt when reciting his last prayer before laying his head on the block. This act of devoted friendship did not prevent people from accusing

¹ Dr. Renehan, in his *Collections of Irish Church History*, p. 39, writes: 'The [Protestant] clergy were scandalously profligate and immoral, but the episcopal bench was defiled with crimes that disgrace human nature.'

the Primate of having advised King Charles to sanction the attainder and execution of his fallen minister. The King, however, with great heat declared that the accusation was false, and that when the Bill of Attainder was passed, the Archbishop came to him, with tears in his eyes, exclaiming : ' Oh ! sir, what have you done ? I fear this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience ; and pray God that your Majesty may never suffer by the signing of this Bill.' On his arrival about this time in London, we learn that Ussher was interrogated by the Parliamentary Committee as to whether Sir Charles Coote, or any other person ever asked him to use his influence with the King to grant a toleration of religion in Ireland. His reply may be taken as another proof of his own religious intolerance, and of the duplicity of King Charles. He declared that neither Sir C. Coote or any other person ever asked him to use his influence with the King to grant a toleration of religion in Ireland ; and also, that on the arrival of the Irish agents at Oxford, he entreated his Majesty not to enter into any regulation respecting religion in Ireland without consulting him ; that this request was acceded to ; that the King and Council declared against a toleration ; and that he himself always regarded such a measure as involving the danger of the Protestant religion.

At the time of the execution of Charles, January 30, 1649, Ussher was the guest of Lady Peterborough, in her residence at Charing Cross. His biographer narrates that :—

Some of the family, who had previously gone out on the leads of the house, from whence they had a full view of Whitehall, came down when the King appeared upon the scaffold, to entreat him to return with them, and once more behold his venerable and unfortunate master. At first, unwilling to comply, he at last consented. When he saw the hereditary Governor of Britain engaged in the last mournful vindication of his conduct, he sighed deeply, and with hands and eyes upraised to Heaven, suffused with tears, he prayed with earnestness ; and when he saw the masked executioners preparing to fulfil their dreadful office, no longer able to witness a scene so horrible, or endure a spectacle so atrocious and diabolical, in which such foul indignities were offered to royalty, he swooned into the arms of his attendants, and was at length relieved when laid upon his couch by an abundant effusion of tears.

He afterwards kept that day as a day of prayer and fasting.

In 1655 Ussher was urged by some of his brethren to wait on Cromwell, and request him to allow the episcopal clergy the free exercise of the religious services, as he had previously forbade them to instruct youth, or perform any part of their ministerial functions. He found a surgeon dressing a large boil on the Protector's breast: 'If the core were once out,' said Cromwell, 'I should be quickly well.' 'I doubt,' replied the Archbishop, 'the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' said Oliver, with seeming unconcern, 'so there is, indeed,' and sighed. After the interview Ussher said to Parr, one of his chaplains: 'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long: the King will return, and though I shall not live to see it, you may.'

It had been the habit of the Archbishop to make some remark in his diary, opposite the day of his birth. His observation this year (1655) was: 'Now aged seventy-five years. My days are full,' and, immediately afterwards, 'Resignation.' Not long before his death he heard Dr. Parr preach, and said afterwards: 'I thank you for your sermon. I am going out of the world, and I now desire, according to your text, "to seek those things which are above."' On March 20; 1655, in the evening, he first complained of a pain in the hip. That day he had remained in his study so long as the light continued, and then went to visit a lady in the same house, who was dangerously ill. The next morning the pain in the hip was accompanied with a great pain in his side. A physician was sent for, and the medicines supposed to be requisite were ordered; but, so far from abating, they only increased the violence of his complaint, which, after his decease, was ascertained to be pleurisy. He now applied himself altogether to his devotions, and the Countess of Peterborough's chaplain prayed with him. Receiving no intermission from pain, he

addressed a solemn warning to all who were around him, to prepare for death and judgment, and requested to be left alone. The last words he was heard to utter were: 'O Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission.' He had frequently expressed his desire that he might die praying for mercy and forgiveness, confident that such language was most befitting the fallen sons of Adam. He died on the 27th of March, thirty-one years after his elevation to the Protestant primacy. Cromwell, desirous of obtaining a character for liberality, ordered his remains to be interred, with all the honours due to so great a personage, at Westminster Abbey, on the 17th of April.

Ussher is described as being of moderate stature, sanguine complexion, brown hair, and of a grave though pleasing countenance.

USSHER'S DESIRE TO BE RECEIVED INTO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In a lecture delivered at the Guild Hall, Sydney, June, 1895, his Eminence Cardinal Moran stated that:—

It is not generally known that Ussher, Protestant Primate and Archbishop of Armagh, was desirous to be restored to Catholic unity . . . We find him, in 1640, entering into negotiations with Rosetti, the Papal Agent, and proposing to resign the see of Armagh, to openly profess the Catholic faith, and to spend the rest of his days in Rome, and, moreover, to bring thither his magnificent collection of manuscripts and books, if a pension of £4,000 a-year were accorded to him. Needless to say, no funds were available to make any such provision, though he was assured that nothing would be left undone to secure for him an honourable maintenance. During the subsequent disturbances of the Civil War he was tossed to and fro, from post to pillar, but is said to have persevered in his pious intentions, and to have been before death admitted to the Catholic fold. His wife, who took refuge in Paris, repeatedly declared, as is attested in the *Rinuccini Memoirs*, that he was most desirous to be reconciled to the Holy See.

Challenged as to the accuracy of these statements by Dr. Chalmers, Protestant Bishop of Goulburn, N.S.W., his Eminence, in his *Fourth Reply to My Critics*,

delivered October, 1895, gives the following additional particulars :—

As regards the Protestant Primate, Ussher, his petition to be received into the Church is referred to in the *Memoirs* of Cardinal Passionei, printed in Rome in the last century. The fact is also recorded in the manuscripts of the contemporary Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Protector of Ireland, which are preserved in the Barberini archives. The facts, as related in my lecture on the Reunion of Christendom, are taken from the official contemporary history of the Rinuccini's Nunciature in Ireland. The original of this invaluable work, in six large folio volumes, is preserved as a precious heirloom in the Triveilzi family archives in Milan. I have a copy of this manuscript. It was made for me a quarter of a century ago, at an expense of £120, and corresponds page for page with the original text.

HIS WORKS AND VIEWS ON ANGLICAN ORDERS

His polemical works, which created a great stir in their day, especially that one entitled, *A Discourse on the Religion of the Ancient Irish and British*, would now be regarded as feeble controversial efforts. Chapter viii., p. 84, he admits that 'St. Patrick had a special regard to the Church of Rome, from which he was sent for the conversion of Ireland.'

His volumes on the *Antiquities of the British and Irish Churches* are considered to be the most valuable of his literary works. He was in constant correspondence with the most learned men on the Continent and in the Islands; amongst others, with the learned Bishop Rothe of Ossory, whom he describes as 'a most diligent investigator of his country's antiquities,' and with Ussher's own uncle, the celebrated Richard Stanihurst, who died at Brussels, in 1618. Cardinal Richelieu invited him to France, promising him a considerable pension, and liberty of conscience. He also wrote a letter on the publication of his work, *Ecclesiarum Britannicarum Antiquitates*, enclosing a gold medal of great value, stamped with his own likeness. Ussher, in return, sent him a present of Irish greyhounds. He was the first student of Trinity College. His splendid library of twenty thousand volumes, including the *Book of Kells*, were secured for Ireland,

and Ussher's *Alma Mater* in a great measure, by the influence and at the expense of Cromwell and the English army in Ireland. The King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin, were endeavouring to secure it for their own nations.

O'Sullivan Beare, the author of the Catholic History, having been stigmatized by Ussher as 'the most egregious liar of any in christendom,' returned the compliment by calling the Primate 'ursum—a bear of the most formidable kind; and that he was the very reverse of St. Patrick, whose successor he pretended to be.' O'Sullivan's estimate of the number of the Irish Catholic clergy, in 1618, is *mille centum et sexaginta*.

Ussher and Bedell, in 1633, give the number as double that claimed for themselves by the Protestant clergy.

Bernard, the Primate's chief chaplain, writes that his opinion respecting episcopacy may be fairly summed up in his own words: '*Episcopus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt non ordine*'; and consequently, that in places where bishops cannot be had, the ordination of presbyters standeth valid.'

One could scarcely desire a better justification for the recent papal condemnation of Anglican Orders than this rash and reckless admission on the part of one of their most learned and distinguished prelates.

N. MURPHY, P.P.

A NEW STYLE OF ORGAN FOR SMALL CHURCHES

WITHIN the last few weeks I had an opportunity of seeing and thoroughly examining an organ erected in the College Church, Esker, Athenry, which presents so many new and interesting features that I should like to introduce it to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

The little instrument is the work of Mr. W. R. Andrew, of London; but the new features in it, which make it so interesting and useful, are the inventions of Mr. T. Casson, whose name is familiar to all students of modern organ-building. It has been designed with a view to supplying, at a low price, an instrument on which players of moderate accomplishments can produce the effects of a full organ with two manuals and pedals. Mr. Casson has called this small organ 'Positive Organ,' a term still used on the Continent to denote small organs without pedals, or a department in a large organ corresponding to the English choir organ. The term was used in the early Middle Ages, in contradistinction to a 'portative' organ—one that could be carried about. The positive organ, therefore, meant a larger kind of organ. Later on, however, when larger organs were built, the old positive organs appeared as comparatively small organs, and hence the term acquired its present meaning. As in explaining the peculiarities of this new instrument I shall have to use terms that may not be familiar to some readers, it may be well, first of all, to premise a few general observations.

In all keyed instruments, such as organs, pianos, harmoniums, as well as the concertina and its relatives, the sound-producing bodies are tuned each to one tone; each of them is capable of producing only one tone, and for every tone, therefore, there must be at least one special sound-producing body. In the piano, we have for every key one string, or several strings tuned in unison; in the harmonium,

we have, similarly, the reeds; and in the organ, the pipes. In this respect these instruments differ from the orchestral instruments, in which the same body is capable of emitting a number of sounds of different pitch. In the violin and its relatives—the viola, 'cello, and double bass—this is done by 'stopping.' By pressing down, with the fingers, the string on the finger-board, the length of the string is shortened and a higher pitch produced. These instruments are provided with several strings, mainly in order to facilitate their manipulation. Absolutely speaking, one string could produce, as far as pitch is concerned, all the tones of which the instrument is capable. In the wood wind instruments—such as the oboe, clarinet, flute—the column of air that produces the tone is shortened or lengthened by opening or closing holes in the side of the instrument. In the brass instruments—such as the trumpet and trombone—similarly the column of air is varied in length by either drawing out and pushing in a tube that is telescoped into another one, or by connecting, through the agency of valves, pieces of various lengths with the main sounding tube. All these means of varying the pitch of the same sound-producing body are impracticable with the instruments mentioned above, and hence it is that they require a different string, reed, or pipe for every key.

In an organ, however, we can produce tones of different quality; we can, as it were, play, with the same key-board, different instruments. But it is clear, that for each of these various tone qualities we must have a whole set of pipes, one for each key. Now, such a set of pipes, one for each key of the key-board, alike in construction, and, consequently, in tone-colour, is called a 'stop.' We may distinguish four different classes of stops. The first and principal one, of full and round tone, peculiarly characteristic of the organ, is called diapason; there are several varieties of it, differing principally in 'scale,' that is, the ratio of the diameter to the length of the tube. The second class is formed by the stops of soft, flute-like tone—such as the clarabella, gedackt, flute; the third, by those of string-like intonation—such as gamba, salicional, dulciana; and the fourth by the reed.

stops—such as trumpet, trombone, oboe. But organ-stops differ not only by their character, but also by their pitch. In order to add dignity and depth to the organ-tone, sometimes stops are introduced, which sound an octave lower than the principal or ‘foundation’ stops. On the other hand, in order to give more brightness and distinctness, stops are provided that reinforce the over-tones of the principal tones, the octave, the twelfth, the second octave, and so forth. To distinguish these stops of various pitch, they are named by the length of their longest pipe. The lowest note of one of the principal stops is produced by a pipe of about 8 feet in length, and hence such a stop is called an 8-ft. stop. Stops producing tones an octave lower than these are called 16-ft. stops; those producing tones an octave higher, 4-ft. stops; and so on. It must be remarked here, that a closed pipe requires only half the length of an open pipe to produce the same tone. But closed stops are designated, not according to the actual length of their lowest pipe, but according to the tone they produce, measured by an open pipe. A gedackt, for instance, is called an 8-ft. stop, though its lowest pipe is only 4 feet in length. Similarly the sub-bass, or bourdon, usually found as a pedal stop, is called a 16-ft. stop, though its lowest pipe measures only 8 feet. I may mention here incidentally that organ-builders sometimes use closed pipes for the lowest octave of open stops. This is a considerable saving of cost, as closed pipes require less wood and space than open ones of the same pitch. But if the organ-builder intends doing so, he ought to mention it in the specification. It looks like deception, if he specifies, say, an open diapason 16 ft. for the pedal organ, and then puts in closed pipes for the twelve lowest notes.

To allow of all the effects of organ-playing, an organ should have two key-boards for the hands, called manuals, and a key-board for the feet, called pedals, each provided with a number of stops. But such an instrument is costly, and requires a well-trained player. Hence it is that in many churches harmoniums, or so-called American organs, are used as a substitute. These two instruments are essentially the

same, notwithstanding the high-sounding name of the latter. They are both of the "free reed" kind, that is to say, the tone is produced by a reed—a thin piece of metal made to vibrate by a current of wind, just as in the concertina. In the organ, too, we have reed-stops, as mentioned above, and a reed is also used in the orchestral oboe, bassoon, and clarinet. But here the reed serves only for forming the tone, as it were, while the real sound-producing body is the column of air in the pipe. In the harmonium and American organ, however, the reed itself gives out the sound. The only difference between these two instruments is, that in the latter the wind is sucked through the reeds into the bellows, instead of being blown out from the bellows, as is the case in the harmonium. The peculiarity of the sound of both is that the fundamental tone, that which is supposed to be predominant, is very weak, and it is principally the over-tones that are heard. Hence the tone is wanting in body and dignity. It soon tires the nerves. It has no carrying power; it makes a great deal of noise when you are near it, but is scarcely heard at a distance. It has no power to lead the voices; and moreover, by its nasal quality, has a detrimental influence on voice production. Besides, the reed allows of very little variety in character. A slight difference can be produced by varying the shape of the reed and the way it is embedded in the frame. But even in the best of these instruments there is a sameness of colour which soon becomes tedious. Hence a pipe organ, of even the most moderate dimensions, is far preferable to a reed instrument. It was only the question of expense that turned the balance in favour of the reed instruments.

But there is another difficulty to be considered, which I shall try to explain as clearly as possible. Harmony, as a rule, is written in four parts, two of which are regularly played with the right hand, and two with the left. Now, if the two hands are kept pretty close together, the combined compass of the two is only small, and therefore if the higher notes are in their proper place, the lowest notes will be rather high, and consequently the whole harmony wanting in depth and dignity. If, to obviate this, the left hand were

to play lower down on the key-board, two inconveniences would arise; first, the gap between the two pairs of parts would produce a bad effect; and, secondly, the two lower parts would themselves be unpleasant for acoustical reasons, because in the lower tones any interval smaller than an octave produces very disagreeable beats. If, on the other hand, we were to assign three parts to the right hand, and play only the bass with the left hand in the lower portion of the key-board, connected playing, as is necessary on instruments of sustained tone, would be difficult for the right hand, the movement of the three upper parts would be much restricted on account of the limited compass of one hand, and again there would be the gap between the bass and the upper parts.

Various means have been devised to overcome this difficulty. In the American organ we meet with the sub-octave coupler, that is to say, a mechanical contrivance by means of which each key when played presses down with it the corresponding key in the next lower octave. Thus the whole compass of the harmony is extended an octave. The lowest and the highest notes are far enough apart, without there being any gap between them. But, on the other hand, all distinctness of part writing is thereby destroyed, each part being repeated below the next lower one, and we have also the objectionable small intervals between very low notes referred to above. From an artistic standpoint, therefore, this contrivance is altogether to be rejected. Slightly less objectionable is the plan of providing a stop of 16-ft. tone for the lower portion of the key-board. This will give a good bass without affecting the upper parts of the harmony. But here, too, whenever the part next above the bass comes within the range of this 16-ft. stop, the disagreeable effect twice referred to is produced.

In the organ this difficulty has been solved satisfactorily, centuries ago, by the introduction of the pedals. If the feet are brought into requisition for the rendering of the harmony, they can play the bass part sufficiently low, while the two hands are free to execute the upper parts in their natural positions.

But pedal organs are expensive and difficult to play. Hence the reed organ holds the field. Mr. Casson's Positive organ, however, does away, in a most ingenious manner, with both the expense and the difficulty of playing, and is, therefore, likely to rout the rival. Mr. Casson, first of all, cuts away the lowest five notes of the ordinary organ keyboard. Thereby he saves a great deal of expense—for it is the longest pipes that cost most—and deprives the player of only little, as these notes are rarely used, being beyond the ordinary compass of the hands. He then provides a sub-bass, a 16-ft. stop, for the portion of the key-board from the middle *c* downwards, which, by an extremely clever device, is so arranged that only the *lowest note struck* will sound on it. By this, the most important feature of the new instrument, we have the bass of the harmony doubled in the lower octave, while the other parts of the harmony remain unaffected, thus obviating all the inconveniences of the contrivances discussed above. The effect is just as if the bass were played on the pedals with 16-ft. and 8-ft. stops.

This solution of the problem is so simple and so natural, that one wonders why nobody thought of it before. But, of course, even if someone had conceived the idea, there would have been the other difficulty of working it out practically. It took the inventive genius of a Mr. Casson to see the very simple and reliable action by which the desired end could be accomplished.

I can only shortly touch on some other peculiarities of the organ. The so-called 'melodic' stop is a counterpart of the sub-bass arrangement. In it only the highest note struck sounds, and it serves, therefore, for reinforcing the melody, a thing often desirable. The 'transposer' is a mechanical means of shifting the key-board so that the same key will produce a lower or higher tone. The Positive organ thus transposes a semi-tone up and three semi-tones down. This, we expect, will often prove useful to country organists. Music is oftentimes written too high for the voices available. By means of the transposer the organist can play it in a lower key, without having to read the notes differently.

The compass of the organ is from F to a'', three octaves and a third. I understand, however, that the designer is thinking of extending it to c''', thus giving it three octaves and a fifth. The 4-ft. stop, with which even the smallest of these organs is provided, of course, gives an extra octave at the top. The price of these little organs ranges from £65 to £75. The workmanship and material of the organ I have examined is of the very first class, the action perfect, the tone sweet and artistic, and the appearance very pretty. The specification includes three 8-ft. stops, namely, open diapason, gedackt, and salicional. We have, therefore, one stop from each of the families distinguished above, except the reeds. The three stops are beautifully contrasted in colour and strength, and form very nice combinations. The 4-ft. stop, a salicet, is so voiced, that it will blend with each of the 8-ft. stops, as well as produce a good effect in the full organ. The melodic stop acts on the open diapason, and brings out the melody clearly, without making it obtrusive. I should mention that the instrument is easily blown by the performer, while an arrangement for blowing by hand can be attached at a trifling cost.

In conclusion, I may say that while very beautiful effects can be produced on this organ, and while it is very superior to any harmonium or American organ, I should be sorry if anybody were to get it instead of a full organ with manuals and pedals, or if any aspiring organist, on account of the facilities afforded by this instrument, were to give up practising the pedals. For only by the use of the pedals can the finest effects of organ-playing be produced.

H. BEWERUNGE.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

INTERPRETATION OF DIOCESAN FACULTIES TO DISPENSE IN AFFINITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the diocesan faculties that I have got, I have power *dispensandi, certiorato poenitente, in impedimento affinitatis quod post matrimonium contractum oritur*. What am I to understand by the clause *certiorato poenitente*? Does it mean that I am, in granting the dispensation, to explain the ecclesiastical law regarding this diriment impediment to penitents who have hitherto been ignorant of its provisions in this matter? An answer in an early number of the I. E. RECORD will, perhaps, settle some controversy, and will oblige

ADMINISTRATOR.

The impediment of affinity arises *antecedently* or *subsequently* to marriage. The antecedent impediment invalidates a subsequent marriage, and is therefore a *diriment impediment*. The subsequent impediment is rather *prohibent*, and that only *quoad petitionem debiti*; it does not, of course, dissolve marriage already contracted. It is a mere slip on the part of our correspondent, to call this subsequent impediment of affinity a diriment impediment, in relation to the marriage already contracted. For, manifestly, '*matrimonium dirimere, non potest, at reo adimit jus petendi debitum.*'¹

We must premise a few remarks on the nature of this impediment, and on the conditions under which it arises.

Aertnys thus explains the nature and effect of the subsequent impediment of affinity:—

Conjux, qui durante matrimonio contraxit affinitatem cum suo consorte, patrando incestum cum consortis consanguineo vel consanguinea in primo vel secundo gradu non potest petere debitum [nisi altera pars tacite petat vel sit in magno periculo incontinentiae; etiam, forsan si ipse incestuosus sit in magno

¹ Lehmkuhl, ii. 761.

periculo incontinentiæ et tamen non possit dispensationem obtinere¹] parti tamen innocenti reddere potest et debet.²

The conditions under which *jus petendi debitum* is lost, are treated in every manual of theology. To one of them only we must refer, owing to its bearing on the question proposed. Theologians discuss whether a person ignorant of this ecclesiastical law, specially prohibiting incest, or even of the penalty or inhability attaching to its violation, would, notwithstanding, contract this subsequent impediment. Many hold that the subsequent, like the antecedent, impediment of affinity is in no way affected by ignorance; it is incurred, they say, *ignorantia non obstante*.³ Others, relying on the common teaching, that ignorance excuses from a *poena extraordinaria*, and contending that this impediment of subsequent affinity is a *poena extraordinaria*, maintain that ignorance, either of the ecclesiastical law itself, or of the penalty, excuses from the impediment. Feije, referring to this second opinion, says:—

Horum autem opinio communior est eique videtur adstipulandum. . . . Hac igitur admissa opinione a *poena illa excusatur ignorantia etiam crassa*, non tamen affectata, sive facti qua quis ignorat personam cum qua copulam perfectam habet, esse comparti consanguineam in primo vel secundo gradu, *sive juris, nempe aut legis ecclesiasticæ specialiter ejusmodi incestum prohibentis, aut hujus poenæ in eum constitutæ*.⁴

This opinion of Feije, whether we consider its intrinsic merits, or the authorities by which it is supported, is undoubtedly probable and safe.⁵ It would appear, therefore, that we can and ought to look upon this impediment as non-existent in the case of a person ignorant of the ecclesiastical law. '*Stante autem hac probabilitate*,' says Marc, '*non debet conjux jure suo certo privari*.'⁶

We are now able to reply to the question proposed. Our correspondent has the faculty *restituendi, certiorato poenitente, jus petendi debitum per affinitatem subsequentem amissum*, and he desires to know what he is to understand by the clause

¹ *Vid.* Aertnys, lib. vi. 504. Marc, ii. 2031.

² Aertnys, lib. vi. 503.

³ *Vid.* *De Angelis*, tom. iii., lib. iv., p. 230.

⁴ Page 256-257, n. 383.

⁵ *Vid.* S. Alphonsus, lib. 1074, where this opinion is called '*satis probabilis*.' *Vid.* Lehmkühl, ii. 764; Marc, ii. 2031, Quaer. 3; Aertnys, ii. 503.

⁶ *loc. cit.*

'*certiorato poenitente*.' We have not got a copy of his faculties, nor have we any means of learning what is the received acceptation of this clause, in the diocese to which he belongs.

But, as far as we can see, the clause can be taken in two senses only. First, it may, perhaps, though not, we think, without violence, be understood to mean that penitents, who are ignorant of the impediment attaching to incest above described, should, in order to deter them from a repetition of their crime, be admonished of the ecclesiastical law, and of the penalties incurred by its violation. This is the sense to which our correspondent refers. Secondly, the clause, *certiorato poenitente*, may be understood merely to enjoin, that the penitent when receiving a dispensation should be informed of the removal of the impediment, in order that he may clearly understand that the *jus petendi* is restored.

For our part, we think the clause is to be interpreted in the second sense, not in the first. The penitents who are to receive the information are, manifestly, the penitents who require and receive a dispensation. But those only who know the ecclesiastical law and its penalty incur this punishment. Therefore the clause has reference to them only. It does not regard those who are ignorant of the ecclesiastical legislation. The ordinary, in granting this faculty, is not to be presumed to imply the existence of an impediment against the common teaching of theologians; it is manifestly beside his intention and beyond his power to set up a new prohibent impediment of this kind.

The clear meaning, then, we think, is that the confessor should inform his penitent that he is exercising his dispensing power.

We repeat again, that our reply is given without reference to diocesan statutes or custom; and in this connection we may usefully quote the words of Feije :—

Quum tamen haec doctrina quoad ignorantiam legis [ab impedimento excusantem] maxime vero quoad ignorantiam poenae, sit controversa, in praxi consulenda sunt statuta et usus dioecesis; quae tamen si severiora habeant, in circumstantiis difficilibus nihilominus usui illa doctrina [ignorantes excusans] esse potest.¹

¹ *loc. cit.*

Now, a further question is suggested by our correspondent's difficulty. Whichever opinion we adopt, as to whether or not ignorance excuses from subsequent affinity, it is a practical question to determine, how we are to deal with those, who confess this particular sin of incest, but who are ignorant of the ecclesiastical law and its consequences. Are we to leave them in *bona fide*? Or should we instruct them? Marc, without restriction, plainly conveys that the confessor should declare the law and the penalty:—

In praxi, conjuges ut plurimum latam poenam ignorant donec ejusmodi incestum confessi, eam a confessario, *prout oportet*, edocti fuerint.¹

And Aertnys implies the same in almost the same terms.² But, it would seem that no invariable rule should be laid down. Each case is to be decided according to the dictates of prudence, and the penitent should or should not be enlightened on this matter, according as he is likely to profit or not by the monition. Feije aptly conveys our meaning:—

Magna circumspectione est hac in re cum poenitentibus procedendum, et interdum *propter praevisam monitionis inutilitatem vel nocumentum omnino silendum neque interrogandus aut monendus poenitens*.³

We have, therefore, an additional reason for rejecting our correspondent's interpretation of his faculties. We do not think that instruction on this matter of subsequent affinity should be given *indiscriminately*. We are, therefore, slow to believe that indiscriminate instruction is enjoined in his diocesan faculty.

A BISHOP'S POWER TO DISPENSE IN CUMULATIVE MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Two persons in my parish wish to get married. There are two impediments, but the bishop has power to dispense in each of the impediments singly. Has he power to dispense in both in the same case, or is it necessary to apply to Rome, *ob cumulationem*? PAROCHUS.

Cumulation is either *numerical* or *specific*. It is

¹ *loc. cit.*

² ii. 503.

³ *loc. cit.*

numerical when there are two or more impediments of the *same* kind—two impediments of consanguinity, for example; it is *specific* when there are two or more impediments of *different* kinds, one of consanguinity, for instance, and one affinity.

A bishop may have dispensing power in virtue of his *ordinary* or of his *extraordinary* jurisdiction.

I. (1) Where cumulation is merely *numerical*, and the dispensing power exercised is *ordinary*, the bishop can dispense in several impediments in the same case, in banns, for example, and an unreserved vow of chastity. (2) Where the cumulation is *numerical* and the dispensing power *extraordinary*, the bishop's power depends on the terms of his indult. Usually, he can dispense; sometimes there is a restriction in the indult. Needless to say, our reply does not touch the case in which a bishop has procured a dispensation or the power of dispensing in a *particular* case. Having asked and obtained power to dispense first-cousins, *v.g.*, a bishop could, *eo ipso*, not validly dispense, if he afterwards, unexpectedly, found that the parties were double first-cousins. We have spoken only of general faculties *pro casibus indeterminatis*.

II. (1) Where cumulation is *specific*, and the dispensing power *ordinary*, the bishop can dispense in several impediments. In the same case, *v.g.*, a bishop can dispense in banns, in a vow of remaining unmarried and in the prohibition of the marriage in Advent. (2) If the cumulation is *specific*, and the power exercised *extraordinary*, the bishop cannot, unless in virtue of a special indult, dispense in cumulative impediments. In the *Formula VI.* our bishops *v.g.*, get extraordinary faculties to dispense in consanguinity in the fourth degree and also in spiritual relationship (*nisi inter levantem et levatum*); they cannot, however, in virtue of these faculties dispense third-cousins who are also spiritually related. (3) Finally, where the cumulation is *specific*, and one impediment comes within the *ordinary* power of the bishop, the other within his *extraordinary* power, the bishop can dispense unless there be a special

restriction, express or implicit, in the indult in virtue of which he acts.

Not knowing the nature of the impediments in the case stated by our correspondent, nor the extent of his bishop's powers, we cannot further apply our answer to the solution of his difficulty.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE 'CROSIER' INDULGENCE ATTACHED TO BEADS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly publish the enclosed leaflet, and tell us is it authentic. Many priests and nuns are sending their beads to be blessed by the Canons.

A SUBSCRIBER.

BEADS BLESSED BY THE CANONS REGULAR OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Indulgence of 500 days.

This indulgence can be applied to the souls in Purgatory and be gained by praying an *Our Father* or a *Hail Mary* on such beads. In order to gain the Indulgence of five hundred days it is not necessary to pray either a whole Rosary or a chaplet; it can be gained by a single *Our Father* or a single *Hail Mary*, and can be gained as often as one repeats either the *Our Father* or the *Hail Mary*.

The power of blessing Beads to the effect of gaining the aforesaid indulgence was given by Pope Leo X. to the General of the Order of the Canons of the Holy Cross (August 20th, 1516). Pope Gregory XVI. extended the power to the Commissary-General of the Order (Sept. 15th, 1842), and made the indulgence applicable to the Souls in Purgatory (July 13th, 1845).

Pope Pius IX. authorized the General of the Order to delegate the power given to him by Leo X. to every Priest of the Order (January 9th, 1848).

Finally by decree of His Holiness Leo XIII. (dated 14th March, 1884), this Privilege has been declared authentic, and as belonging exclusively to the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross.

The original Documents are kept in the Archives of the Order of the Canons of the Holy Cross.

These Beads cannot be lent with the design of communicating the Indulgences attached to them; otherwise they would at once cease to be privileged.

The Crucifix is indulgenced for the Stations of the Cross, and

also with the plenary indulgence for the hour of death. The indulgence of the Stations of the Cross can be gained anywhere by holding the Cross in the hand, and saying twenty *Our Fathers*, *Hail Marys*, and *Glory be to the Fathers*, when a church where the Stations are canonically erected cannot be visited

N.B.—The Dominican and Bridgetine indulgences have been also attached to these Beads.

The Rev. Joseph Van den Dries, Canon Regular of the Holy Cross, 19, The Crescent, Taunton, Somersetshire, England, blesses beads that are sent to him.

We have carefully examined every statement made in the above leaflet, and find them all in accordance with the facts. As stated in the leaflet, Leo X. in the year 1516 granted to the General of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross extraordinary faculties for blessing beads. By using beads blessed by him one gained five hundred days' indulgence for each *Our Father* and each *Hail Mary*, whereas by using beads bearing the ordinary Dominican or Bridgetine indulgences, one—not a member of the Confraternity of the Rosary—gains only one hundred days' indulgence for each of these prayers. But this is neither the sole nor even the greatest advantage possessed by beads blessed by the General of the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross. To gain one hundred days' indulgence for each *Our Father* and each *Hail Mary* by using beads having the Bridgetine or Dominican indulgences, it is necessary—we are speaking throughout of those who are not members of the Confraternity of the Rosary—to say five decades without interruption. In using beads bearing the indulgences we are now discussing, this is not necessary. The indulgence of five hundred days is gained for each repetition, whether they be few or many. Each *Our Father* or *Hail Mary* said devoutly by one holding in his hand beads thus blessed establishes the same claim to an indulgence of five hundred days when said by itself, [as if a whole chaplet were said without interruption.

The power conferred by Leo X. on the General of the Order could not be subdelegated by him to any other, not even to a priest of the Order. A slight change, as the leaflet

indicates, was introduced by Gregory XVI. in 1842, when he granted to the Commissary-General of the Order the powers which had up to that time belonged exclusively to the General. A further change was made in 1848 when the General was empowered by Pius IX. to subdelegate these same powers to every priest of the Order.

Notwithstanding the repeated recognition of the faculties possessed by the fathers of this Order, the extraordinary richness of the indulgences attached to beads blessed by them induced many to doubt the authenticity either of the powers claimed by the members of the Order, or of the indulgence. A similar reason, doubtless, has prompted our esteemed correspondent to forward this leaflet to us for examination. Hence frequent questions—*innumerae prope modum*, the Congregation itself says—were addressed to the Congregation of Indulgences from all parts of the world, and from all classes of persons, including archbishops and bishops. To put an end to all doubt on this matter, and to give a fresh and lasting sanction to the powers possessed by the Canons of the Holy Cross, the Congregation of Indulgences, acting with the approval of our holy Father Leo XIII., issued a rescript on March 14, 1884, declaring the indulgence of five hundred days to be authentic, confirming the power of the General of the Order to subdelegate to every member of the Order the faculty of imparting this indulgence to beads, and stating that this power could not be subdelegated to any priest other than a member of this Order.

The indulgences which, according to the leaflet, are attached to the crucifix of beads blessed by the Canons of the Holy Cross, are not imparted by virtue of the powers granted first by Leo X., but by some subsequent concession to the Order or to individual members. Any priest may procure power to impart these indulgences.

Finally, it is stated in the leaflet that the Bridgetine and Dominican indulgences are also attached to the beads blessed by these Canons Regular. This is of importance to members of the Confraternity of the Rosary who may use these beads; for many of the indulgences of this Confraternity require the use of beads bearing the Dominican

blessing. To others the presence of these indulgences is of little account, as by one repetition of the beads only one set of indulgences is gained: and everyone will naturally wish to gain that which is greatest, which is in this case the 'Crosier' indulgence.

HOW SHOULD A PRIEST BE VESTED WHILE ASSISTING AT THE NUPTIAL CEREMONY?

REV. DEAR SIR, —Would you kindly state in the February I. E. RECORD what is the correct way of celebrating a marriage that is immediately followed by 'Missa pro Sponso et Sponsa.' I belong to a diocese where all marriages are to be so celebrated, except in rare cases. I know that the practice of different priests is different. 1. Some priests go out from sacristy in the ordinary way with all the vestments on, and, having arranged the chalice, take off the chasuble and maniple, and descend to the rails to marry the parties. 2. Others only take off the maniple, and marry with chasuble on. 3. Others go out in surplice, and, having married the parties, return to sacristy, and vest in the ordinary way for Mass. I searched both O'Kane and De Herdt, and could not find the particular point treated.

SACERDOS.

If our correspondent will look into De Herdt, vol. iii., n. 272, he will find a clear and concise solution of the question which he here proposes. This learned author says:—

Parochus pro matrimonii celebratione induitur superpelliceo et stola alba, *vel si immediate est celebraturus*, alba, stola, et etiam planeta coloris missae convenientis indui debet, excepto manipulo, quem ante missam accipit.

We appeal to the authority, and quote the words of De Herdt, not because there is a difference of opinion on this question among writers, but because his name has been mentioned by our correspondent. Among modern writers, at any rate, there is no difference of opinion regarding the manner in which the celebrant of a nuptial Mass should be vested while assisting at the nuptial ceremony which precedes the Mass. Nor is there room for such difference;

for the Congregation of Rites has itself dictated what is to be observed in this matter. This decision of the Congregation was given as long ago as 1867, in reply to a question addressed to it. We give here the question, together with the reply of the Congregation:—

Utrum pro superpelliceo uti valeat Sacerdos alba cum stola in pectus transversa . . . in celebrando matrimonio cum immediate post absolutionem ritus matrimonii missam pro Sponso et Sponsa celebraturus sit?

R. S. Si immediate sequitur missa sacerdos praeter albam et Stolam induere debet etiam planetam.

From this reply of the Congregation of Rites it follows that the second method mentioned by our correspondent is the only correct one. A priest, then, about to celebrate a nuptial Mass may, after vesting in the ordinary way, carry the chalice to the altar, arrange it, put off the maniple, and proceed to assist at the nuptial ceremony; or he may, before vesting, carry the chalice to the altar, and arrange it as usual, have the maniple laid in a convenient place on the altar steps, and then vest in amice, alb, girdle, stole, and chasuble, and, having put on the biretta, proceed to the altar with hands joined. Arrived at the foot of the altar, he removes his biretta, genuflects, and immediately turns towards the parties to be married. After the nuptial ceremony he turns towards the altar, puts on the maniple, genuflects on the first step, and proceeds with the Mass.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—The following documents speak for themselves, and are well worth preserving. A fuller account of the wonderful occurrence recorded in Dr. Zalka's letter will be given in the March number of the I. E. RECORD. Perhaps the most striking fact in connection with the occurrence is the coincidence, wholly unknown in Hungary, that the very year 1697—the ninth of William III.—in which the image of the Blessed Virgin brought from Ireland by Bishop Lynch shed tears of blood, was the year in which the most atrocious penal law ever enacted in Ireland was passed by the Williamite Parliament in Dublin. It decreed the expulsion of all Catholic ecclesiastics of every grade from the country, and made it *high treason* for any of them to return to their native land.—Yours faithfully,

✠ JOHN HEALY, D.D.,
Bishop of Clonfert.

**LETTER FROM DR. ZALKA, BISHOP OF JAURIN [RAAB], TO
DR. HEALY, BISHOP OF CLONFERT**

ILLUSTRISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE EPISCOPE!
DOMINE COLENDISSIME!

Gualterus Lyncaeus, Episcopus quondam Clonfertensis, inter politicas turbas seculi XVII. sede sua Episcopali privatus, ad exterarum oras qua exul migrare coactus, venit in Hungariam, secum adferens imaginem B. Mariae Virginis ceu unicum thesaurum suum, coram qua orare et consolationem quaerere solebat. Apud nos, Jaurini (Raab), per Episcopum Jaurinensem Joannem Püski benevole susceptus, etiam Canonicatum accepit, et ab anno 1655-1663 qua Canonicus fuit, una auxiliaris dicti Episcopi et Successoris ejus. Mortuus est 14 Julii anni 1663.

Pius iste vir, superius memoratam imaginem B. M. Virginis reliquit Ecclesiae Cathedrali, in qua ad columnam parietis adpensa in veneratione fidelis populi fuit. Anno autem 1697, die 17^a Martii, seu in festo S. Patricii patroni Hiberniae, imago a sexta hora matutina usque horam 9, sanguinem sudavit, inspectante adcurrentis populi sacerdotumque multitudine.

Mox ad aram lateralem Ecclesiae est collocata haec imago

tam prodigiosa, et ibi in summa veneratione habetur. Hoc anno 1897 recolimus bissecularem memoriam tanti eventus.

Dum haec Illustritati Tuae Reverendissimae ad notitiam perfero, rogare te audeo, digneris mihi perscribere si quae quoad vitam superius laudati Episcopi Gualteri Lyncei vobis uberius nota sunt, quo notitiae nostrae pleniores fiant.

Litterae tuae dirigantur hac via: *Raab*, Austria Hungaria.

Suscipe, Reverendissime Domine Episcope, intimae meae venerationis contestationem.

Jaurini (Raab) in Hungaria, die 22^a Decembris, 1896.

✠ JOANNES ZALKA,

Episcopus Jaurinensis.

REPLY OF THE BISHOP OF CLONFERT

Die 3^{ta} Jan., 1897.

ILLUSTR^{us} AC REVD^{us} DOMINE,

CARISSIME UTI FRATER,

Litteras Amplitudinis Tuae die 22^{ta} Dec. 1896 datas animo laetissimo accepi. Etenim illis litteris clare et nitide exposuisti rem vere mirificam—scilicet: quomodo Imago ad oras tuas olim a Gualtero Lynceao, Episcopo Clonfertensi, perlata sudorem sanguineum passa sit die 17^{to} mensis Martii anno 1697 in Ecclesia Cathedrali Dioecesis tuae: simul me rogasti ad Amplitudinem Tuam perscribere ea omnia quae ad plenioram cognitionem vitae praedicti Praesulis Hiberni pertinerent.

Quod perlibenti animo faciam non solum propter ipsam rei utilitatem spirituales, verum etiam in testimonium illius hospitalitatis eximiae, quam olim et Decessores Amplitudinis Tuae et tota civitas vestra erga Episcopum nostrum, exulem miserrimum, exhibuerunt, cujus grata memoria cordibus nostris semper erit infixa.

Igitur praedictus Gualterus Lynceus urbe Galvia super oram maris occidentalis Hiberniae natus est circiter initium saeculi XVII.; de anno vero non constat. Ortus est ex familia antiqua ac primaria in praedicta civitate; et parentes ejus, Jacobus ac Apollonia, inter proceres fuerunt urbis illius, quae ad Agrum Galviensem et Provinciam Tuamensem pertinebat. Eo tempore infelici Catholicis domi educari non licuit, ideo primo Ulyssipone, postea vero Parisiis eruditus est; studiisque emensis, et Doctor in Sacra Theologia et Legum Doctor est renunciatus. Insuper Protonotarius Apostolicus, et post reditum in patriam Guardianus

Galviae cum jurisdictione quasi-episcopali, ac Decanus Ecclesiae Metropolitanæ Tuamensis factus est. Quæ omnia constant ex litteris suis datis apud Galviam die 9^{na} mensis Maii, 1642.¹

Anno 1646 a Nuncio Rinuccini eo tempore in Hibernia commorante valde commendatus ob zelum ac scientiam translatus est ad Episcopatum Clonfertensem, nec immerito; prædictus enim Nuntius in litteris suis Lyncaeam descripsit tanquam 'praedicatorem bonum, virumque magnæ auctoritatis, qui pro causa Catholica ardenti zelo accensus est, ac valde desideratus tanquam Episcopus tum a Regularibus tum a laicis multis.'

Semper fuit Lyncaeus Nuntio fidelissimus ac ardenti erga religionem ac patriam amore est succensus; ita ut in annis subsequentibus periculorum plenis, nemo majore auctoritate gavisus sit in conciliis Episcoporum Hiberniæ. Litteris eorum publicis scribendis secretarius est renunciatus; neque dubitari potest quin in eisdem componendis maximam partem habuerit.²

Capta Galvia anno 1652, Lyncaeus cum aliis paucis prelatiis Hibernis ad insulam remotam super oram Hiberniæ occidentalis, cui nomen Inisboffin confugere compulsus est; attamen animum semper invictum exhibuit. Nam ex illa insula sterili ac remota ipse cum Sociis ad Summam Pontificem scripserunt, luctuosum rerum suarum statum exhibentes, simulque enixe rogantes ut Papa ipsis auxilium aliquod efficax per principes Catholicos adferret. Quomodo ibi vitam agerent illi heroici Confessores, patet ex verbis quibus alius Episcopus eodem tempore suum modum vivendi descripsit:—

Operarii—Episcopi ac Sacerdotes—in illa insula non poterunt diu famem, sitim, aerumnas, acrem persecutionem, vigilias et infirmitates perferre, habitantes ut plurimum in sylvis et dormientes in pauperrimis casis caveis, ac speluncis terræ, ubi spatio viginti quatuor horarum vix inveniunt buccellam panis cum modico lacte vel butyro, frigidam saepe pro potu haurientes, et aliquando defectu panis mordent herbam. De hac veritate testimonium perhibeo qui quinque mensium spatio ita in sylvis vixi, ut possem pusillo gregi esse solatio.³

Exinde evasit Lyncaeus—quomodo autem non constat—ad Bruxellas ubi anno 1655, uti apparet, cum duobus aliis Episcopis

¹ Vide Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 114.

² Vide Cardinal Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii.

³ Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns, 1653. Vide *Spicilegium Ossoriense*.

Hiberniae delegatus fuit a Papa ad absolvendos populares suos ab excommunicatione quam forsitan incurissent, ob spretas Nuntii censuras antea in Hibernia latas.¹

Bruxellis, uti videtur, eodem anno ad Hungariam migravit, ubi hospites et amicos invenire expulso ac pauperi Episcopo, Deo dirigente, feliciter contigit.

De illo mirifico sudore sanguineo, quem imago B. Mariae Virginis ab Episcopo allata passa sit, hoc unum dicere volo.

Ex litteris Amplitudinis Tuae constat predictum sudorem emissum fuisse die 17^{ma} mensis Martii anno 1697. Porro hoc ipso anno Dublinii in Parlamento Hiberno lata est lex poenalis contra clerum Catholicum omnium adhuc latarum *longe atrocissimâ*. Non solum enim decretum fuit ut omnes ex Hibernia intra annum excederent sed si quovis praetextu ad patriam reverti auderent, *laesae majestatis* poenam subire oporteret; id est capitis poenâ seu suspendio plectendi erant. Haec sunt verba legis prout ab episcopo De Burgo, Hiberno Dominicano, in sua Historia latine reddita sunt:—

Anno 1697 omnes Papales Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Vicari Generales, Jesuitae, Monachi, etc., etc., quorumcunque Ordinum Regulares, et omnes Papistae exercentes ecclesiasticam quampiam jurisdictionem, discedere tenentur ex hoc regno ante diem primam Maii 1698. Si autem post praelibatum diem inveniantur in hoc regno, transvehentur extra Regis ditiones. Quod si in regnum hoc revertantur, eo ipso rei censebuntur *laesae Majestatis* [cujus poena fuit suspendium.]

Haec una tantum fuit sed omnium ferocissima legum quae in hoc Parlamento contra Religionem Catholicam sunt latae. Haud mirum igitur est si depicta illa Virgo ex Hibernia proveniens, et Hibernorum suorum miseriis condolens *eo anno*, ac die festo Apostoli Hiberniae, illum sudorem sanguineum passa fuerit.

Quo *die* lex illa infamis regum placitum obtinuerit reperire adhuc non potui: forsitan eo ipso tempore vim legis obtinuit quo imago B. Mariae Virginis modo illo mirabili calamitatibus Hibernorum condoluit. Si quid autem postea de his rebus mihi innotuerit Amplitudinem Tuam certiolem facere haud omittam.

Interea Te diu sospitem servet Deus ex imo corde exoro: et

¹ Vide *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 150.

² Vide *Hibernia Dominicana*, caput xvii.

plura de illa Imagine coelesti audire cum plebe mea magnopere gaudebo.

Amplitudinis Tuae,

Servus addictissimus,

✠ JOANNES HEALY,

Epus. Clonfertensis.

Datum apud Montem S. Bernardi,
die ac mense uti supra.

SECOND LETTER OF DR. ZALKA TO THE BISHOP OF CLONFERT

ILLUSTRISIME AC REVERENDISIME DOMINE EPISCOPE !

DOMINE ET FRATER IN CHRISTO COLENDISIME !

Litteras Amplitudinis Tuae nuperrime ad me destinatas, tamquam disertos Tuae in Beatissimam Virginem Mariam pietatis testes, luculentum item in nos propensionis et benevolentiae indicium, laeto gratoque animo suscepi. De solemnitate bis-saeculari Sacrae Iconis plura Tibi significare ad id temporis remisit, ubi illa absoluta fuerit. Nunc accipe litteras typis exscriptas, quibus rei gerendae status fidelis Cleri mei memoriae commendatur, accipe item ektypon Sacrae Imaginis sudore sanguineo illustris.

Et Te nostri memorem Deus tueatur omnipotens ! Jaurini in Hungaria (Raab. Györ), die 12^a Januarii, 1897.

Amplitudinis Tuae,

Sincerus Cultor in Christo Frater,

✠ JOANNES ZALKA,

Episcopus Jaurinensis.

DOCUMENT TRANSMITTED BY THE BISHOP OF JAURIN TO THE BISHOP OF CLONFERT

Laudetur Jesus Christus, et Beatissima Ejus Mater, Virgo Maria !

In capite novi, quem inchoavimus, anni haec vota ingeminant labia nostra ; horum sanctorum nominum intima veneratio et vis erigat corda, dirigat cogitationes et opera.

Pervenientes ad limen, quo praeterlapsus annus ab inchoato secernitur, mente volvimus seriem rerum, quas vidimus, rerum item, quas videre desideramus.

Inter varias gaudii manifestationes anni jubilaevi gentis nostrae specialis prae caeteris laetitiae nostrae causa fuit recordatio

apostolicorum laborum s. Stephani Regis, quem Dei miserantis benignitas majoribus nostris, ceu angelum magni consilii, miserat. Animo aequae exultante suscepimus agnitum fuisse, ceu fundamentum culturae, doctrinam auctoris et consummatoris fidei nostrae: laudibus denique fuisse celebratam intercessionem Beatæ Mariæ Virginis e mente s. Stephani patronæ patriæ nostræ. Suscitaturi in nobis fidem hanc, fecimus publicam ejus professionem, confitentes nos credere, et adjuvante gratia Dei etiam in futurum credituros esse, quod Deus revelavit, quod Christus docuit, quod Apostoli prædicarunt, quod sancta Ecclesia Romana ad credendum proponit, imploratorios auxilium et spem collocantes in potentissima intercessione Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ. Certum namque habemus, florente cultu Beatissimæ Virginis, integram et incolumem persistere fidem catholicam, et cum hac patriæ prosperitatem:

Haec intima persuasio movit me, id agere, ut cultum Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, labente millenii anno in nobis, nostrisque fidelibus promovere, et in majores usque flammæ accendere studeamus.¹ Dilectissimi! assecuti estis meam intentionem, dum in diversis Diocesis nostræ regionibus ordinastis peregrinationes ad gratiosa loca, sicut Vobis innui, ut ibi intercessionem Magnæ Dominae nostræ pro patria et Rege, proque omnibus nobis jugi devotione imploretis. Populus alacri sane animo suscepit adorationes vestras; amor religionis amor patriæ junctus in lætas flammæ erupit; milleni et milleni convolarunt sub vexilla vestra; viæ resonabant sacris canticis, in laudem Magnæ Dominae nostræ. Processiones magnitudine raræ et adparatu festivæ exquisito studio fuere ordinatæ. Communitates singulæ cum suis vexillis et proprio parochio in serie se excipiebant; in ingressu ad visitandum gratiosum locum accensis fere omnes caereis, puellæ præterea festive indutæ et sertis ornatae, per ducentena et ultra paria incedentes, insolitum præbuerunt spectaculum. Sacram hanc peregrinationem agentes, tum in pacris, per quos transiverunt, tum in locis gratiosis in charitate fuere suscepti. Animi autem peregrinantium fidelium in fide catholica ita fuere uniti, ut finita solenni hac devotione inter lacrymas discesserint ad suam, dulcissimam memoria retinentes et enarrantes magnalia Dei.²

¹ Circ. a. 1896. p. 13.

² Seriem processionum aperit Districtus Csepregi. Fideles cum suis Sacerdotibus longa serie ierunt ad Osl. Mox Districtus Kapuvárens is instituit

Talia solatia spiritualia concessit Deus mihi, venerabili Clero fidelique populo nostro. Utinam sereno vultu suscipiat devotionem hanc beatissima Virgo et intercedat pro patria Regeque nostro.

Haec quoad praeterita.—Sed convertamus oculos mentis nostrae ad ea, quae in manifestatione cultus Mariani proxime videre et desideramus et speramus. Notum Vobis sit currente anno 1897. die 17-a Martii recurrere secundo secularem memoriam prodigiosi illius eventus, qui miro modo percudit animos Jaurinensium! Imago nempe B. Mariae Virginis, hodie in ara principali navis septemtrionalis Ecclesiae nostrae Cathedralis venerationi publicae exposita, anno 1697. die 17^a Martii sudore sanguine mixto maduit. Deleto ope linteoli sudori novus successit a hora sexta matutina usque horam nonam, inspectante accurrentis, scrupulose et sagaci curiositate investigantis et admirantis fere ex tota urbe populi multitudine.¹ Aduerunt ex omni statu et aetate, nec protestantibus exceptis. Atque haec est imago illa benedicta, Vobis Dilectissimi adprime nota Singuli namque Vestrum, juxta receptum in Seminario usum, dum Deo Trino vitam totam et mortem omnemque vestram con-

peregrinationem ad Kis-Czell. Districtus Kis-Martón. Rust et Nagy-Martón alii ad Loretto, alii ad Kis-Martón. Districtus Széplak ad Boldogasszony; Districtus Sopron et Német-Keresztur ad Kópháza; Districtus Jaurinensis ad Kis-Czell. Uniti Districtus Pér. Téth et Kóny numero ingenti ad Téthi-Szent-Kut, ubi in memoriam Millennii etiam statua B. Mariae Virginis fuit e piis fidelium oblatis erecta. Districtus Comitatus Moson ad Kálnok et Boldogasszony. Fideles labii croatici passim ad Loretto. E Districtibus Comitatus Komárom alii ad Bodajk, alii ad Szent-Kereszt in Péli-föld.

¹ Pluribus exponit haec Christophorus Schogg, qui in vicinis decenniis vixit, et e Capellano germanico Capitulari anno 1754. jam Canonicus Jaurinensis erat. Hic 'quae a coaevis et prodigio praesentibus, quibus familiariter convixit, accepit, fide optima litteris prodidit.' Porro: 'Dici nequit, quanta inter sacrum horrorem, pietatis ardorem et propius videndi cupiditatem collectatio sit exorta . . .' 'Ut autem miraculo fides esset, omnisque latentis fortasse fallaciae ac doli suspicio detraheretur, Auctoritate Ecclesiastica refixa primum a pariete icon, tum quibuscunque ornamentis, omnique, quod includebat, ligno privata, marginibus etiam ligneis, ut nihil deesset, exuta, inspecta denique et excussa diligentissime fuit. Cum autem et ipsa omnis humor's naturalis expers et paries siccissimus deprehensus esset, ac propterea jam libera quoque super mensula solis sacerdotum manibus sustentata prodigiose cruorem sudare non desineret, manifesto miraculum constituit.' Haec in suis de sacra hac imagine notis in Archivo Sacristiae Capitularis custoditis.

Linteolum thecae argenteae sub vitro inclusum populo ad osculandum datur. Testificationem sequentem habet:

Das ist das Wahrhafte Abwisch-Tüchel von dem allhieszigen gnaden Bildt, Welches Blut geschwitzet hat in Hiesziger Thom's-Kirchen, den 17-ten Monaths Tag Martii des 1697-sten Jahrs, Welches Hiermit Gott zu Ehren Unser Lieben Frauen und allen Heilligen Auffi offern Wollen! Raab, den 20-ten May Ao. 1701.

securaturi eratis sortem, nempe ante susceptionem s. Ordinis Subdiaconatus, coram hac imagine inter pia suspiria commendavistis Vos tantae Matris patrocínio : transeuntes penes Ecclesiam Cathedralem introivistis visitaturi et salutaturi Reginiam, Matrem misericordiae ; in tentatione et tribulatione, ceu in civitate refugii, quaesivistis protectionem, consolationem, robur, consilium ; saepe etiam invenistis.

Nunc itaque, ubi glorificationis istius memoria bis saecularis recolitur, rem mihi Vobisque utilem et jucundam facere me credo colligendo et exponendo historica fragmenta, quae istius venerationis initia et incrementa exhibent.

Imago in tela picta, in altitudine unum et dimidium pedem metiens, exhibet sanctam Dei Matrem, penes dormientem, Jesulum vigilantem, et compositis manibus quasi deprecantem.

Jaurinum adtulit illam, profanationi Puritanorum subducturus, Walterus Lynch, Episcopus Clonfertensis in Hibernia, tempore persecutionis Cromwellianae exul, quem Episcopus Jaurinensis Joannes Püsky in charitate suscepit et a. 1655, canonicatu consolatus est.¹ Fuit ille Archidiaconus subin Papaensis. Eggit una

¹ Erinnerungen an die ungarische Kirche erweckt der Name des Bischofs Walter Lynch von Clonfert. In Galway geboren, empfing er die erste theologische Ausbildung im irischen Colleg zu Lissabon, stand dann mehrere Jahre trotz der Verfolgung einer höheren Schule in Limerick vor und bezog die Universität von Paris, wo er den Doctorgrad in der Theologie erwarb. Zum Propst in Galway ernannt, erregte er in Folge seiner Kanzelreden die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit. 'Er ist gelehrt,' so schildert ihn Rinuccini 'ein trefflicher Kanzelredner, thatig und von Einfluss, ein begeisterter Verfechter der katholischen Sache und von vielen Ordensleuten und Laien als Bischof empfohlen und gewünscht.' Die Liebe zur Wissenschaft liess ihn eine bedeutende Bücherei sammeln, welche die Puritaner leider durch Feuer zerstörten. Am 11. März 1647 zum Bischof von Clonfert ernannt, konnte Lynch nur fünf Jahre seiner Heerde ein geistlicher Vater sein. In einem Briefe von 31 August 1652, schildert er Innocenz X. seine Leiden. Nach der Einnahme von Galway war er auf die Insel Inisbofin geflohen, wo er sich damals noch aufhielt. Hier wäre er dem Hungertode verfallen, wäre nicht ein Schiff der königlichen Flotte mit Getreide gelandet, welchem dann zwei Fregatten des Herzogs von Lothringen mit Munition gefolgt seien. An dem Sieg der nationalen Sache wagt er nicht zu zweifeln, da die Iren, wenngleich von Haus und Hof vertrieben, jetzt nach Art der Makkabaer kämpfen und die Pseudo-Verbündeten offen zum Feinde hielten. Von Inisbofin flog der Bischof zunächst nach Brüssel, endlich treffen wir ihn beim Bischof Johannes Püsky zu Raab in Ungarn, der ihn 1655, zum Weihbischof und Mitglied des Domkapitels ernannte. Als der Bischof nach der Restauration schon Vorkehrungen zur Reise in die Heimath getroffen, ereilte ihn 1664 (recte 1663), zu Raab der Tod. Zum bleibenden Andenken an den hohen irischen Flüchtling bewahrt der Dom zu Raab ein von Lynch aus Irland gerettetes wunderthätiges Muttergottesbild, zu dessen würdiger Aufnahme der Bischof Franz Graf Zichy einen prachtvollen Altar errichten liess. (Alphons

auxiliarem Episcopi. In antiquis Visitationibus saepe notatum invenitur, esse parochum loci ordinatum 'per Episcopum Hibernum.' Adest porro in thesauro Sanctae Imaginis crux pectoralis Georgii quondam Suppanich Canonici Cantoris et Abbatis Ss. Trinitatis de Siklos, quam Walterus Episcopus benedixit et testimonio propria manu exarato providit.¹ Pius hic exul mortuus est. a. 1663, die 14-a Julii. Dum vixit, vita ejus speculum sacerdotale exhibuisse narratur.

Sed ut jam ad imaginem gratiosam redeamus, post mortem Episcopi Walteri imago facta est proprietatis Ecclesiae nostrae Cathedralis, et adpensa est ad parietem circa locum, ubi est ara beatae Annae. Mox post miraculosum eventum expensis gubernatoris militaris fortalitii Jaurinensis, Comititis Sigeberti Heister et uxoris Aloysiae Comitissae Katzianer ad venerationem Beatissimae Virginis, ejusque intimum cultum accensorem, erecta fuit ara, et sacra Virgo ad eam collocata atque visitata, qua Consolatrix afflictorum et in tribulatione positorem. Speciale hujus

Bellesheim, Kanonicus zu Aachen, Geschichte der kath. Kirche in Irland. Mainz 1890 II. Band., p. 512.)

Nuperrime, datis ad illustrissimum ac Revssmum Dominum Episcopum Clonfertensem litteris, quaesivi de vicissitudinibus vitae Gualteri Lynchaei Episcopi olim Clonfertensis. Sua Illustritas humanissime et promptissime respondit, enarrans, fuisse virum illum Galviae ex praenobili familia ortum, litteris Ulysipone et Parisiis excultum, Theologiae ac Juris suprema laurea ornatum, imo successu temporis etiam honoribus Protonotarii Apostolici distinctum, Metropolitanam Capituli Tuamensis Decanum, denique Episcopum Clonfertensem. Historia ejus ulterior ea est, quam in hac nota auctor germanicus enarrat. Ad quaestionem, quid evenit in Hibernia anno 1697. Responsum accepi, tunc fuisse latam atrocissimam illam legem contra Catholicos, vigore cujus omnibus Catholicis jurisdictionem quamquam Ecclesiasticam habentibus dies dicta, qua emigrare debent. 'Anno 1697. omnes Papales Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Vicarii Generales, Jesuitae, Monachi, quorumcumque Ordinum Regulares et omnes Papistae, exercentes Ecclesiasticam quamquam jurisdictionem, discedere tenentur ex hoc regno ante diem primam Maji 1698. Si autem post praelibatam diem inveniuntur in hoc regno, transvehentur extra Regis ditiones. Quodsi in hoc regnum revertantur, eo ipsi rei censebuntur laesae Majestatis' [cujus poena fuit suspendium. Haec ex epistola Illustrissimi D. Episcopi Clonfertensis Joannis Healy].

¹ Ego Waltherus Lincheus Episcopus Clunfertensis in Regno Hyberniae Fidem facio per praesentes, me ritu solito consecrasse et Benedixisse crucem pectoralem Ad usum Rndi Admodum Dni Georgii Suppanich, Abbatis Ss. Trinitatis de Sikllyos, Archidiaconi Mosoniensis Canonici Cathedralis Ecclesiae Jaurinensis. Die 8. Mensis Decembris. Anno Dni 1662. Simbolum eiusdem Dni Georgii Suppanich : Deus meus misericordia mea. Psal. 85. Waltherus Lyncheus. Eppus qui supra.

In tergo : Sancti et Sanctae Dei, intercedant pro nobis. Amen. Dulcis Jesus ✠ Maria Benigna ! Dulcis Jesus miserere mei. Benigna Maria ora pro me. S. Afra, S. Anna, S. Joseph, Orate pro me. Quorum reliquiae hic continentur illi, et omnes.

exemplum occurrit in de votione celeberrimi Stephani Telekessy Canonici Jaurinensis, anno 1699, denominati Episcopi Agriensis, qui exulcerato cordi suo coram hac imagine levamen quaesivit.¹ Eadem aetate (1688-1721) vixit Canonicus Mathias Bubnich, qui in Chori musici parte aram Divae Virginis respiciente concinnum organum sumptu suo extruxit, porro sacrae hujus imaginis ectypum in pariete orientali canonicalis domus, quae est infra aedes Seminarii, nunc ad ingressum in novam topographiam, adponi jussit, donata vinea in Nyul, ea addita conditione, ut e proventibus fundatio fiat pro Sacris, item, ut lampas coram hac imagine diebus sabbathi et ante festa B. Mariae Virginis in perpetuum oleo alatur, quod nostro quoque tempore frequentatur. Idem, de quo superius mentio erat, Comes Sigebertus Heister et Comitissa Aloysia Katzianer obtulerunt foundationem pro litanis Sabbatinis et festivis B. Mariae Virginis, quae nostro quoque tempore, juxta mentem fundatorum, jugiter persolvuntur. Andreas Sgodich e parocho Peresznyeensi, dein Hidegségensi Canonicus (1713-1743), item Mathias Barilich e parocho Fülesensi itidem Canonicus (1731-1749), foundationem

¹ Serenissime ac Reverendissime Princeps! Servitiorum usque ad mortem commendationem humillimam. Dux serenissime quanto cordis dolore mihi acciderit, sapientissim. iudicio et affectionatissimae gratiae vestrae Serenitatis tanquam mihi gratiosissimi Principis relinquo: quod in tanta senectute, post meos in hac Diocesi vestrae Serenitatis, 38 et amplius annis Labores, et in hoc Capitulo Jauriensi, inter meos fratres, et Capellanos V. Serenitatis, ab annis 28 fore in omnibus Laboriosis Officiis desudantem, hesternae die A. R. Dominus Altenburgensis Plebanus, non expectatis paucissimis diebus, usque dum mea Installatio Agriae perficeretur, ut honestius discedere valerem, cum gratiosis V. Serenitatis Donacionalibus coram Capitulo comparendo, ut me V. Serenitatis licet indignum, tamen fidelissimum, qui etiam sanguinem pro Vestra Serenitate profundere semper paratus fueram, Capellanum humillimum, per suum Installationem, e stallo exturbaret, et quod summo dolore mihi accidit, iussu ut ille referebat vestrae Serenitatis, cum stupore Dominorum Fratrum, et ingenti compassione, potentissime institit. Fateor Dux Serenissime, quod tam iusto dolore, in tantum commotus fuerim, ut nisi gratia, favor, et affectus pristinus Vestrae Serenitatis me animasset, fortasse examinatus fuisset, unde cum ne verbum coram Fratribus proferre potuissem, excessi mutus e Consistorio, et ad Aram Piae Mariae Virginis, ante duos annos *Laerymas profundentis*, in tantis meis angustiis confugi, et ibidem pro Vestra Serenitate Matrem misericordiarum exoravi, ut non cum tanto dedecore, et aliorum scandalo, meaque in aeternum confusione, sic ante tempus Jaurino, ubi meis Laboribus vires, et aetatem, cum omnium compassione consumpsi, discedere debeam! Servet Deus V. Serenitatem in annos quam plurimos felicissime ex sincero corde desidero nemineque Vestrae Serenitatis tanquam mei gratiosissimi Principis usque ad mortem humillimus Capellanus Steplanus Telekesi m. p. (Autographon inter acta sub Christiano Augusto. Tom. i., p. 459. Indorsatum: Praesentat. die 11 Julii, 1699.)

fecerunt pro lumine coram sacra hac imagine alendo. Votiva autem dona aurea et argentea plurima adtulerunt fideles in signum intimae venerationis et gratiarum actionis.

Zelosus denique Beatissimae Virginis cultor Comes Franciscus Zichy de Vásonkeő Episcopus Jaurinensis (1743-1783) in locum arae ab Heister erectae, hanc, quam nunc videmus, aram marmoream magno sumptu erexit, et in ea imaginem miraculosam argentea lista munifice ornatam collocavit, addita foundatione pro Sacris hora media octava quotidie celebrandis. Pius hic magnanimus et decorem domus Dei exuberante largitate diligens antistes locum sepulturae coram hac sacra imagine elegit. Ibi praestolatur beatam resurrectionem, quam Illi omnes precamur.

Tempore bellorum cum Gallis gestorum pro defensione patriae e votivis donariis S. Iconis magna vis auri et argenti ablata est; ast nova illis successerunt in thesaurario, quae in festis B. M. Virginis exponi solent, ut sint testes pietatis. S. Iconem ultimis temporibus duo e venerabili Capitulo, Josephus Trichtl lateralibus candelabris, Franciscus Ebenhöch vero nova lampade argentea ornarunt. Pius vero PP. IX. anno 1874. indulgentias plenarias concessit pro diebus 17^a et 25^a Martii, quibus memoria prodigiosi eventus quotannis recolitur.

Haec sunt Dilectissimi, quae adpropinquante jubilari solemnitate Beatissimae Matris Vobis jam nunc in memoriam revocare volui, publicatione ordinis solemnitatis ad tardiora tempora relicta. Agite jam, ut renovetis illa pia suspiria, quibus sacro Ecclesiae ministerio Vos deditaturi, sub praesidium B. Mariae Virginis confugistis, Vos obtulistis, illius maternum auxilium invocastis; resuscitetis gratiam sacrae ordinationis, ut per vestrum servitium, doctrinam omnemque sacerdotalem exemplarem vitam laudetur Jesus Christus, ejusque beatissima Mater, Virgo Maria!

Jaurini, in octava festi s. Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae, die 3^a Januarii a. D. 1897, sacerdotii quinquagesimo primo, Episcopatus trigesimo.

✠ JOANNES m. p., *Episcopus*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IGNATI DE LOYOLA MEDITATIONES. Franciscus de Hummelauer, S.J.

THIS is a most valuable work on the 'Spiritual Exercises.' It is evidently the fruit of deep study, knowledge, and love of that wonderful book. It will prove interesting and useful in the highest degree to all employed in giving retreats according to the method of St. Ignatius. They will find in it answers to difficulties and questions which suggest themselves to everyone so employed. It is a work which combines in a rare degree thought and solid spirituality.

It does not aim at being a full commentary on the text, though it throws great light on the whole work. It deals expressly only with the Meditations and Contemplations. This is its special feature—that it explains and develops all these, including not only those which are more or less largely treated in the book of the Exercises, but also the mysteries of our Lord's life, the heads only of which are given by St. Ignatius. It explains the connection and bearing of all the meditations and exercises on the great aim of the whole work—how a man is to make a right choice of a state of life, and to perfect himself therein, or to reform and perfect himself in the state in which he is already constituted.

It would make an excellent book of daily meditations. No more helpful work for conductors of Jesuit retreats has appeared. It is full of matter. Independently of its being so skilful a commentary on the meditations and contemplations of the Exercises, and their connection and interdependence, it is replete with Scriptural knowledge, together with beautiful and solid spirituality, and all clear and scholarly. It is sure to meet with the high appreciation it deserves from all interested in the marvellous little book it is concerned with. Though the explanation and development of all the meditations and contemplations is the essential characteristic, there is an introduction which is, in fact, a masterly study of the whole of the Exercises, and a very instructive appendix on the preludes and colloquies.

Having said so much in deserved praise, there is one of the

Contemplations in which we think the learned author is at fault. Father Hummelauer seems to hold that our Lord, in the Sermon on the Mount, taught by the Beatitudes that spiritual indifference to all created things, which St. Ignatius insists so much on, though it is not the highest state of perfection in God's service and love here on earth. This latter is set forth in the third kind and degree of humility. Now, surely our Lord meant to lay down here the most perfect rule of happiness, the most perfect way of attaining the end for which we have been created, the most perfect way of being united with God; and that most perfect way is that imitation of Christ from love of Him, which constitutes the third degree of humility. St. Thomas says the Beatitudes are the most perfect fruits of the Holy Ghost, the perfect workings of the gifts and of the virtues perfected by the gifts; therefore there can be nothing more perfect than the life they signify and teach. But this is a minor matter as far as the Exercises are concerned, and still useful to remark.

In conclusion, we are convinced that Father Hummelauer's book will be highly esteemed by all who will read it with the care and attention it deserves, and that it will grow more and more in favour the more it is used and understood.

W. SUTTON, S.J.

THE IRISH CATHOLIC DIRECTORY AND ALMANAC for 1897.
With Complete Directory in English. Dublin: James
Duffy & Co.

THE CATHOLIC DIRECTORY, ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER
AND ALMANAC for the Year of our Lord, 1897. London:
Burns & Oates, Ltd.

THESE Directories are so well known that it would be superfluous to describe their contents, and so indispensable that no word of commendation is necessary to ensure their rapid sale. The Register of ecclesiastical events of the preceding year, which is a special feature of the Irish Catholic Directory, is, as usual, interesting, and judiciously selected. We notice that the summary is shorter this year than in former years, but yet it seems to us to be more valuable, as the editor has wisely excluded events and records which have not a permanent historical value. For handy reference both now and hereafter this yearly Register will prove invaluable.

Both Directories have an Ecclesiastical Calendar intended

chiefly for the laity and for nuns; but while Burns and Oates give merely what is required for these two classes, Duffy gives a full translation of the Latin *Ordo*. The result is that the Calendar for the laity occupies eighty-eight pages in the latter, while it fills barely fifteen in the former. Duffy's arrangement is convenient for the few priests who do not wish to purchase the *Ordo*; but we think it inconvenient for the laity and the nuns, who require to know merely the Mass of the day. We would suggest that, instead of printing a full translation of the *Ordo* in the Directory, the Messrs. Duffy should bind up the *Ordo* itself with those copies which they are sending to priests, and that in the copies intended for others than priests, they should print an English summary of the Calendar similar to that given in the edition before us of their Directory by Messrs. Burns & Oates.

Each Directory gives a statistical summary, from which we learn that there are in Ireland 29 archbishops and bishops; 3,438 priests, secular and regular; and 2,434 parochial and district churches; in England, 18 archbishops and bishops; 2,686 priests, and 1,463 churches, chapels, stations, &c.; and in Scotland, 7 archbishops and bishops, 404 priests, and 349 places for Catholic public worship.

SPIRITUAL EXERCISES FOR AN EIGHT DAYS' RETREAT.

By B. Hammer, O.S.F. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder.

THIS book forms a valuable addition to our treatises on practical devotion, and will be found useful by the lay as well as the clerical members of our Communion. It is a work that will be found to be of special service to priests who are engaged in conducting retreats, or to those who are making their own private retreats without the assistance of a lecturer. The volume contains a morning meditation, spiritual reading, afternoon conference, and evening meditation for each day. The matter of the work is assiduously collected from the most approved authorities on the spiritual life; and the meditations, while supplying excellent food for reflection, are so constructed as to give reflection that practical direction which aims at touching the heart and influencing morals and conduct. The book contains in an Appendix the Method of Assisting at Mass by St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Ignatius' Methods of Prayer, and St. Bonaventure's Maxims of Piety.

C. M.

MISSA IN HONOREM ST. WILFRIDI. By R. W. Oberhoffer.
London : Alphonse Cary. Score, 2s.

WE are glad to be able to recommend this publication of Mr. Cary's. The composer apparently is an earnest musician, and one who knows what is suitable for the Church. While, therefore, writing in a quite modern style and an effective manner, he avoids carefully anything that, either in harmony, or melody, or rhythm, would be out of keeping with the dignity of God's services or the purity of religious feeling. The Mass will be welcome to choirs that are anxious to be within the boundary lines of correct Church music, but are not able to appreciate music of a Palestrina or the stricter writers of the German Cecilian School.

NEW FACES AND OLD. By Francis J. Finn, S.J. A Collection of Six Short Stories of Boy-life. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder.

THE knowledge of boy-character displayed is great; the stories are short, and calculated to interest highly our juvenile readers, while they imperceptibly instil fine moral principles. The little volume is eminently suitable for a birthday or New Year present to younger boys, and for the junior boys' library.

BOOKS RECEIVED

I. From the Catholic Truth Society :—

(1) *Ought We to Honour Mary? Or, the Bible v. the Reformers.* By Rev. James Splaine, S.J. (2) *The Bull on Anglican Orders.* By Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. (3) *England and the Holy Eucharist.* By Very Rev. Canon Connelly. (4) *Our Father: Meditations for a Month on the Lord's Prayer.* By Rev. Richard F. Clarke, S.J. (5) *Modern Science and Ancient Faith.* By Rev. John Gerard, S.J. (6) *Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland.* By Rev. G. E. Philips. (7) *Wayside Tales.* By Lady Herbert. First Series, Nos. 1-10. (8) *Companion to the Encyclical 'Satis Cognitum:' with a Reply to the Bishop of Stepney.* By Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J.

II. From the Art and Book Company :—

(1) *The Daily Life of a Religious.* By Mother Frances Raphael, O.S.D. (2) *The Church Door Almanack.* (3) *Priests' Census Book.* (4) *Handbook for the Sunday School Teacher.* By Father Furniss, C.S.S.R. (5) *Register of Intentions for Mass.* (6) *The Catholic Prayer Book Almanack.* (7) *Catholic Diary, 1897.*



OUR LADY OF GYÖR, AND BISHOP WALTER LYNCH

THE subject of the following paper came casually under my notice when travelling last summer in Hungary. While on a visit in the neighbourhood of Györ, I met the Secretary of the Bishop of that diocese, who informed me that the Cathedral possessed a painting brought from Ireland by Bishop Walter Lynch, of Clonfert, and held the mortal remains of that exiled prelate. The following day the Secretary, Rev. Dr. Gisswein, kindly conducted me over the Cathedral, showed me the miraculous picture of the Virgin and Child, an engraving of which, from a photograph, accompanies this number of the I. E. RECORD, and exhibited a relic connected with it, to which reference will afterwards occur. I am likewise indebted to him for the documents upon which the history of the prodigy is based.

A short account of Bishop Lynch's early life and subsequent career will not, I dare say, be out of place as an introduction. It is taken chiefly from¹ Lynch's Lives of the Bishops of Clonfert, and from documents subjoined to the² *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*. The sketch, necessarily brief, is personal, reference only being made to the part taken by Lynch in the events of the troubled and difficult times in which he lived.

¹ Joan Lynceae, *Historia Ecclesiastica Hiberniae*, vol. ii. Todd Manuscripts, Trinity College Library, Dublin.

² Sir J. T. Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland* from A.D. 1641 to 1652.

Walter Lynch, the son of James and Apollonia, was born in Galway, probably about the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Lynches, one of the tribes, were most ancient, and among the leading families in Galway until the middle of the seventeenth century. During the greater part of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries they possessed the principal authority within the town. Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose was the last Catholic mayor, in 1654, when Cromwell dispossessed the ancient inhabitants; and during a period of one hundred and sixty-nine years, the family gave to Galway eighty-four mayors, and several bishops and distinguished ecclesiastics to the Church.¹ He received the rudiments of knowledge at home, for there was then a famous school, in Galway, kept by Alexander Lynch, and frequented by twelve hundred students. In 1608, Primate Ussher made a visitation of this great seminary of the West, in order to shut its doors, and thus deprive the Catholics of instruction. According to tradition, Dr. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam (*Gratianus Lucius*), was son of the above named, and his successor as head master of the school.³ To the Irish College in Lisbon, Walter was afterwards sent to complete his education. Having made there a course of humanities and philosophy he got, presumably, like other students on leaving, 'five pounds to pay his passage to Ireland, a gallon of wine, and some flour for biscuit.' On returning to Ireland he founded a school in his native county, at Gort, then the property of his paternal aunt, Elizabeth. She was the first wife of Sir Robert O'Shaughnessy, who obtained a patent, dated 1607, to hold a fair at Gort, and was made a freeman of Galway, in 1611.² From this place he went to Limerick, where he likewise opened an academy. It does not appear how long he stopped there, nor have I found a record of his career as schoolmaster, but he is next heard of in Paris, as a theological student. As the result of

¹ Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 17.

² O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, J.A.S., p. 420.

³ Blake-Foster, *The Irish Chieftains* Gill, 1872, p. 714.

serious study his course of divinity at the University was successfully completed, and he took, with applause, the degree of Doctor in Theology. Judging from circumstances, Tyrell, Egan, Nugent, and Lonergan, distinguished doctors of the Sorbonne, were, most likely, among his contemporaries.³

Dr. Lynch now turns his steps homewards, and was, no doubt, ordained priest before leaving Paris, for mention is next made of him as Warden of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, Galway, which responsible position his merits and attainments won for him at an early age. This church was founded in 1320, and as the early colonists of Galway were a commercial and seafaring community they dedicated it to the patron of mariners, St. Nicholas of Myra. Galway was in the ancient diocese of Annadown, the cathedral of which was romantically situated on the eastern shore of Lough Corrib, several miles to the north of the 'Citie of the Tribes.' The diocese being small, and the churches much decayed, the metropolitans made many attempts to annex it to the see of Tuam. Besides, the inhabitants of Galway, being mostly English, and their country neighbours and co-diocesans almost purely Irish, were in frequent feuds, which often led to bloodshed and murder. These citizens complained, that in the disputes the Irish clergy, who exercised jurisdiction within the town, sided with their own countrymen. Donatus O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, before whom the Galwaymen's grievances were laid, resolved to remedy them by granting to the complainants a sort of ecclesiastical home rule called the Wardenship.

Accordingly, he constituted St. Nicholas's, which was the principal church of Galway, a collegiate, with a guardian or warden, and eight priests or vicars. He provided for their maintenance, and marked out the jurisdiction of the Chapter, the members of which were to be duly elected by the Mayor and Burgesses of the city. The Chapter exercised the care of souls, and the Warden possessed ample

³ Guérin, *Recherches Historiques sur l'Assemblée de 1682*, second edition, p. 537.

quasi-episcopal jurisdiction.¹ Innocent VIII. confirmed the Archiepiscopal Charter establishing the Wardenship.

In this exalted office, the youthful Dr. Lynch not only discharged faithfully the many duties of the pastorate amidst the troubles of the time, but found leisure to cultivate the science of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence. For a period he withdrew from the Wardenship, in order to devote himself entirely to this new study, and once more crossed the seas in pursuit of knowledge. In France, he perfected his studies in Canon and Civil Law, and in both obtained the doctorate. He also was engaged as lecturer in the faculty of theology. During this sojourn, it is not certain where he resided; but it is probable he stayed at the Irish College, Paris, and frequented the Sorbonne, then one of the chief seats of learning in Christendom.

Now, fully trained in every branch of Sacred Science, a dialectician, theologian, and canonist, equipped to do battle for Church and country, he returned to Galway. There he is again found occupied with the cares of the Wardenship, and as assiduous in the discharge of its duties as he was energetic in the defence of its privileges. He catechized and instructed the people, and by salutary advice, not less than by example, instilled into their hearts the love and practice of virtue. That nothing might be wanting, on his part, to the fitting celebration of the Sacred Mysteries on festivals, and to stimulate more the devotion of the faithful, he had an organ erected in the small chapel, where, owing to persecution, he was obliged to minister to his flock. Though naturally an orator, he cultivated sacred eloquence; and such advantages did he derive from former study, and wide reading, that some of the most powerful discourses were delivered by him with but little, if any, previous preparation. His conversation was graceful and witty, and he was ever ready to illustrate a subject by anecdotes. Owing to his reputation for learning, he was often called on to decide complicated questions, and to settle

¹ Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Wardenship of Galway. I E. RECORD, September, 1883.

difficult affairs. His table was frugal and plain, and he eat sparingly; when he accepted hospitality, it was solely to afford friends the pleasure of his society. He collected a considerable library, which was his greatest source of enjoyment, but too soon he had to deplore the loss of this valuable collection of books, for they were burned by the 'heretics.' Such is the character of the chief ecclesiastic of Galway, given by his contemporaries.

It is needless to say, that Dr. Lynch took an active part in the affairs of the country, and was most enthusiastic in the Catholic cause. Exercising his spiritual authority as Warden, he issued an excommunication against those who subscribed to the terms of submission to the Earl of Clanricarde, 'as after sufficient deliberation, we ourselves, and all the doctors, . . . have found. . . the former two articles to be against the profession of Catholic faith, . . . yea, intended for the extirpation of the said faith,' &c.¹ This document, which is dated 9th May, 1642, shows that Lynch was then protonotary apostolic and Dean of Tuam.

In 1646, when Vicar-Capitular of Tuam, he addressed a letter to the Bishops of Waterford and Ferns respecting the rejection of the peace of Limerick. This letter exhibits his attachment to the Catholic cause, and his unwearying efforts and self-denial in its service. In his anxiety to learn how matters stood, and to discharge his mission, he relates that he posted from Galway to Limerick, and

Totus sudore madens, et in ardentissime sole vix viribus et corpore subsistens, I arrived at my lodging in the said Citie sed respirare locus non fuit, when all the best of the clergie and venerable fathers of the place came to my lodging, and were soe joyfull of my commeing . . . that I could not take anny leasure to refresh or with corporal food to repaire my tyred body; but I must satisfie their fervent desires, &c.

He states what he did, and adds: 'After this, at the earnest entreaty of this virtuous and fervently zealous clergie, I omitted dinner, and went presently to the Maiors house.'

Here follows an interesting account of the business he

¹Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 113.

transacted, and of the disturbance which then took place in the city. The letter is dated Limerick, 21st August, 1646.¹

For nearly forty years the see of Clonfert had been vacant, and governed by vicars apostolic, from the death of Thaddeus O'Farrell, O.P., at Kinsale,² to 1641. In 1640, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Elphin, and the Vicars Apostolic of Achonry and Killala, petitioned Propaganda to give to the church of Clonfert a pastor in the person of John de Burgo, for many years Vicar-General and Commissary Apostolic. This appointment was made, and he was preconised 12th August, 1641. De Burgo was translated to Tuam in 1647.

The Nuncio Rinuccini wrote to Cardinal Pamphili, under date 11th August, 1646, recommending Dr. Walter Lynch, Vicar-Capitular of Tuam, for the see of Clonfert, should De Burgo be translated to the archbishopric. He said that Lynch was 'a learned man, an eloquent preacher and possessed of much authority in the country, most ardent for the Catholic cause, and supported by many of the clergy and laity.'³ A few months later, 11th March, 1647, Lynch was preconised bishop of Clonfert.⁴ He was not, it seems, recommended for the dignity by the Supreme Council of the Confederates, though it approved the choice of him after the appointment. In a subsequent letter the Nuncio reaffirms his testimony to the high character of Lynch, and his fitness for the exalted and difficult office. He wrote:—

Regarding Lynch, whom the Pope has thought fit to send to Clonfert, the testimony of Father Scarampi, who knew him well, is quite enough. I thank God this provision was made, as every day Lynch proves his merits to be greater. Since I came to Galway, I noticed him to be more exact and diligent than all others regarding divine worship. In everything he is attentive, a good preacher and judge, and so beloved that no one, save the envious, speaks ill of him.⁵

¹ Gilbert's *Contemporary History*, vol. i., p. 67.

² *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 486.

³ Rinuccini, *Nunziatura*, p. 152.

⁴ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 216.

⁵ *Nunziatura*, p. 244.

Dr. Lynch was closely associated with the Confederate Catholics. He was present at the Synod of Waterford in 1646, and subscribed to its decrees. Owing to his facility in writing, and despatch in transacting business, he was appointed Secretary to the meetings of bishops at Clonmacnoise and elsewhere. He was charged to conclude a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, in which negotiations he exhibited the skill of a diplomatist. On one occasion the Bishop of Clonfert joined the Archbishop of Tuam in opposing the Nuncio at Galway. He pronounced the funeral oration of the illustrious Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, who died at Galway, 2nd August, 1651, and whose obsequies were held in the Franciscan Church.¹ The following year Galway, the last stronghold of the Nationalists, was taken; and Dr. Lynch, in company with other bishops and priests, fled to the island of Innisboffin. One of the number, writing from this retreat to Pope Innocent X., describes their mode of life and sufferings.²

From this place the Bishop of Clonfert was deported or escaped to Brussels, where he remained for a time. Of his sojourn in Belgium I have found no trace. Thence he travelled into Hungary, and took up his abode at Györ, bringing with him the painting of the Virgin and Child, which afterwards became so famous. Here the bishop, John Püsky, charitably received the poor exile, and in 1655, consoled him with a stall in the Cathedral chapter, to which the Archdeaconry of Papà was annexed, and appointed him auxiliary bishop. For several years he discharged the duties of his double office, and the old visitation books show entries of functions performed (*per Episcopum Hibernum*) by the Irish bishop. A pectoral cross, blessed by Dr. Lynch for an abbot, together with an authentication of the same, in his own handwriting, is preserved in the treasury of the sacred picture.

Before leaving Ireland, this faithful pastor committed the care of his beloved flock to others with whom he used

¹ Meehan, *Irish Hierarchy*, &c., p. 167.

² Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 118.

to communicate by letter. As he became dissatisfied with the administration of his diocese, he entrusted the charge of it to Thomas De Burgo, a doctor of theology, whose learning and integrity he had proved during an acquaintance in Hungary, and named him Vicar-General. But an intruder had seized on the government of the diocese, and disobeying the bishop's repeated mandates refused to acknowledge de Burgo, though supported by the Metropolitan. In this condition of affairs, and having learned that the persecution was abating, Lynch resolved to return to his diocese. While preparing to set out for Ireland, he departed this life, 14th July, 1663, and went to his reward. His obsequies were held in the Cathedral with every mark of respect due to his dignity and virtues, and in the vaults beneath were laid at rest the remains of this illustrious exile.

II.

Before giving the history of the Sacred Picture, I shall say a word or two regarding the city and church, which possess this venerated relic.

Györ, or as the Austrians call it, Raab, formerly a Royal Free-town, and a fortified place of importance, is to-day the capital of a province of that name in Hungary. The seat of a bishop, a thriving commercial city, and a centre of some industries, it is situated at the influx of the Raba and two other rivers into the Little Danube, and stands midway between Vienna and Budapest. From either capital it may be conveniently reached by train or steamer. The journey from Vienna to Györ, a distance of seventy-four and a-half miles, can be made by train within two and a-half hours. The population of Györ including the two neighbouring villages, separated only by the Danube and the Rabeza, is thirty-five thousand. The majority of the inhabitants are Catholics. There are members of the Greek Church and Protestants, and the Hebrew element, rapidly increasing in industrial centres throughout Hungary, is already strong here.

Of the cathedral said to have been built in the time of St. Stephen, no trace remains. The present one is partly



OUR LADY OF GYÖR.

"CONSOLATRIX AFFLICTORUM."

[From a Photograph of the Miraculous Picture in the Cathedral at Györ, Hungary.]

Roman and partly Gothic, with the interior in good Renaissance style. On the south side is a chapel in honour of the Blessed Trinity, which contains the head of St. Ladislaus enclosed in a silver reliquary. The chapel on the north side is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and above the altar hangs the Miraculous Picture, the subject of this paper.

The Cathedral contains other objects of minor interest. Adjoining is the bishop's palace, a quaint but commodious building with a lofty square tower, which commands a good view of the city and surrounding country. Underneath the palace are dungeons of the Turkish period. Close to it is the episcopal seminary, which has a good library. An institution worthy of a visit is the Benedictine gymnasium, which contains a fine natural history collection, and a celebrated museum of antiquities, the property of the order. The buildings are palatial and extensive, and within them superior education is given to upwards of three hundred and fifty students. The studies include a complete gymnasium course, and the school fees are merely nominal, the establishment being maintained at the charge of the Arch-abbey of Martinsberg, of which this is a branch house. Besides there are many institutes, churches, and other objects of attraction to interest an inquiring traveller for more than a day. But to return to my subject.

After the death of Bishop Lynch the painting passed into the possession of the Cathedral, and was hung on the wall near the altar dedicated to St. Anne. There it remained an object of devotion to the faithful, until 17th March, 1697. On that morning, St. Patrick's Day, about six o'clock, while Mass was being celebrated, at which many were present, a bloody sweat was observed to come over the figure of our Blessed Lady in the picture. When the painting was wiped, and the blood removed by means of linen cloths,¹ the

¹ I saw one of these cloths which is preserved in the Cathedral Treasury. It is under glass enclosed in a silver frame, and is presented to the faithful to be kissed. The linen is now dark, and discoloured, as by faded blood stains. On the back of the frame is an authentication in German, of which the following is a translation:— 'This is the genuine cloth used to wipe the Picture, this work of divine grace, which sweat blood in this Mortuary Church, on the 17th of March, 1697. This cloth we shall now dedicate to our dear Mother and all the saints in the honour of God.' Raab, 20th May, 1701.

sweat broke out anew, and continued for three hours, until nine o'clock, a.m. The occurrence caused a rush to the church on the part of the population of the city. Crowds, young and old, Catholic and Calvinist, flocked hither to witness the wonderful event. The painting was removed from its place, and inspected closely in order to discover, if possible, an explanation of this mystery. I shall allow a coeval authority to describe, in his own words, what took place on the occasion. Christopher Schogg, a Canon of the Cathedral, who lived in the early decades of the eighteenth century, and was intimately acquainted with contemporaries and eye-witnesses of the prodigy, placed on record what he gathered from them :—

It is impossible [he wrote] to describe the commotion which arose owing to the holy horror, pious ardour and desire of seeing it [the picture] close at hand. In order to obviate doubt concerning the miracle, and any suspicion of possible latent deception or fraud, the ecclesiastical authorities first had the picture taken down from the wall, then denuded of the ornamental frame, even stripped of the stretching laths, and finally closely inspected and shaken. But, since it was found free of natural moisture, and the wall quite dry, and, moreover, being detached and held by the hands alone of priests over a table, it ceased not to sweat blood; this manifestly constituted a miracle.

Immediately after this miraculous event, the governor of the fortress of Györ, Count Sigebert Heister and his wife, Countess Aloysia Katzianer, the promoters of this special devotion, erected at their expense an altar in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the sacred picture was placed there, and visited by the faithful under the invocation of *Consolatrix Afflictorum*. Another testimony is obtained from the diary of the Confraternity of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, of which Michael Dumer was president. He was a Jesuit and Professor in the College of the Society in the city, and present on the occasion. Under date of 17th March, 1697, he noted: 'On this day the picture

¹ Extract from Canon Schogg's notes on the Holy Picture, preserved in the Archives of the chapter at Györ. See I. E. RECORD, Feb. 1897, p. 178 and fol.

of the Blessed Virgin in the Cathedral, began to weep copiously.'¹

A remarkable example occurs in the devotion of Stephen Telekessy, a well-known Canon of the Cathedral, and bishop-designate of Erlau, 1699, who, in his afflictions betook himself to the altar 'of the Virgin Mary that two years before had shed tears.'² About the same time lived Canon Matthew Bubnich (1688-1721), who erected at his cost an organ in the choir, facing the altar of the Blessed Virgin: furthermore, he placed in the eastern hall of the chapter-house a sculptured copy of the painting. He likewise donated a vineyard, the income from which was to serve as a foundation for Masses, and to keep, in perpetuity, a lamp burning before this picture on Saturdays, and on the feast days of the Blessed Virgin. Count Herster and his wife, already named, by a deed dated Györ, 1st Jan., 1715,³ made provision for singing the litanies on Saturdays, and festivals of our Blessed Lady. Foundations to keep lights constantly burning at the shrine, and others of a character similar to those mentioned exist, and their obligations are discharged to this day. Numerous votive offerings of gold, silver, and precious stones have been made at this altar, and testify to favours granted through the intercession of Mary 'Consoler of the afflicted.'

The zealous servant of the Mother of God, Count

¹ The entry runs thus: 'Mane hora 9^{na} Sacrum Cantatum: a prandiis in Congregatione Exhortatio, et Lytaniae in Templo. Hac die Imago B. Virginis in Cathedrali Ecclesia incepit flere ubertina.' This diary is now in the library of the Lyceum, Györ.

² Extract from his letter to the Bishop of Györ, Christian Augustus Duke of Saxony, then residing at Vienna. See Documents, I. E. RECORD, February, 1897.

³ 'Nos S. Romani Imperii Comes Sibertus ab Heister, Sacratissimae Caesareae, Regiaeque Mejestatis Generalis Campi Mareschallus . . . Generalatus Jaurinensis Supremus Gubernator, &c.; memoriae commendamus tenore praesentium significantes quibus expedit, universis; et imprimis quidem quod nos Comes ab Heister ex innata, Divinitusque nobis Clementer elargita pietate, Zeloque et cultu erga Deiparam Beatissimam Virginam Mariam observari solito, Imaginem ejusdem Clementissimae Virginis, hic in Cathedrali Ecclesia Jaurinensi ante octodecem annos, scilicet anno 1697 die vero 17^{ma} Martii miraculose guttas quasi sanguineas, praesente magna multitudine populi utriusque Nationis, atque religionis tam Catholicorum quam et Lutheranorum et Calvinistarum sudantem debita cupiens prosecui veneratione in majorum cultus ejusdem B. Virginis promotionem,' &c.

Francis Zichy de Vásonkeö, Bishop of Györ (1743-1783) removed the altar given by Count Heister, and erected in its stead the present magnificent marble structure in which the miraculous picture, framed in silver, was placed. By an endowment he provided for the daily celebration of mass at 8-30 at the shrine. The good Bishop is buried in front of the altar, which spot he selected for his last resting-place.

A great quantity of gold and silver was taken from the treasury of the sacred picture to assist in providing for the defence of the country in the war with France, but new votive offerings replaced those lost. In 1874, Pius IX. granted plenary indulgences on the feasts of St. Patrick and the Annunciation, on which days the miraculous event is annually celebrated.

The first centennial anniversary of the miracle was celebrated with fitting solemnity. The panegyric on the occasion was preached by Anthony Majláth de Szekhely, Benedictine Abbot of Börchim, and Canon of the Cathedral. In an eloquent discourse he told the story of the wonderful picture. He narrated how Bishop Lynch, banished for the faith from his native country, saved from desecration and destruction, this precious relic, and, wandering through many lands, safely brought it, his sole possession, to Györ, where he was received with honour, and found a home. After describing the miraculous event, which was witnessed for hours by hundreds and hundreds more, he noted that, often as the figure of our Blessed Mother was wiped, it again ran with drops of bloody sweat, that, trickling down, fell on the Sacred Face of the Divine Infant, the marks of which may yet be seen. Tracing the history of the devotion through the century then completed, he mentioned the altars, foundations, and votive offerings presented in honour of the Mother of God, and in testimony of the miracle.

And now as to the picture itself. It is painted on canvas, and its dimensions are twenty-six inches in height by twenty inches in breadth. The mantle or outer robe of the Blessed Virgin is blue, the inner garment or gown is red. The coverlet on the couch of the Divine Child is brown, with gold marking the pomegranate pattern. The crowns, which

are of gold and precious stones, were, it need scarcely be remarked, afterwards added, at Györ. They are modelled on the style of the crown of St. Stephen, King of Hungary. As to the artist of the picture, or even the school to which it belongs, no opinion is ventured. A professional art critic who kindly examined the photograph, suggests it is an Italian painting of the seventeenth century school; whereas another supposes he finds traces of the Flemish school, and of the style of Peter Pourbus of Bruges.

The time for holding the second centenary is at hand. On St. Patrick's Day next the celebration will commence, and preparations for it are in progress. It is not too much to say that it is certain the miraculous event of two hundred years ago will be worthily commemorated, and that the festival will be marked by the grandeur and magnificence of ceremonial which distinguish the Hungarian nation.

In conclusion, a word of gratitude may not be, it is hoped, unfitly offered here to that noble people, whose forefathers gave not only a home, but also a place in the sanctuary of their glorious church to our exiled countryman, and who, themselves, hold to-day his memory in veneration. Writing of Walter Lynch, the present illustrious Bishop of Györ says, 'His life here,' it is related, 'was a mirror of every priestly virtue.'

J. J. RYAN.

[NOTE.—It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remind the readers of the I. E. RECORD that the event of which I have written synchronizes with the year in which the most hurtful to the Catholic faith, and iniquitous of the penal laws was passed. In 1697 the Parliament passed the Act 9 Will. III., c. i., which bears the title: '*An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish clergy out of the Kingdom.*' I have not been able to fix the day this enactment became law. Some of its provisions, however, operated on 29th December that year, while others did not come into force till 1st May, 1698. Light on this point would be interesting.—J. J. R.]

ANGLICANISM AS IT IS

II.

IT is the boast of Anglicanism that it pays a peculiar deference to historical facts. 'History,' says *The Church Times*, 'is our best ally.' The guiding principle of the so-called Reformation was, according to Canon Carter (a great leader of Anglican thought), a 'tendency to search into history, to test the present by the past, rather than trust to the mere *dicta* of authority.'¹ But perhaps the most complete glorification of the 'historical' basis of divine faith, according to the Anglican theory, is given by Canon Gore in his *Roman Catholic Claims*.² In this corrected edition of his book, which is, as a rule, consulted by every High Churchman who has any inclination Romewards, and has been known to 'settle' many disturbed minds, Canon Gore has given us two pages on the subject of the rule of faith, which, it will be seen, culminates in a study of history by the masters and guides of the mass below. He is answering the question: 'How are we—not professed theologians, nor even students—to find out the "rule of faith"?' and he is meeting the objection that 'the Roman idea of Church authority gives a simpler remedy for our difficulties. *Theirs* is a rule of faith of easy access.'

Canon Gore accordingly says that 'the individual Churchman begins by submitting himself to be moulded by the rule of faith which he receives.' 'Receives' introduces a little confusion already; but let that pass. 'The proximate authority,' he continues, 'for each of us consists of the personal teachers to whom, by God's providence, we are subject.' A little more confusion is introduced by the substitution of 'authority' for 'rule of faith.' And it is to be noticed that the 'proximate authority' is not, with Canon Gore, the teaching of the Church, but our first

¹ *The Roman Question*, 2nd Ed., p. 166.

² 3rd Ed., pp. 48, 49.

teachers, who may or may not represent the Church. And so by slipping in the word 'authority,' and also retaining the word 'proximate,' he has succeeded in throwing the whole subject into confusion; for the proximate rule of faith is the rule by which the faith is brought to our doors. A 'proximate authority' may be what that rule involves, but the expression indicates a relation to some other authority, not simply the relation of the rule to the soul.

That Canon Gore is in a complete mist as to the sense of the mere terms, and has changed their meaning from that which they bear in Catholic terminology, is evident from what he goes on to say. For having told us that 'side by side with the personal teachers, and controlling them [*sic*] are the written formulas of the Church,' he says, 'thus the personal teachers and the formulas, taken together contribute the proximate rule of faith.' It is clear that this is absolute nonsense, unless Canon Gore is putting his own meaning on the terms 'proximate rule of faith.' With us they mean the living rule, as compared with (so to speak) the dead rule: the speaking, as compared with the silent rule: the form of our faith, as compared with its material. With Canon Gore they mean something quite different; that is to say, the mere terms have undergone a change of meaning. Proximate, as applied to authority, means with him, provisional, as a court of first instance; as applied in this sense to the 'rule of faith' it is meaningless.

But Canon Gore proceeds with this jumble of terms, to say that 'this proximate rule of faith [*i.e.*, the personal teachers and the formulas] is not the ultimate authority.' This, of course, is exactly what the proximate rule is with the Catholic. The faith of the Catholic is based on the Word of God; but the rule by which he gets at that Word, and is guided in the interpretation of the Divine revelation, is the authority of the Church, which is ultimate or final. But Canon Gore actually goes on in the next line to identify his 'ultimate rule of authority' (note the fresh confusion by the introduction of the word 'rule') with 'the remoter rule' of faith, the name which he now gives to the ultimate, as contrasted with the proximate authority. And 'this ultimate

rule of authority—the remoter rule’—is what? ‘This ‘remoter rule of faith,’ he says, ‘involves, as we have seen, a comparison of records, a searching into the past traditions of the Church.’ So that instead of the ‘remoter rule of faith’ being, as in the Catholic definition of it, Scripture and tradition, *i.e.*, a silent, and in a sense, dead rule, whilst the proximate rule is the living teaching of the Catholic Church, which brings Scripture and tradition up to the door of the soul, with Canon Gore the remoter rule of faith, which he identifies with the ‘ultimate authority,’ consists in the principle that we get behind the authority which comes to us first in order, and control and correct it by a ‘comparison of records, a searching into the past traditions of the Church.’

Thus not a vestige of the Catholic rule of faith remains after Canon Gore’s mixture. It is completely purged away. Nothing whatever is eventually received on authority; the ‘remoter rule of faith’ has not been brought into operation until we have compared records and searched into past traditions. Only then has the soul got through and behind the proximate rule of faith, as Canon Gore calls it; only then does it reach the ‘ultimate rule of authority,’ as he calls the last process. It is, then, in the ultimate analysis, pure, unmitigated, private judgment that Canon Gore upholds. But the absurdity of making this search and comparison, this verifying process, the rule of faith for the multitude, seems to have struck Canon Gore himself. And so he deals with this difficulty as follows:—‘Such research is only possible, comparatively for a few, and only a few are capable of undertaking it. But the few act for the many.’ So that the many have to make their rule of faith obedience to the authority of the few. They have, in fact, a different rule of faith. But they may be consoled by the following consideration:—‘The fact that competent persons are constantly engaged in this verifying process of comparison and research guarantees [*sic*] that the current Church teaching is being kept pure from accretion.’ Thus everything hangs on the ‘competent persons.’ Of course, if they are guaranteed from error, the fact of their being constantly

engaged in the verifying process will guarantee the purity of the current Church teaching; but this would be to attribute the prerogative of infallibility, either to several individuals, or to a 'collectivity' of 'competent persons.' In which case all the Protestant objections to infallibility would, in good logic, revive in tenfold force.

Nevertheless, this is what the Anglican theory involves—either no guarantee, or a blind dependence on a few 'competent persons,' who are practically treated as infallible, without a divine promise or a divine selection. The High Anglican, as I have said, parades his peculiar deference to history. His is pre-eminently 'historical Christianity;' he tells you that *he* does not ignore facts and depreciate the verifying process, the comparison of records, or the search into the past traditions of the Church. But if you ask him whether he has done this himself, he replies, 'No;' someone else is doing it, or has done it, for him. They are 'competent' persons. Canon Liddon was in the habit of saying, for the last twenty years of his life, that he had not gone into certain historical questions concerning the early Church, on which, nevertheless, the truth or falsity of his position, on his own theory, depended; but that Dr. Pusey had done it, and he could trust Dr. Pusey. He was one of Canon Gore's 'competent persons.' I propose, therefore, to conclude this article with two or three hitherto unnoticed instances, sufficiently startling, of the way in which history has been treated by this leader of Anglican thought, who went by Canon Gore's 'remoter rule of faith,' or 'ultimate rule of authority;' that is to say, who was 'engaged in the verifying process of comparison and research.'

But before doing so, it may be well to notice a remarkable fact about the Church of England, in view of this claim to represent 'historical Christianity.' It is this. For three centuries of her existence she produced no single history of the Church. One would have thought that her literature would have been teeming with histories. But when Dr. Dollinger wrote his first history, and gave a list of the chief books he consulted, Protestant as well as Catholic, he had to avow that he had gained nothing from England.

German Protestantism had at least produced a Neander, but not so the 'historical Christianity' of England. It seemed to have dropped ecclesiastical history, and to have assumed that it is known by intuition, and could be taken as a matter of course. One really great writer on history stands out by himself, but he hails from Ireland, as though the atmosphere of a Catholic country had suffused something of itself into a Protestant Archbishop. I mean, of course, Ussher, who did some good work in the sources of English history. But he did not actually write a history of the Church. And as for England, she was completely out of the running. A witness above suspicion, *The Church Quarterly Review*, has recently remarked on this peculiar feature of the literature of the Church of England. Speaking of the time when the Tractarian movement began, the writer of an article on the seventh Œcumenical Council (July, 1896, p. 451) says :—

English histories of the Church were non-existent. Attention was for the most part confined to the three first centuries, and perhaps the first History of the Catholic Church which was published in this country was that issued in A.D. 1833, under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, written by the late Dean Waddington, of Durham. And in his history, laborious though its compilation was, it is a remarkable fact that there is scarcely any mention of the Council of Chalcedon, held A.D. 451, excepting in the casual observation that by its twenty-ninth [*sic*] canon the see of New Rome was to have the same advantages with that of Old Rome in the ecclesiastical constitution.¹

Consequently, Dr. Pusey, acting more or less as a pioneer, laboured under all the drawbacks of such a rôle, and one would be glad to think that the innumerable mistakes he made may be at least in part attributed to his exceptional position. But what of the reliance placed on him by members of the Anglican cult, as one of the 'competent persons' engaged in the 'comparison of records and a search into the past traditions of the Church'?

In his celebrated *Eirenicon*, of which the sale was enormous, and which was greeted with a shout of applause

¹ Page 126.

by high Anglicans, which has not yet died out, Dr. Pusey drew up a list of what he called 'instances of infallibility;' *i.e.*, supposed infallible utterances of popes, which put the idea of their infallibility out of the question. At the end of the list he says:—'I have set down no difficulty which I do not myself think insurmountable.'¹

One of these 'insurmountable difficulties' in the way of believing in Papal Infallibility is thus stated:—

Then also [*i.e.*, if the Pope is infallible] Pope Celestine was equally infallible when he declared that 'the charge of teaching has descended [from the Apostles] *equally* upon all bishops . . .' He charged them with it as a duty devolving *equally* upon all.'²

The italics are Dr. Pusey's. The whole stress of the argument is laid on the word 'equally.' If they are all equal, one cannot be infallible, as distinguished from the rest. To this quotation a note is appended in which Dr. Pusey says, 'I have adopted the translation in *Allies' Church of England*, from Fleury, xxv. 47, Oxf. Tr.

Now *Allies' Church of England cleared from Schism* is a well-known book, written when the author was a Protestant, and still read by members of the Church of England with consoling effects. And a very able book it is. But Mr. Allies, at that time the best authority on such subjects in the Church of England, depended implicitly in this particular reference on Fleury; and Fleury, a Gallican *à l'outrance*, has simply mistranslated the passage. The word 'equally' does not occur in it at all. Celestine speaks of the charge of teaching having descended on the bishops *in common*. Now we know that a community of possession may involve a diversity of share. A common commission to an army to assist a colony in the name of Her Majesty contemplates various relationships of subordination between those who are sent to act in common. Fleury, however, substituted '*egalement*,'³ and misled Mr. Allies in his Protestant days, and Dr. Pusey depended on Mr. Allies years afterwards, instead of looking at the original. The difficulty was only 'insurmountable' because this obvious course was

¹ Page 317.

² Page 307.

³ Lib. 25, 47.

not adopted. A glance at the original would have prevented Dr. Pusey from standing forth as the champion of Anglicanism against Papal Infallibility, on, at any rate, this point of Celestine's letter to the Council of Ephesus. Five years afterwards, Dr. Pusey discovered this; and in an appendix to the *Eirenicon* (little read) he quietly dropped the word 'equally,' which was the pivot of his argument in 1865, and argued, in 1870, as though the objection originally derived from the word 'equally' still held good, because Celestine speaks of the whole Council as inspired by the Holy Ghost in a way which he does not claim for himself. But here he simply 'loads the dice.' For he makes Celestine say that 'the Council is the visible display of the presence of the Holy Ghost.' There is no 'the' in the original, which makes all the difference. But why did not Dr. Pusey openly admit that the word 'equally' anyhow does not present an 'insurmountable difficulty,' seeing that it does not exist as he tacitly admits, when he translates it 'in common' in this third part of his *Eirenicon*?

The work, however, was done, and lo! another 'competent person,' engaged in that 'comparison of records and the search into the past,' which is to Canon Gore the 'remoter rule of faith,' falls into the same trap. This time it is the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, Canon Bright. The same translation of the passage in St. Celestine's letter is trotted out at Oxford in the notes to a lecture on 'The Roman Claims tested by Antiquity' (still circulated by the *English Church Union*), and the same reference to Fleury reappears (1877, p. 11)! This, too, at last—when pointed out in my book on *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*—is silently dropped, and the true translation given, whence no argument is, or could be drawn, and full revenge is taken on the discoverer of the mistranslation by a running fire of comments on enormities supposed to have been committed by him.²

I shall now take one more instance of the 'insurmount-

¹ Cf. Part iii., p. 257:

² *Roman See in the Early Church*, p. 160.

able difficulties' with which Dr. Pusey presents us. He says :—

Then [*i.e.*, if the Pope is infallible] St. Leo IX. was infallible when he said :—' The humility of these venerable Pontiffs, worthy of all imitation, considering that the chief of the Apostles is not found called universal Apostle, utterly rejected that proud name *by which their equality of rank seemed to be taken away from all prelates throughout the world*, in that a claim was made for one upon the whole.'

The italics are Dr. Pusey's, and the reference is again to Mr. Allies' book, written when a Protestant. This 'insurmountable difficulty' in the way of believing in Papal Infallibility, is adroitly introduced to substantiate Dr. Pusey's interpretation of St. Gregory the Great's refusal of the title, Universal Bishop, which had been claimed by John the Faster, of Constantinople, in a hyper-Papal sense. It seemed, however, so inconceivable that St. Leo IX., who excommunicated the Eastern Emperor, should have left himself open to the misconstruction put upon the quotation by Dr. Pusey, that I thought it worth while to read the whole letter through. It is a very long one.

Now, in the first place, Dr. Pusey omits the lines preceding his quotation, which throw altogether different light on the words he quotes. St. Leo says:—'And to whom, after Jesus Christ, could this name be more fitly applied than to the successors of Peter?'—words which imply some inequality between those successors and the other bishops. And Dr. Pusey's translation of the words following is not exact. St. Leo does not say 'in that a claim was made for one upon the whole,' but, speaking of the 'equal rank,' as Dr. Pusey calls it (*par dignitas*), he says that the Apostle

Repudiated a proud term by which a like dignity seemed to be withdrawn from all the prelates throughout the world, while it was arrogated to himself by one out of the whole, as though [*i.e.*, the term being thus understood as a proud title should be refused as though] each said by words and deeds what *their Master*, and the first to be crucified, says:—'I am not worthy to place my head above, but to bend my face down to the earth'—

alluding to St. Peter's crucifixion. Now, why did Dr. Pusey omit this remaining part of the sentence from which he quoted, when it speaks of St. Peter as the "Master" of the Apostles, and so (by inference from the first omitted lines) of the successors of Peter as similarly the masters of the bishops? We may safely presume that he did not go to the original, or he would have seen that the 'like dignity,' or, as he calls it, the 'equal rank' (*par dignitas*), was the *status* of bishop, *quá* bishop, the denial of which was involved in John the Faster's particular use of the term universal bishop, which term was on that account—and not by way of denying the supreme jurisdiction of the see of Peter—repudiated by Gregory.

But, further, Dr. Pusey's difficulty would have been more than surmounted if he had read the letter of Leo IX. to the end. It is, indeed, one of the longest letters on record; but, surely, considering that Dr. Pusey was flying the Anglican colours high before the Christian world, he ought to have made a little sure of his ground. St. Leo, in the 13th section of this letter, quotes with approval some supposed words of the Emperor, in which he says of 'the Most Holy See of Peter' that—

We sanction by decree that it should hold the sovereignty [*principatus*] as well over the four sees—Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople—as also over all the Churches of God in the world; and that he who, for the time being, is Pontiff of the Sacrosanct Roman Church should be higher than and prince of all the priests of the whole world, and by his judgment all that shall have to be procured for the worship of God, or the stability of the faith of Christians, should be arranged.²

All this Leo IX. adopts. But, further, he says:—

For the faith of the Roman Church, built through Peter on a rock, neither until now fails, nor will fail through the ages, Christ its Lord praying for it, as He testifies close to His Passion: 'I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not; and thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.' By which saying He plainly showed that the faith of the brethren would be in danger

¹ *Mansi*, xix. 643.

through various failures, but, by the unshaken and unfailing faith of Peter, it would be fixed as by the aid of a firm anchor, and would be confirmed in the foundation of the Universal Church; which nobody denies, save he who evidently impugns these very words of truth. For he knows that, as the whole door is governed by the hinge, so the well-being of the whole Church is governed [or arranged, *disponitur*] by Peter and his successors: and as the hinge, remaining immovable, draws the door backwards and forwards, so Peter and his successors have unfettered judgment concerning the whole Church, since no one ought to move their position, because the highest see is judged by none.²

All this occurs in the same letter to the Patriarch Michael, from which Dr. Pusey extracts a sentence to show that St. Leo IX. did not believe in Infallibility; for, on the hypothesis of his infallibility, he would be infallible in deprecating the prerogative, as Dr. Pusey thinks he does in those few words torn from their context. But Dr. Pusey had only to look to the original to see that in the very same letter Leo IX. expressly asserts the infallibility of the Holy See. Yet Dr. Pusey is one of those 'competent persons' who was constantly engaged in the 'verifying process,' 'the comparison of records, the search into the past traditions of the Church,' which constitutes, in Canon Gore's theory, the 'remoter rule' of faith, the 'ultimate rule of authority.'

Certainly, if the words of the Popes may be dealt with as in the two instances just given, *The Church Times* may well speak of history as their best ally. But if such amazing manipulation of authors is a sign of profound ignorance of their meaning, to take the most charitable line, what becomes of the 'remoter rule' of faith which, according to Canon Gore, consists in such a verifying process, and of the competence of the few 'who act for the many'?

LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A.

¹ *Mansi*, xix. 653.

THE LATE REV. JOHN GOWAN, C.M.

FOUNDER OF THE SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY FAITH

IT is no easy thing to sketch, even in brief outline, the life, work, and character of a man of God, particularly when, as often happens, the subject of the endeavour has tried to hide his personality behind the name of an order or congregation, or of the agency through which his conceptions see the light. So it is in the case of the late Father Gowan. In all his work after he had joined them till near the end he was simply one of the Vincentian fathers. In what remains now his greatest monument, existing in visible, concrete form, living and vivifying—the Sisterhood of the Holy Faith and their schools, and their special initial work, St. Brigid's Orphanage—his creating and organizing, directing and conserving hand remained hidden during the lifetime of Miss Aylward. Had she outlived him, it is probable that the fact that she was the Foundress of the Institute only under him, the real Founder, would have remained hidden until his death, when the love of his spiritual daughters would have assuredly revealed it. What wonder, then, that the obituary notices of such a man have been indeed sketchy and inadequate.

Nor is it in the hope or presumption of doing much better that the present writer pens this tribute to the memory of this father and friend, friend to him as to all priests who consulted this wise counsellor. As of old, monuments were raised to the mighty dead of our race by each clansman and kinsman adding a stone to pile up the *cairn* higher and higher: or, as the poor will bring humble flowers to place on Father Gowan's grave, side by side with the rich wreaths of the wealthy, in some such way is this simple monograph put forward among more polished sketches, penned by defter hands. I only claim space to mention certain works and indicate traits of character

either unknown to, or untouched, or touched too lightly, by the writers of previous sketches.

Had Father Gowan died half-a-dozen years ago, the ordinary worldling, even of his native diocese, would have sketched his life in some such form as this: Born April 9, 1817, in the seaport town of Skerries, he early felt called to the priesthood. He studied in Maynooth College, and was ordained in 1840. For some ten years he laboured in the parish of Glendalough, when he entered the Congregation of the Mission, of which he remained a faithful member for well-nigh half a century, unto his death on January 16th of the present year.

How bald and bare is such an outline! And yet the arid, sandy surface of the Rand did not hide away such precious gold and gems as these few finger-posts on his life's journey indicate to those who knew this man of God, and his ways and his works. All forceful things in nature seek the light. We read that even mushroom growths have burst the solid stone. And so the strong, sound seeds planted by this tiller in God's vineyard burst even through the repressing obstacle of his own modesty, and proclaimed the hand of the planter. Ere God called him home to Himself everyone had come to know that Ireland, just fresh from persecution, had produced another Founder to rank with the Columbas and Columbanuses, of our past history, with St. Francis de Sales and Venerable John Eudes, and Pere Varin of another, albeit kindred race, in modern times. The history of the founding of the Sisterhood of the Holy Faith remains to be written. But the bare facts are these:

Some forty years ago, among Father Gowan's penitents was Margaret Aylward, in whose humility, fortitude, and zeal he discerned the heaven-designed instrument for a much-needed work. Proselytism was rife, its agents unscrupulous, their means abundant. This wise priest thought out a plan, needing funds indeed, but not so large an initial or continued outlay as would the building and maintenance of an orphanage of the usual kind. Moreover, his plan is safer and more fruitful in its results for the spiritual and temporal

future of the orphans. Anyone calling at St. Brigid's Orphanage, 46, Eccles-street, finds there only the nun in charge, no children. The orphans are boarded out in the wholesome homes of holy Ireland. There they have not the hot-bed lives of the usual orphanage. They know life as it is. They form one of the family. Through after years they are not strangers to the saving memories of a Christian home, the want of which no care conferred in crowded institutions can ever make up for. Often the orphans are adopted, and become the stay and solace of their foster-parents. So striking has been the success of the plan that our best Boards of Guardians have taken it up as a means of lifting pauper children from the damning degradation of poorhouse rearing.

Such was the first work Father Gowan set before Margaret Aylward. The Orphanage opened January 1st, 1857. But soon other avenues of zealous activity opened out before her and Ada Allingham, and the other fervent Irish souls who came to help. In 1860 the Sisterhood was launched, Margaret Aylward and Ada Allingham being the two first members. The Ragged Schools of the Coombe and elsewhere, offering bread and soup to the starving children of sick, or poor, or drunken parents, in exchange for the souls of God's little ones, demanded counteraction. So schools were built on the Coombe, Clarendon-street, and Little Strand-street. Soon others sought for foundations, and now many houses exist throughout the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, and Kildare, not only for the poor, but for all who seek to get for very moderate fees an education whose dominant notes are love and devotion to Faith and Fatherland.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that Father Gowan's life-work was confined to the founding of the Sisterhood of the Holy Faith, and to the various works of that Institute, although such a life-work alone were worthy of any of God's greatest heroes. His labours were manifold and all singularly fruitful. His record as Curate of Glendalough was in itself enough to sanctify his name. All the priests of Ireland were then heroic ; but among them all

Father Gowan's figure stands out pre-eminent, outrivalling even the sublime self-sacrifice of his friend and former class-mate, the late lamented Bishop Duggan. It is remarkable that this great prelate was drawn to this kindred spirit to make just before his death last Autumn, a ten days' Retreat under his guidance. No less noteworthy is it that Father Gowan himself was just finishing a Retreat before he himself was called away home. His labours, his devotedness, his self-sacrifice, leading him to subsist in the famine years on a little porridge, are not forgotten in the mountains to this day. His name and fame are as fresh and as fondly spoken to-day by the grandchildren of those whom he edified, as are those of the best-beloved dispensers of the sacraments now on the days of their leaving. Love begets love; and Father Gowan's thoroughly Celtic heart so loved his people as to be ready to die for them, to go very near to dying in reality for them, starving himself that he might be able to prolong the life of some famine-stricken fellow-creature, and only taking enough food to keep him alive to anoint and anoint the dying.

It may be that the knowledge he then gained of the holy homes of Ireland explains the genesis of the plan of his Orphanage. He saw the people in the comparative plenty of the pre-famine years, in the glowing glory of O'Connell's days, in the sublime renunciation of a law-begotten vice at the preaching of Father Mathew. He saw them in all their joyousness in the good days, when the '*cups*'¹ were plenteous. He saw them again in their sorrow. He saw them in the awful maddening agonies of hunger. He saw them in the depths of despond. But they never despaired. And they died blessing God for their sufferings sooner than take the soup's food at the cost of their souls. He saw and never forgot. How he loved the Wicklow people may in some measure be gleaned from some lectures he delivered about four years ago. An English lady, recently recalling these lectures, said: 'There was not a dry eye in the hall, as the holy man described the martyr-like patience of the people

¹ A kind of potato, particularly nutritious, but all blighted afterwards.

during the famine and fever-plague.' His experience of those dread times left another effect to which we shall refer later on.

His works, after entering the Congregation, may be put under four or five heads. For the first half-dozen years or thereabouts, he worked as a 'Missioner,' to use the term applied to those members of religious communities who assist the parochial clergy by giving missions. Afterwards for a decade or more, in addition to his work of Founder, he taught the English Composition Class in Castleknock. Early in the seventies he was appointed Spiritual Director to the Diocesan College of Holy Cross, Clonliffe, and soon after lecturer on Sacred Eloquence in the National College, Maynooth. All through from his becoming a Vincentian he continued down almost to his death to give Retreats to priests and to religious communities. Just five weeks before his death he pleaded the cause of his Orphans from the pulpit of St. Francis Xavier's Church, Gardiner-street, with a power and eloquence astonishing at his age.

Many explanations have been given of the charm of his style in preaching and lecturing. His undoubted sincerity, 'heart speaking to heart,' is generally set down as the secret of this charm. But it is not this alone. Many speakers, whose sincerity is evident, fail to move as he moved his hearers. His style and manner were so simple as to lead many, indeed all but the deepest thinkers, to fancy that they were unstudied, and that their whole force lay in the sincerity of the speaker. But in truth, all his utterances, even when not formally thought out, were the result of previous thought. His self-sacrificing, self-starvation during the famine had so permanently weakened his system that he could never afterwards study in the usual sense of the word. He could no longer sit down to pore for hours continuously over books, to collect and collate, and write out elaborately. Yet his language was ever pure and correct, and his arrangement most orderly. Apropos of this I may mention an incident which occurred just nine days before his death. A dramatic performance was given by the pupils of his own Convent of the Holy Faith, Glasnevin. Towards

the close of the entertainment a learned Jesuit, himself a great master of style, said to the present writer: 'I hope Father Gowan will give some address; I love to hear him; his language is always so pure and correct.' Other qualities, such as his earnestness, which was the out-bursting of the most lively faith, the most sentient grasp of supernatural things, deep-rooted in an ardent nature, contributed to his power as a speaker. But the careless cannot quote him as an excuse for their own laziness in preparation. When he could not pore, he pondered; and if his utterances were so simple in beauty, so fitted to their purpose, so striking to the mind's eye of the most critical, it was the result of habits of orderly thought, and the deepest study of the rules of composition, made in youth ere want brought on the weakness which barred plodding application.

All who, like the present writer, had the good fortune to hear his lectures on English composition, will agree that, although they may have met more showy, they never met a more effective professor. He had a wonderful faculty of securing the attention of all his class, even of persons who never paid attention in other classes. And he had an inspired way of dropping words of counsel that abode for ever in the minds of the hearers, and moved them to action. As an instance, he once uttered the prophecy: 'The days are coming, and they are near at hand, when everyone who loves his creed and country ought to be prepared to turn the marrow of his bones into materials to defend both against their enemies. Therefore, learn to write, &c.' Some at least of his hearers have never ceased to hear these words ringing in their ears, spurring them to action.

But what above all gave the tone to his style were his love of nature and his intense love of Ireland and of Ireland's faith. He loved nature as God made it. He loved human nature as Christ redeemed and restored it. He loved Irish human nature, Irish Catholic human nature, as the dearest flowering of virtue in God's garden. His remembrance of the famine, artificially created by bad laws, allowed to slay its tens and hundreds of thousands—first, by the heartless indifference, and afterwards by the wasteful stupidity, of the

alien Government and its agents—gave an intense fierceness to his patriotism. He abhorred the degraded patriotism now blatantly boastful, which would divorce the union of creed and country, and so would work in the name of patriotism the worst evil for Erin which her foes have long sought in vain to do. Such false patriotism, if generally adopted, would soon slay Ireland's nationality after slaying the bond of faith, as happened to the Jews when they rejected God, because He would not bring them an earthly kingdom. The shamrock, sacred symbol, is emerald in hue, triune in form. When the hue fades, the shamrock withers and dies. Shorn of a leaf, it is no longer our emblem. So with the faith of him who loves not Ireland. It fades and fails before foreign frowns and fashions. So too the patriotism that is not true to God cannot be trusted by man, or at best would be a lowering love that would sell the soul to batten the body. Such linked love, such perfect patriotism, was Father Gowan's. All the more truly did he long for Ireland's freedom, as he saw in the dominant influence an elaborate contrivance for sending the purest men and maidens on earth away from their pure homes to be despoiled of virtue and degraded into the depths of vice. He loved every legend of our race, every holy well, and every ruined fane. He loved to give in his class such subjects as 'The Well,' 'The Churchyard,' 'The Chapel Bell.' This love of Ireland, this knowledge of Irish ways, aided by a wealth of aptest anecdote and illustration, joined to a style exemplifying his oft-impressed qualities of good writing, viz., 'perspicuity, simplicity, and pith,' and sent home with the ardent intensity of an earnest conviction and desire of convincing, and all illumined and heated up and endowed with the fiery force of God's Holy Spirit, made the charm of his eloquence.

And now I feel I have trespassed on the space to be in reason expected; not, indeed, far enough for the merit of my subject, but too far for the value of my treatment thereof. Yet I have not culled a tithe of the flowers that might be easily gathered from the life of this holy priest to lay upon his grave. I only hope that these words of mine may give some comfort to his spiritual daughters, who would be

inconsolable were they not confident that his spirit watches over them from heaven. For himself, the writer thanks God for having known one so holy, so wise a counsellor, so true a friend, so ardent a patriot, so edifying a priest. Of him it may be said, as the great Hildebrand said of himself, 'he loved justice and hated iniquity.' He was like the patient Gentile of Holy Writ—'simple, upright, and fearing God, and avoiding evil.'¹ As he once said of himself, in the hopeless time following '48, 'he fled from the storms of the world to the shelter of Castleknock.' He there found peace, the nursing mother of good works. In peace he brought forth great things that live after him. And now God has taken him to His own peace, to his true home, where he can plead for his friends, his orphans, his spiritual daughters, and his dear, long-suffering country.

FRANCIS MACENERNY.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

III.

HAVING briefly reviewed the history of the times and surroundings wherein Thomas à Kempis lived, and sketched an outline of his career, I come to the least grateful portion of my task—namely, the story of the controversy which long raged about the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*, and which, after one fashion or another, ever sought to deprive the saintly Canon of Agnetenberg of the glory of having brought the precious volume into existence.

Many who know *The Imitation* well, who study it constantly and love its words of holy wisdom, are unaware that it has been the subject of one of the most extraordinary controversies known in the history of literature—a controversy often heated, occasionally bitter, not always carried on with

¹ Job i.

dignity and straightforwardness, and unhappily displaying at times evil passions which the writer of the book would have condemned emphatically. This strange contention touches the authorship of the golden treatise, and has given origin to several hundred essays, more or less voluminous.

Let us see how all this came to pass. *The Imitation of Christ* appeared anonymously, as was frequent with books in those days, and very natural for the work of one who dwells on the maxim, 'Love to be unknown and valued as nothing.' So far as an exhaustive investigation leads we are drawn to the conviction that it appeared in the first third of the fifteenth century, and from that period spread rapidly and widely, being extensively transcribed and circulated throughout the monastic world. There is not the faintest evidence that it existed before the period named, notwithstanding untenable statements advanced to the contrary.

During the lifetime of Thomas à Kempis the authorship of *The Imitation* was distinctly attributed to him by members of his own Order, who necessarily had the best possible information on the subject. Moreover, its parentage, so far from being denied by Thomas, who certainly was not a man to borrow the plumes of others, was tacitly accepted by him when he placed it in his manuscript of 1441, at the head of a series of other treatises, which we have the strongest reason to believe were of his own composition. The world at large was left in ignorance upon the subject, and formed its opinions according as it was led.

At an early period of its history *The Imitation* was attributed to St. Bernard. Nothing could be more natural. Some early manuscripts and editions actually appeared under his name. In tone of thought it strongly resembles his works; but when it was discovered that it quotes St. Francis of Assisi, who was born nearly thirty years after the death of St. Bernard, it became evident that the Abbot of Clairvaux could not have been the author. No mistake could be more excusable. Anyone who studies the book closely, side by side with the works of St. Bernard, will understand how natural it was, from intrinsic evidence, that it should have been attributed to him at the first blush;

but will also realise that the latinity of *The Imitation* proves that he could not have been the author. No two styles of expression or diction could be more radically different.

In turn the authorship has been erroneously assigned to many others, whose claims vanish upon investigation. Amongst these I may mention St. Bonaventure, Thomas Gallus, Henry de Kalcar, Landolph of Saxony, Ubertinus de Cassalis, Innocent III., Pedro Rainaluzzi, John Tambaco, John Charlier de Gerson, the mighty Chancellor of the University of Paris, and John à Kempis, the elder brother of Thomas.

Early in the seventeenth century a certain mythical candidate for the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* was introduced upon the stage, and all the influence of the great Order of St. Benedict was put forward to substantiate his pretensions. This claimant is the so-called John Gersen, who is said to have existed, to have been a Benedictine, and to have flourished in the thirteenth century as Abbot at Vercelli in Piedmont. By-and-by we shall investigate his position.

In fine, I believe I may safely state that the only candidates for the authorship of the great book whose pretensions need discussion are—Thomas à Kempis, John Charlier de Gerson, and the so-called John Gersen of Vercelli. A few critics have adopted a curious theory concerning the authorship of *The Imitation* which scarcely requires notice. They reject all the candidates hitherto named, and argue that the author is unknown, but of date anterior to à Kempis. Their peculiar contention will be considered in due course.

We shall commence by considering the claims of Thomas à Kempis. Already we have seen something of his life, and of the surroundings amidst which it was spent, and can therefore understand how peculiarly capable he was of putting together this masterpiece of ascetical teaching. Trained in the school of spirituality inaugurated by Groot, Radewyn, Vos van Huesden, Vornken, and their companions, his mind became the mirror of their teaching and transferred itself to the pages of *The Imitation*. An ascetic in the

highest sense of the word, he wrote for those within the cloister, and so truthfully, lovingly, and with such breadth of human sympathy, that his words must live until the end of time.

A solitary monk within his cell,
 Whose walls did make an island of his life,
 Surrounded by the waves of war and strife,
 His hours obedient to the convent bell
 Until the grave had closed upon his corpse.
 A life secluded from the haunts of men ;
 A soul that found an utterance, by the pen,
 For hope and sorrow, joy and sad remorse ;
 A soul that longed for purity, that taught
 Man's duty was to beat down pride and sin,
 To conquer passion, keep all white within,
 And shun a world with dark and evil fraught.
 Ages have past, yet still, amid the strife,
 Is heard the music of that far-off life.¹

It will be convenient to discuss the arguments which go to prove that Thomas à Kempis was the author of *The Imitation* under the following heads:—

- I. Contemporary witnesses.
- II. External evidence as manifested by the manuscripts.
- III. Internal evidence.

I.—*Contemporary Witnesses*

It is obvious that if one or more trustworthy witnesses can be cited who knew Thomas à Kempis in his lifetime, and state unequivocally that he was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*, no reasonable person can resist such testimony. Now, this is exactly what can be done. Two witnesses who knew Thomas personally aver that he was the author, and this long before the great controversy arose upon the subject. Let us see who these contemporary witnesses were.

JOHN BUSCH

The first is John Busch, the Chronicler of Windesheim. It will be needful to say a few words here respecting this

¹ 'Original Verse,' by W. E. A. Axon, *The Academy* (London, September 4, 1886).

remarkable and devoted man. Born in 1400, he entered the monastery of Windesheim, and became a Canon Regular of St. Augustine in 1420. He died in 1479, eight years later than Thomas à Kempis, having completed, in 1464 (that is seven years before à Kempis' death) the *Chronicle of Windesheim*, one of his most remarkable works, of which we have seen something. That he was a man of rare ability and integrity is proved by the fact that when the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Cusa, undertook the reform of the monasteries of Lower Germany, he selected Busch as his companion and co-visitor. Leibnitz, and Trithemius, of Spanheim, wrote of him in terms of the warmest praise.

Let us now see what this unimpeachable witness tells us concerning Thomas à Kempis and *The Imitation of Christ*. Turning to his *Chronicle*, where he speaks of the death of Vos van Huesden, we read as follows. I translate the passage:—

It happened a few days before his death that two well-known brothers of our own Order from Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, came to Windesheim to consult with our said Prior upon certain affairs; of whom one, brother Thomas à Kempis, a man of exemplary life, who composed many devout books—viz., *He who followeth Me*, *Of the Imitation of Christ*, with others, had the following night a dream foreshadowing future events.

Such evidence coming from such a source is conclusive; but we have much more to bring forward in corroboration.

HERMANN RYD

The second contemporary witness who knew Thomas à Kempis personally is Hermann Ryd. He, like Busch, was a distinguished member of the congregation of Windesheim. Born in 1408, he entered the monastery of Wittenberg in 1427, and was later sent to the Tyrol by Cardinal de Cusa to assist in the work of monastic reformation there. In 1447 he was sent to the monastery of the 'New Work,' near Halle, where he distinguished himself by his piety and learning.

In his description of the Convent of the Canons Regular of Windesheim, contained in a codex, dated 1493, in the

monastery of St. Nicolas, in Passau, he writes as follows. I translate the passage:—

The Brother who compiled the book of *The Imitation* is called or named Thomas, sub-Prior in the said monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, in the diocese of Utrecht and province of Cologne; and this said monastery is distant a league from Windesheim, which is the head monastery, in which the Canons Regular of the province of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves hold yearly a General Chapter. The said compiler was still alive in 1454. And I, Brother Hermann, of the monastery of the 'New Work,' near Halle, in the diocese of Magdeburg, being sent to the said General Chapter, spoke with him.

Under ordinary circumstances, it would seem needless to add to the testimony of Busch and Ryd, who knew Thomas—were members of his own order—and pointedly declared him to be the author of *The Imitation*; but, in the present case, it becomes prudent to corroborate their authority, because such extraordinary and pertinacious ingenuity has been expended in the endeavour to support phantom claims by discrediting à Kempis. Therefore I shall quote a few more witnesses, out of the many, who were either contemporary, or nearly so, and whose testimony is ample to establish the claims of the holy Canon of Agnetenberg, even if we had not the foregoing irresistible evidence.

JOHN MAUBURN

John Mauburn, a native of Brussels, entered the monastery of Mount St. Agnes *shortly after the death of Thomas à Kempis*.

In 1491 he published at Basle a book entitled *Rosetum Spiritualium Exercitiorum*, in which he quotes *The Imitation* as the work of à Kempis. Again, in his *Scala Communione* he does the same. Finally, in his *Venatorium*, he adds the words, 'Qui Frater Thomas à Kempis inter caetera opuscula quae fecit, composuit libellum, *Qui sequitur me*, quem falso Domino Gerson attribuunt.

THE ANONYMOUS CONTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHER OF THOMAS À KEMPIS

This author wrote his biography shortly after à Kempis' death, and states that his informants were the brethren of

Mount St. Agnes, who had lived with Thomas à Kempis, and had known him intimately. In the course of the life this writer distinctly quotes *The Imitation of Christ* as the work of à Kempis, and adds a catalogue of his various spiritual treatises, including therein the four books of *The Imitation*.

Let us remember that the evidence of Maubern and the Anonymous Biographer has the special value of coming from Mount St. Agnes, the domicile and home of à Kempis.

ADRIAN DE BUT

The evidence of this witness comes with singular force in defence of the rights of Thomas à Kempis.

The Royal Commission of History of Belgium brought out, in 1870, under the supervision of Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, the *Chronicles of Adrian de But*, a monk of the famous Cistercian abbey of Dunes. These *Chronicles* date from 1431, and are continued up to the death of De But, in 1480. Late in the *Chronicles*, and referring to the year 1459, the following note occurs:—‘Hoc anno Frater Thomas de Kempis, de Monte Sanctae Agnetis professor ordinis regularium Canonicorum multos scriptis suis divulgatis aedificat: Hic vitam sanctae Lidwigs descripsit et quoddam volumen metricè super illud *Qui sequitur me*.’

Here we find Adrian de But, the contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, attributing to him *The Imitation of Christ*, designating it, as usual, by its first sentence ‘*Qui sequitur me*,’ and adding the word *metricè*. This latter term might have remained an inexplicable puzzle were it not for the discovery made about 1872 by Dr. Carl Hirsche, that *The Imitation of Christ*, as well as most of the other writings of Thomas à Kempis, is written and punctuated so as to be rhythmical! Herein, too, is found the explanation of the fact that certain old manuscripts of the book bear the title ‘*Musica Ecclesiastica*.’

A remarkable and important fact connected with the evidence of de But is, that it was until recently supposed to refer to a much later period than it really does. However, a careful examination of the manuscript itself, which I made at the Burgundian Library at Brussels, in 1887, with

MM. Ruelens and Hosdey, has quite satisfied us that this note refers to the year 1459, that is twelve years before the death of à Kempis.

I have published a full account of this discovery, with an illustrative photogravure, in the August number of the *Précis Historiques*, Brussels, 1889.

WESSEL GANSFORD

According to Albert Hardenberg, the biographer of Wessel, the latter acquired his first taste for true theology by reading *The Imitation of Christ*, and actually went to Mount St. Agnes specially to make the acquaintance of its author, Thomas à Kempis.

GINTHER ZAINER

The earliest printed edition of *The Imitation* was brought out by the above famous printer, at Augsburg, about the years 1471 and 1472. The Editor, in the final note, distinctly attributes the work to Thomas à Kempis.

A beautiful photographic facsimile of this celebrated edition was reproduced in 1894, by Elliot Stock, of London.

MATHIAS FARINATOR

Mathias Farinator, a Carmelite monk of Augsburg, and contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, transcribed *The Imitation* between 1472 and 1475, and states that à Kempis was its author.

PETER SCHOTT

Peter Schott was a Canon of Strasburg, a noted divine, poet, and literary critic. He wrote a laudatory preface to the works of Gerson, published in 1488, and distinctly states that the book, *On Contempt of this World*, a well-known synonym of *The Imitation*, was not the work of the great Chancellor, but of a certain Thomas, a Canon Regular.

JEHAN LAMBERT

Jehan Lambert translated *The Imitation* into French, in 1490, and asserts that it is the work neither of St. Bernard, nor of John Gerson, but of Thomas à Kempis.

PETER DANHAUSSER

I have in my possession a copy of the works of Thomas à Kempis edited by the above, and printed in Nuremberg by Hochfeder, in 1494. At the head of the first chapter of *The Imitation* we find a distinct declaration that its author *was* Thomas à Kempis, and *not* the Chancellor Gerson. A preface to this edition by the Carthusian, George Pirckamer, adds the weight of his authority to the text.

MARTIN SIMUS

Martin Simus, of Strasburg, in his edition of the works of Gerson (1494), again distinctly states that the book, *On the Contempt of the World*, was not the work of that author, but of a certain Thomas, Canon Regular.

TRITHEMIUS

Trithemius, better known as John Trittenheim, Benedictine Abbot of Spanheim, was one of the most learned ecclesiastical historians of his time. He wrote in 1494 and 1495, and attributes *The Imitation of Christ* to a Kempis, the author of the *Sermons to Novices*. His evidence is *most important*, as showing that in his time *The Imitation* was *not* attributed to a Benedictine author, but to a member of the Congregation of Windesheim.

JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIVS

Jodocus Badius Ascensius, a man of great learning, edited and published the works of Thomas à Kempis in the year 1521, including therein *The Imitation of Christ*; adding in his preface that he undertook the work at the request of the Benedictines of St. Germain-des-Prés, the Carthusians of Paris, and the Celestinians of Soissons. Evidently all these held that Thomas was the author.

If space permitted I might go on adding witnesses, but this seems utterly needless. Anyone who could resist the evidence of those already quoted is not likely to be influenced if they were multiplied by thousands. It seems impossible that anyone can read the foregoing testimony—coming from witnesses either contemporary or nearly so,

who, acting independently and above suspicion, unite in attributing the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* to Thomas à Kempis—without arriving at the conclusion that he, and he alone, must have been its author.

In my next communication I hope to show something of the *External Evidence* which the various manuscripts of *The Imitation* offer in favour of Thomas à Kempis as its author, and also of the *Internal Evidence* which the book itself contains, pointing in the same direction.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DUTY

THE idea of duty is not the growth of modern thought ; it does not even owe its origin to Christianity. Centuries before the doctrine of the Messiah spread its light on the earth, questions regarding man's duties were long and ardently discussed. When the philosophy of Greece pierced through the dark veil of intellectual confusion, and collected together the faded remnants of truth, it mostly occupied itself with the consideration of man. It inquired into his origin, his destiny, and the means he should adopt to procure his personal well-being and ultimate end. Pythagoras and Heraclitus began the investigation ; Democritus and the Sophists went a step farther ; Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle advanced as far as reason could well have brought them. The great question that came before them all was, What is man's ultimate good, and how is he to regulate his acts so as to obtain that good ? Their solution of the latter part of the question varied according to their different views of what is the ultimate good. Socrates was the first among the Greeks who taught that man's well-being consists in the knowledge of the good, but he did not assign what he conceived that good to be ; Plato followed in his footsteps, and declared that good to be the ideal harmony of the universe,

and that each one's good consists in ordering his acts to this universal good. Aristotle, more deductive and analytic than his master, descended to the particular act. He sought a standard according to which that act was either good or bad. This standard, he says, consists in moral excellence. Man's acts are good or bad, according to their conformity or non-conformity with moral excellence. But Aristotle does not give a satisfactory account of what this moral excellence is. It depends, he says, on the moral consciousness of the age, and he then points out particular acts where there is conformity with this moral excellence. In his book on *Ethics* he dwells at length on this moral excellence of man, and he shows how man is to act so as to attain his ultimate good; how the non-rational and semi-rational elements of the soul are to be regulated by reason; but there are many questions there touched on to which the Stagyrte does not offer a solution. It is a matter of regret to philosophers that this excellent work of Aristotle, which is so full of close reasoning and precision of thought, remained imperfect and incomplete.

What is wanting in Aristotle the Stoics endeavoured to supply. They formulated a system of human conduct that became the standard of well-being to each individual. With Socrates and his successors they placed knowledge as the first essential for all well-doing. Ignorance, they said, is the cause of all evil-doing. One cannot seek evil except he is ignorant of the good. To this knowledge of the good they added an absolute indifference to all things that can affect man. Man's duty, they taught, is to know the good, and to hold himself passively indifferent to all things that can bring him grief or sorrow, joy or pain. This good of the Stoics, in the knowledge of which wisdom consists, is the order of the world fitted and governed by divine thought. Man's perfection consists in the knowledge of this order, and in the right relation of his actions to it. This system of the Stoics was afterwards adopted and modified by the Neo-Platonists. By them it was introduced and taught in Rome, and on its principles is based the admirable little work of Cicero, *De Officiis*.

After centuries of thought the question of man's duties was still unanswered. Reason had gone far on the right road to find out what they are, but being unaided by any superior help it soon proved an unsafe guide, and led the searchers after truth into the pitfalls of error. It was reserved for the teachers of Christianity, whose minds were enlightened and perfected by the divine gift of faith, to define and point out the duties incumbent on man.

It is the object of the following paper to show what these duties are, to assign the foundations on which they are based, and to point out the different ways in which they affect man.

What gives man the eminent position he holds among created beings is the spiritual soul that animates his body. Whether we admit that man's appearance on earth was the outcome of the latent powers of nature that gradually developed during long periods of time, till at a certain epoch a determined portion of matter was sufficiently disposed to become a fit abode of the human soul, or whether we attribute it to an individual and specific act of creation, we must all grant that the human soul was directly and immediately created by God. Man's soul could not be the product of matter. It was above matter, it had properties foreign to matter, it could and did act independently of matter. Yet in the all-wise designs of Providence it was confined in, and limited to, a determined quantity of matter. But though thus limited to the material body of which it was the form, and on which it depended for many of its operations, it still could perform some actions that were beyond the sphere of matter. Will and understanding are psychical faculties, and their exercise does not entirely depend on material organs. The soul however, often required the aid of material organs, even for its immaterial operations, though in the state of original justice in which it was first constituted it was much less dependent on them than it now is. In that perfect state the soul, could not err in the acquisition of truth, neither was it as dependent as it is now on the phantasmata of the imagination. It could then guide and direct the imagination, now it can but often blindly follow.

In addition to these immaterial operations of man, his spiritual soul constituted him an independent individual being, specifically distinct from all others. It assigned to him a special place in creation ; it made known to him the end of his existence, and the means proportionate to its attainment ; it made him master of his own actions. Man need not have gone beyond himself to learn what his ultimate end was ; his inner consciousness proclaimed to him the special end for which he existed. In the ideal atmosphere that penetrated his soul he felt that he was created not for things of earth, but that beyond its perishable goods there was a higher, a nobler, and a more excellent end to which the trend of his actions should incline, and which he should in all things seek to attain. This knowledge of his final destiny showed him his relations to all things else. He saw that he was not like an individual atom, drifting broadcast in space, with no definite way to direct his course ; but that he was a being destined to a fixed end, and therefore having a relation, primarily, to that end, and secondly, to whatever else formed an intermediary end of his actions.

By these relations his manifold line of action was mapped out to him, and to each line of action was attached a corresponding obligation to pursue the direct course. The relations thus manifested were threefold : to God, to himself, and to his fellow-man. Man felt that he had a relation to God, who, as He was the cause and beginning of his existence, was to be also the end, the end to which man felt himself bound to direct his actions ; secondly, man himself was the end for which God created all things on earth, and therefore was he to look on himself as possessing a certain dignity and excellence granted him by God, and his reason dictated to him that on that account he was to honour and respect his own person ; thirdly, man saw that same specific dignity in all other men, and hence arose a new relation which manifested to him certain obligations to others. This threefold relation of man to God, to himself, and to his neighbour was based on the order instituted by the Divine Intelligence, and impressed indelibly on the mind of man.

This order was likewise threefold. The Divine intelligence, according to which were made all things that are made, fixed certain laws or modes of action by which all things were to be guided. When God created the universe He did not act blindly. He foresaw the end for which He acted, and He everywhere proportioned the means to the end He had in view. Everything that came from His hands had its own place in creation, its own work to do, and its own end to attain. God created all things 'in measure, and number, and weight.' The Divine mind is both the exemplar and guide according to which all things are, and act, and the perfection of each consists in its conformity with that exemplar and guide. Each created being seeks the end assigned to it by its Creator, and when it possesses that end it is perfect; it has all that is due to it, and in that possession its perfection consists.

Some beings seek their end without knowing that they do so; they move on instinctively, each fulfilling its own mission, but as far as we can judge, unconscious that the order they follow is in harmony with the mind of their guide. Man has this special perfection, that he knows the order assigned to him by God. He knows that he is a being dependent on his Creator, and that the Creator has rights over him which he feels he is obliged to fulfil. One of these rights that God has over man is to demand that man should act according to the order established by the Divine Law. Man is conscious of the justice of God's right over him; he has written on his soul the knowledge of the demand that God makes from him; and go where he will, he feels that he is under an obligation to obey it. He is free to do so, but when he fails to act in accordance with God's demand, he subverts the order God has assigned to him to follow, and he sins against his Creator. This obligation that man feels urging him on to conform his actions to a definite order is called *duty*. Considered in the concrete, duty is the doing or omission of some act that a law demands us to do or to avoid.

At the present day there are many who deny this demand of the Creator on the creature. Fixing their

ultimate standard of action in reason alone, they ignore the existence of any superior law. They bow down and adore reason, and reject any higher guide of their actions. Agnosticism may ascend higher, or more truly, descend lower, and do homage to its intellectual chimera the Unknown, or Positivism may dress up its idol Humanity, and induce others to bow down before it as the ultimate criterion of the goodness of our actions; but in each case, whether as Rationalist, Agnostic, or Positivist, there is the same attempt to turn man away from the order assigned him by his Creator, and to extinguish in him the glowing spark that illumines his way, and gently, but surely, guides him on to the true end of his destiny. Reason will not do more for modern philosophers than it did for the philosophers of old. Reason without God is like a body without its head, like an army without its general, like a ship without its captain. It has no standard, no guide, no fixed points, no immovable landmarks according to which it is to proceed: it is blind, helpless, and incapable of advancing on the right road. It cannot even continue to exist. Take away the absolute and the real and the contingent cannot continue to be. But with God as its author, and the light of the Divine Intelligence as its guide, it can proceed safely on the true path, and lead man on to the attainment of that end, in the possession of which consists his true happiness.

Granting, then, the existence of the Divine Law as the ultimate standard and guide of men's actions, what, we may ask, are man's duties to God? It may be well, before answering the question, to remark that God in Himself has no obligations towards any of us. He has rights over us. He can make laws for us, and demand their observance; but He has no duties towards us. He is Himself His own law, ever acting in conformity with His infinite wisdom. We are His creatures, depending on Him for our existence, and receiving from Him every good thing we possess. If in His goodness He has thought well to reward us for our good actions, it is because He has bounteously willed it, and not because we can do

anything that imposes on Him a duty to do so. God has rights with regard to us, but He has no duties. We have no rights with regard to God, but we have many duties towards Him. The following are some of these duties.

As rational beings, we are obliged to know God; and this includes our duty of acknowledging Him as the Creator of all things, their first beginning, as well as their final end; of adoring Him by acknowledging our dependence on Him, and His supreme dominion over us; of submitting our reason to His word, and believing Him with the firmest faith when He deigns to speak to us; and, finally, it includes the duty of seeking the true means whereby we can come to a knowledge of Him. It is our duty to love Him, to esteem Him as the highest good, both in regard to Himself and relative to us; to centre our affections on Him as such, to seek or desire nothing but what is pleasing to Him, to always maintain His honour and extend His glory. We are obliged to serve Him, as His Law demands, both by internal acts of the soul and external acts of the body. Body and soul alike belong to Him, and are, therefore, to be used in serving Him. We are obliged to do nothing but what is in conformity with His holy will, and to avoid whatever is discordant to His desires; in short, there is a duty on each one of us to use everything here on earth as a means of bringing us nearer to Him. These duties of man towards His Creator arise out of the right that God has over him, and are consequent on the order that He has established for man to observe. They are known to every human being who has come to the use of reason, and are binding on every human soul.

But these are not the only duties incumbent on man. He has other duties, both towards himself and his neighbour. God, as I have said, has assigned to man an eminent position among created beings. He has made him not a means to be utilized by something else, but He has constituted him an end, inasmuch as all things on earth are ordained by God for man's service. Man is the end for which God created all the things of this world, not the ultimate end, for such is God Himself, but the proximate or

immediate end, since all things on earth are for the service of man. Man is superior to them, and they are subject to him. It is his spiritual soul that gives him this superiority, that raises him high above the level of the brute creation, and impresses on him the image of his invisible Creator. Reason, which is one of the intellectual faculties, manifests to him this superiority, and the relations corresponding to it. He knows he has a body to preserve, and not injure or destroy at will; that he has a soul to perfect and lead to God. Both are from God, and their continued union is a necessary condition for his existence. He cannot destroy that existence, but must preserve it as a gift from God. Hence it arises that he has obligations to himself—obligations dictated to him by natural instinct, sanctioned by right reason, and conformable to the natural law that God has written on his soul. He has a duty to preserve his life, and, consequently, to never take direct steps to destroy it. God alone is master of man's life, and He alone has the personal right to bring it to an end, when and how He chooses. There are cases where man may endanger his life for his own personal good, or the good of another; but then the loss or the danger of losing life is not the object sought. It can at most be but consequent on the good intended, and frequently it is lawful to permit a less evil, that a greater good may follow. The State too can by its judicial authority declare that a man is unworthy of being allowed to remain among the living; that he is an evil to society; and acting with that authority it has from God to preserve the welfare of society, it can deprive that man of life.

Man has also other personal duties. Right reason dictates to him that he is to use his body for the benefit of his soul, that he is to preserve it, to restrain its inordinate appetites, and as far as possible restore it to that submission to reason which was its happy lot in the state of original justice. But it is especially to his soul that man has many duties. He has to order its intellectual faculties to their true end—God, to submit them to His word when He speaks, to use them unbiassed in the investigation of truth, especially

those truths that are necessary for the attainment of his ultimate end. Then, when the truth is known, when the right way is clear, he has to direct his will to the acquiring of the necessary good, to turn it away from the perishable and corruptible, and centre its inclinations on the incorruptible and eternal. Nor is this all ; he has to strengthen and perfect the faculties of his soul by the intellectual and moral virtues. He has within him the power to know what is true, and to do what is right, but it is a power that is almost inert, it requires to be stirred up and made active, to be accidentally perfected by the virtues, by prudence in the intellect, justice in the will, and by temperance and fortitude in the powers that carry out the injunction of intellect and will. And all this in the natural order, and for every human being that comes to the use of reason. It is true, man is raised by God to a supernatural order, and destined by Him to a supernatural end, to an end that man cannot conceive, that 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard.' He gets from God the proportionate means to attain that end ; and, here again, he is under a new duty to utilize these means. He cannot with impunity forfeit the spiritual inheritance gained him by his Redeemer. He has his own part to play, his own duty to fulfil in bringing his immortal soul to the true port. He can fall short of that work ; he can fail in accomplishing that duty ; but when he does, the loss is his own, and must be imputed to him.

There is yet another duty, which is, man's duty to his neighbour. Man, according to the dictum of Aristotle, is a political animal. He is not a solitary being cut away from the society of others. Though not necessarily his 'brother's keeper,' he is his brother's companion and helper. His reason, his position, his surroundings in life show him that he has many duties to his neighbour. He recognises an equal, specific dignity and excellence in all other human beings as he himself possesses, and as each one has a right to preserve that dignity, man has a duty to his fellow-man not to interfere with that right. If each one has a right, all have a duty not to counteract that right. Nor is this a mere negative duty ; it is more ; it is a positive and definite

duty to assist and help others where they have a right to claim help and assistance. Yet, though positive, it is not the brotherly-love, nor the mental or material improvement or self-sacrifice for the common good that the Positivists preach to us as the ultimate end of our lives. It is a duty based on reason which tells us that each man is an image and likeness of his Creator, that he has within him an immortal soul destined to enjoy felicity with us in the abode of the blessed, and purchased at a dear cost by the Precious Blood of its Redeemer. It is this view of humanity, and not the dry barren view of the Positivist, that spontaneously warns us of our duty to our neighbour, that manifests to us our neighbour's rights, and consequently our corresponding duties. In the natural, as in the supernatural order, these duties teach us that we are never to injure our neighbour either in word or deed, that we are not to interfere with his rights, and that we are to help him when in need. Right reason tells us we should do so; the law of God requires us to do so; personal rights of each individual demand we should do so.

So far, we have endeavoured to show the fitness of the threefold duty incumbent on man; namely, his duty towards God, towards himself, and towards his neighbour. We have shown also how these duties are based on the threefold order of things, and on the consequent relations of these orders; first, the order of the Divine Intellect by which man has fixed and definite relations to God; secondly, the order of right reason by which man has relations to himself; and thirdly, the order that regulates one man to another. The duties corresponding to these orders are incumbent on all men, and may be called primary or absolute duties. There are other duties arising out of the personal and individual relations of one man to another in the different phases of life: for instance, the duties of the servant towards his master, of the citizen towards the state, and of the nation towards its ruler. These are called secondary or relative duties. Not that every duty is not relative; it is. For where there is duty there is a corresponding relation, and a corresponding right; and wherever there is right there is a corresponding

duty, at least, in others. We say, in others, because God has many rights, but He has no duties.

Recently much has been said and written about the question whether man has any duties to animals. The Anti-Vivisectionist Society claims that animals have certain rights to which man is bound to submit, and that therefore man has duties to animals. In their estimation it is wrong for the sportsman to shoot down the hare or partridge, or for the scientist to inoculate or make experiments on the guinea-pig. But we fail to see the cogency of the arguments they adduce for their assumed position. Man, we think, has no duties to the brute creation, to animals as such. He is bound, we admit, not to ill-use them or treat them harshly, but this arises not from any rights that they have on him, but from the duty he owes to himself, to always act with moderation, to regulate his actions according to right reason. Brutes are created by God for the use of man, and in harmony with this design of the Almighty, man has the right to use and employ them as befits his wants. He has the right to inflict pain on them, not, be it well understood, in a savage and inhuman manner, he has the right to work them or kill them, as the case may require. What internal perception or sense of pain they may have beyond what is visible to us, we do not know ; and till the Anti-Vivisectionist Society can prove for us that brutes have a different position in the world, and other relations to man besides those now known to us, we feel justified in claiming for man the right to use the brute creation for that end assigned to them by the Lord of all.

When we assign to man duties towards God, himself, and his neighbour, we do so because God has a supreme right and dominion over us, and because man is an image and likeness of God, with the light of the Divine mind reflected on his soul, guiding him in his actions, and demanding allegiance from all his inferior members ; and, finally, because he sees in his fellow-man that same image of God, an *alter ego*, another self, participating in the same light, and tending to the same end. Hence arise the foundations of the threefold duty we have assigned

to man. The Grecian philosophers failed to see any such foundations of human duty, and they were therefore unable to clearly point out what man's duties were. Modern philosophers refuse to accept these foundations of duty, and the result is the want of any fixed rule of conduct that can make man what he ought to be—a true servant of God.

P. T. BURKE, O.D.C.

SIR ROBERT S. BALL ON EVOLUTION

SIR ROBERT S. BALL, formerly Astronomer Royal for Ireland, and now Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at Cambridge University, is deservedly famous as a writer and lecturer on astronomical subjects. It is not, we think, very generally known that in *Longman's Magazine* for November, 1883, he came out in a new and somewhat unexpected character—that of a Darwinian evolutionist. His article was headed 'Darwinism in its relation with other branches of Science.' It did not attract much attention at the time; and had it been left at rest in the pages of *Longman's* it might have been spared adverse criticism. However, in 1892 it was brought forth from its comparative obscurity, and given anew to the public as the closing chapter of a book called *In Starry Realms*. Probably our first thought on meeting with it in such a place is—what brings it there? Darwinism is 'of the earth earthly'—very much so!—and the last place we should look for it would certainly be in an astronomical work. However, there it is, like the fly in the amber, and now there is no escaping it, for we all know the popularity enjoyed by Sir R. Ball's books. As a writer of science for the million, he has few rivals; and it may be safely said that he has taught the general public more astronomy than any other man who has written on the subject. His Darwinism will now profit by the popularity of his astronomy, and get a publicity it never had a chance of before. For one that read the article on its first appearance

a hundred will read it now. Moreover, the fame of the author has continued to grow in the interval, and any opinion from so renowned and accomplished a teacher must necessarily make a deep impression on the public mind. As the article referred to is a thick-and-thin endorsement of Darwinism, it becomes a matter of necessity to examine it in some detail, and to show that, however eminent as an astronomer, as a biologist Sir R. Ball is, we are sorry to have to say, absolutely unreliable.

The article opens with an enthusiastic appreciation of Darwin. The voyage of the *Beagle* is likened to 'the immortal voyage of Columbus. In each case a new world was discovered.' Sir R. Ball describes the effect which the reading of the *Origin of Species* had upon him. 'I can recall at this day the intense delight with which I read it. I was an instantaneous convert to the new doctrines, and I have felt their influence during all my subsequent life.' This enthusiastic tone is kept up throughout the article:—

That the great doctrine would some day be accepted, was a necessary truth. . . . Darwin has worked out one of the most splendid details in the history of the universe. . . . The lifeless earth is the canvas on which has been drawn the noblest picture that modern science has produced. It is Darwin who has drawn this picture. He has shown that the evolution of the lifeless earth from the nebula is but the prelude to an organic evolution of still greater interest and complexity.

Finally, in the concluding sentence, Darwin is styled 'the Newton of natural history,' whose 'immortal work has revolutionized knowledge.'

To account for his present incursion into the domain of biology, Sir R. Ball claims 'that the great doctrine of Evolution is of the very loftiest significance, and soars far above the distinction between one science and another to which we are accustomed.'

He briefly describes the vicissitudes through which the Darwinian theory passed, and brings it out eventually triumphant. 'The truth inherent in the principles of Darwin has quietly brushed aside opposition, and now we hear but little of it.' This sentence is a fair specimen of what we must

regard as a characteristic feature of this article, viz., unqualified assertion of things as facts, which are, to say the least, unproven, and not seldom contrary to the weight of existing evidence and authority. Here we have it roundly stated that the *inherent truth* of Darwinism has placed it beyond dispute. This from so eminent a man practically leaves the ordinary reader no choice. He can only conclude that Darwinism is now the creed of all educated humanity. He is not in a position to know that while some more or less modified form of evolution has met with fairly wide acceptance, the evolution of Darwin has at the present time hardly a leg to stand on. And the remarkable thing is that this has not been the work solely of foes without; the children of the household of evolution have risen up and rent the parent. Lord Kelvin long ago docked off those 'incomprehensibly vast periods' of time which Darwin declared to be *necessary* for the working of his system; Huxley demolished the geological evidence, showing that whatever there is of it 'is quite incompatible with the theory'; Weismann has laid the ghost of natural selection, by upsetting Darwin's theory of inheritance of acquired qualities; and so on, until almost the only thing left of Darwin's famous book is the natural history. But the ordinary reader does not know all this, and stands dumbfounded before Sir R. Ball's blunt statement.

Darwin's interment in Westminster Abbey is hauled in as a national endorsement of his theory. As if the nation as a whole knew anything whatever about his theory; or, as if all those who voted him a national funeral did so because of their acceptance of his theory, and not because he was a great naturalist, whose works reflected credit on his country by giving to the study of natural history such an incentive as it had never before received.

After this we get a bit of astronomical speculation in Sir R. Ball's best popular vein. It would be difficult to find a better specimen of popular scientific exposition than the sketch of the nebular hypothesis of our planetary system, which he gives within the limits of four ordinary book pages. He tries very hard to connect it with Darwinism by pointing to the fact that it too is a theory of evolution; but let that

pass. Here you see the master at his own trade, and cannot help noticing the difference in the workmanship. He concludes this scientific portion with these words:—‘At this point the functions of the astronomer are at an end. . . . His work being done, he now hands over the continuance of the history to the biologist.’ Pity he did not really do so, and draw his pen through all that follows! From this on we have the painful, if instructive, spectacle of a great man labouring at a work for which he is in no way equipped, and which, notwithstanding his ability and enthusiasm, turns out a miserable failure. This it is now our disagreeable duty to show.

The Darwinian portion of the article begins with a statement which is not only not true, but is so entirely opposed to notorious facts, that we find it hard to believe it merely a mistake. Anyone who knows anything about Darwin knows that he made no attempt to account for the *origin of life*. Therefore when Sir R. Ball tells us that ‘Darwin has taken up the history of the earth at the point where the astronomer left it,’ he simply states what is not true. Darwin does *not* begin at the point where the astronomer left off, but at a point whose remoteness therefrom cannot be expressed in terms of quantity. For the two points are separated by nothing less than *a new creation*. *Life* makes its appearance on the earth. Surely such an event was deserving of mention by Sir R. Ball. But even this does not represent all the difference. Darwin is not content to begin with a single living organism. He requires as an adequate foundation for his theory ‘four or five progenitors’ for animals, and ‘an equal or lesser number’ for plants.¹ In short, Darwin not only assumes organic life to begin with, but several distinct *species* of animals and plants—a very notable addition to the ‘lifeless earth’ handed over to him by the astronomer.

And here the question naturally arises—Can we suppose Sir R. Ball to have been ignorant, even so late as 1892, of these fundamental assumptions of Darwinism?—he who

¹ *Origin of Species* (1892), p. 399.

read the *Origin of Species* with such 'intense delight.' In that work Darwin more than once plainly states the limits of his theory of derivation. We have just now referred to one of these plain statements, in which he tells us the number of progenitors he requires for animals and plants respectively. Even more remarkable is his restatement of this in the concluding sentence of the work—'There is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one.' Can we conceive it possible that Sir R. Ball could have overlooked such a sentence in such a place? And if not, what are we to think of his telling the public that Darwin began with the 'lifeless earth'? This sort of *suppressio veri* shows us Sir R. Ball in a light in which we had rather not have to view him.

In starting as he did, and not with the 'lifeless earth,' Darwin knew very well the terrible pitfall he was escaping. Sir R. Ball, less wise, falls headlong into it. He proceeds to tackle the 'very celebrated difficulty' of the origin of life, and his solution of it reminds us of nothing so much as of those 'roads to nowhere,' on which our starving people were employed in the famine years.

'It has been contended that life can never be produced except from life; but just as stoutly has the opposite view been maintained.' Here we have another example of unqualified assertion of the non-fact. 'The opposite view' has *not* been 'just as stoutly maintained.' 'The opposite view' is that life can come spontaneously from dead matter. How far this is from being 'stoutly maintained' is evident from the many conflicting theories as to the origin of life, and still more from the prevailing tendency amongst the most thoroughgoing evolutionists to give it up. When Hückel tries to get round the difficulty by asserting that there is no such thing as lifeless matter, but that all matter is 'equally alive'—(and therefore must necessarily have been alive in the incandescent gaseous and molten states; otherwise the difficulty would remain!)—when Fiske and Tyndall approve of this wild hypothesis; when Tyndall nevertheless admits that there is not 'the least evidence that life can be

developed out of matter without demonstrable antecedent life;’ when Darwin confesses that ‘our ignorance is as profound on the origin of life as on the origin of force or matter;’ when Huxley says ‘we know absolutely nothing of the origination of living matter;’ when Virchow echoes this admission of absolute ignorance; when Weismann’s only argument for the development of life from dead matter is the truly wonderful one that it is for him ‘a logical necessity;’ when Huxley, having already confessed absolute ignorance, refers his readers to the other side of ‘the abyss of geological time’ for a solution—(which looks like referring them to Jericho!); when Tyndall again, not content with the two contradictory views already stated, besides his pet crystalline theory, calls in the aid of nothing less than ‘a cooling planet’ to solve the puzzle—(By the way, Sir R. Ball, awkwardly enough, does not hand over this planet for occupation until it is *already cooled*!)—when this is the chaotic state of opinion amongst the leading materialists, it surely cannot be said that ‘the opposite view,’ or in fact any view, ‘has been just as stoutly maintained.’

‘Can a particle of matter which consists only of a definite number of atoms of definite chemical composition manifest any of those characters which characterize life? Take as an extreme instance the brain of an ant, which is not larger than a good-sized pin’s head.’ We hardly know what to think of these two sentences. They afford ‘an extreme instance’ either of grave dishonesty, or else of gross blundering on the part of Sir R. Ball. The first sentence asks an abstract question; the second is supposed to supply a concrete example. But see how the example fits the question. We have first to disentangle that question from the confusing language in which Sir R. Ball has thought well to wrap it up. The subject of inquiry is ‘a particle of matter which consists only of a definite number of atoms.’ If the said particle consists *only* of its material atoms, it does not contain anything but these atoms with their inherent qualities. Hence the particle does not contain what we call *life*—whatever it be—for life is certainly not an inherent quality of ordinary inorganic matter. Therefore the subject

of inquiry is simply a particle of *dead matter*, and the question resolves itself into this—Can a piece of dead matter manifest of itself the characteristics of living matter? In short, can dead matter *grow alive*?

Now consider the 'particle' which is selected to illustrate this capacity in dead matter—the *brain of an ant*! What can Sir R. Ball mean? Does he ask us to regard the brain of an ant as a particle of dead matter 'consisting *only* of a definite number of atoms' and nothing more? And is the life which it manifests to be regarded as an illustration of the power of a particle of dead matter to manifest life? If not, what does the illustration mean? Apparently Sir R. Ball would even have us believe that he is putting his case at its worst by taking such an 'extreme instance'—a particle no bigger than a pin's head. As if material bulk made any difference in a question regarding *life*! Is a microbe less alive than an elephant? Afflicted humanity in our day is sadly convinced of the contrary! The brain of an ant is *alive*; and because it is alive, it is as great a puzzle to our materialist philosophers as the body of an elephant. Sir R. Ball might just as well have taken the whole ant, or for that matter the whole family of ants. One would be just as good—or as bad—an instance as the other of the capacity of dead matter to manifest life.

But what are we to say of the honesty of such reasoning—if we must call it so? Or can we charitably suppose that in the effort to throw some dust in the public eye, a little of it got into the astronomer's own optic? We very much fear that when Sir R. Ball came down for once from his familiar 'high heavens,' he fell among thieves, and contracted their evil ways.

Here follows a couple of pages of glorification of the brain of an ant, apparently leading to no more *apropos* conclusion than that 'by merely studying the behaviour of an infusion of hay or a tincture of turnips in a test tube, we do not rise to the full magnificence of the problem as to whether life can have originated on the globe from the particles of inorganic matter.' What in the world this can have to do with the solution of the said problem passes

ordinary comprehension. In the reference to the 'infusion of hay' and 'tincture of turnips in a test tube' there is probably a covert sneer at the famous experiments of Pasteur, which gave *spontaneous generation* its quietus. But sneers are of little avail against the terribly conclusive work of the great French scientist. Though he necessarily had to study such contemptible things as tinctures of hay or turnips, and had to work with test tubes rather than telescopes, yet he certainly 'rose to the full magnificence of the problem' he set himself, for *he solved it*; and but for his tinctures and test tubes Sir R. Ball would not now be in such a tight place.

But now let us behold Sir R. Ball 'rise to the full magnificence' of his present problem—the origin of life. Here is his solution of it:—

Unusual indeed must be the circumstances which will have brought about such a combination of atoms as to form the first organic being. But great events are always unusual. Because we cannot repeatedly make an organized being from inert matter in our test tubes, are we to say that such an event can never once have occurred with all the infinite opportunities of nature? We have in nature the most varied conditions of temperature, of pressure, and of chemical composition. Every corner of the earth and of the ocean has been the laboratory in which these experiments have been carried on. It is not necessary to suppose that such an event as the formation of an organized being shall have occurred often. If in the whole course of millions of years past it has once happened, either on the land or in the depths of the ocean, that a group of atoms, few or many, have been so segregated as to have the power of assimilating outside material, and the power of producing other groups more or less similar to themselves, then we have little more to demand from the theory of spontaneous generation.

Truly a fearful and wonderful piece of reasoning, and, to use a classic phrase, 'one of the most extraordinary, if not *the* most extraordinary' of the many extraordinary solutions of the great problem! When Pasteur had done with his tinctures, and emptied out his test tubes, the whole scientific world accepted as final his solution of the problem of spontaneous generation. We fear Sir R. Ball's solution of the problem of life will not be regarded as equally conclu-

sive! But let us examine this wonderful mosaic of uncandid wriggling and absurdity.

Sir R. Ball has proposed to himself a question of the very first importance—'whether life can have originated on the globe from the particles of inorganic matter.' He knows that this is perhaps the greatest difficulty of the evolution theory. He knows that so far as human knowledge goes there is only one honest answer to it—a flat negative. He knows that other scientific evolutionists as eminent as himself have admitted this, or given the matter up as hopeless. Instead of showing equal straightforwardness Sir R. Ball tries to mystify his readers by a tangle of words which prove nothing but his own want of candour. For we cannot believe that he is himself convinced. The caution with which he approaches the difficulty leaves no doubt as to his knowledge that he is walking on very thin ice. The formation of the first organic being from inorganic matter was 'unusual indeed'! Why not say straight out that it was so 'unusual' that it was never known to have happened, nor anything like it, nor anything remotely suggesting the possibility of it? Is it honest to say of a thing that *was never known to have happened*, that it is merely 'unusual'? Yet he goes on to drive home this false idea. 'Great events are always unusual' he tells us, as if still further to assure us that this 'great event' is merely 'unusual,' not that it is *unheard of*.

'Because we cannot *repeatedly* make an organized being from inert matter in our test tubes, are we to say that such an event can never once have occurred, with all the infinite opportunities of nature?' Is this a fair statement of the other side of the case? Who ever asked to have it *repeatedly* done? Would it not be fairer to say: 'Because nothing approaching to it has ever *once*, to our knowledge, occurred either in or outside our test tubes, either in chemistry or nature'? Even then we might not be entitled to deny absolutely the possibility in question, but that possibility would be placed in a fairer light. Then what are those 'infinite opportunities of nature'? Were they different in the past from what they are now? If so, when, and why, and

how? As to temperature and pressure, we can apply these up to and beyond the powers of endurance of any known form of life, and therefore as far as would be useful for the formation of a living being. Moreover, we can combine and balance them with a delicacy probably never equalled in the rough and tumble of nature's gigantic operations. As to chemical resources, we can do all, and more than all nature's *inorganic* chemistry, which was the only kind of chemistry she had to rely on for the first production of life. If it cannot be shown that the 'infinite opportunities' of *inorganic* nature were *specifically* different in the past from what they are now, their mere multiplication will avail nothing. A thousand factories will be as powerless to produce puppy dogs as one. Neither is it of any use to tell us of the wonders of nature's laboratory unless we are also shown that the production of living beings is part of the work done there. However wonderful a chemical laboratory may be, it has its limitations; and we are not prepared to believe without very decided evidence that it turns out, say, tall hats.

'It is not necessary to suppose that such an event as the formation of an organic being shall have occurred *often*.' Here again we have the *suggestio falsi* noticed above, viz., that the opponents of materialistic evolution unreasonably demand the *frequent* production of living beings from inert matter. Sir R. Ball knows perfectly well that if he can produce *one* instance, his case will be regarded as proved. But he also knows equally well that he cannot produce that one instance, and so he keeps on throwing more dust.

And now after all this preparatory mystification we come at last to the kernel, the very marrow, of Sir R. Ball's solution of the problem:—

If in the whole course of millions of years past it has once happened, either on land or in the depths of the ocean, that a group of atoms, few or many, have been so segregated as to have the power of assimilating outside material, and the power of producing other groups more or less similar to themselves, then we have little more to demand from the theory of spontaneous generation.

Read that 'If' in italics, and then at once you perceive the full value of this extraordinary solution of the problem proposed. Clear the sentence of circumlocution, and what do we get? 'If it has ever once happened anywhere that a group of atoms assumed the characteristics of a living being, then we have done with spontaneous generation.' In short, 'if it ever happened, it did—*Q.E.D.*!' Comment would spoil such a gem of demonstration. The last few words of the sentence reveal where the Pasteur shoe pinched the astronomer, and why he was so hard on tinctures and test tubes. The theory of 'spontaneous generation' died and was finally buried in those test tubes. And now, when Sir R. Ball comes asking us to suppose that it may have happened just 'once in the whole course of millions of years,' we can only answer regretfully: 'Too late!'

The next paragraph affords an example of the method of misapplying scientific facts to build up fallacious arguments:—

The more we study the actual nature of matter, the less improbable will it seem that organic beings should have so originated. One of the most obvious contrasts between organic and inorganic bodies seems to be the power of motion, often inherent in the organized body, which is not possessed by the inorganic body; but this is really a superficial view of the question. . . . In ultimate analysis we see that the atoms of inorganic matter seem to have that mobility, which is frequently noticed as a characteristic of vital action. A mere arrangement of the movements of the atoms of a grain of sand could confer on the little object some of the attributes of an organized body.

Here is a deliberate misuse of a generally admitted scientific principle, viz., the vibratory motion of atoms. To say that there is the smallest analogy between that assumed vibratory motion and the 'mobility which is frequently noticed as a characteristic of vital action' is simply to juggle with science. The fact that motion of some sort is common to two objects does not prove that that motion is analogous in its nature, sources, or effects in the two cases, or that it forms any link between them. A steam-engine has motion, but is it analogous to 'that mobility' which characterizes a horse? And has a steam-engine therefore

‘some of the attributes of an organized body’? Before laying down this principle of analogous mobility in living and not-living things, Sir R. Ball should have remembered that Huxley, a *biologist*, flatly denies it—‘There is no parallel between the actions of matter in the mineral world and in living tissues.’

The last sentence of the paragraph is a delightful specimen of that grand principle of evolutionary argument—*assertion*. That principle might be formulated thus:—‘When there is absolutely no warrant for a thing either in nature, science, or common sense, assert it roundly, and you at once make it a probability, or even a fact.’ As there is not the smallest evidence in favour of such a thing, and as on the contrary all known facts of nature and science, as well as the dictates of common sense, are dead against it there is no other way left to convert a grain of sand into an organized body but *assertion*; so Sir R. Ball asserts it like a man. With a directness which he does not exhibit elsewhere he sets this down as a fact of ‘ultimate analysis’ which ‘we see’! Bravo, Sir Robert!

Sir R. Ball next takes up ‘the supreme discovery of Natural Selection,’ and proceeds to show its ‘most captivating simplicity.’ He tells us that though its course ‘is often not easy to trace’—which is true enough—‘the leading idea is so simple that, once it is properly stated, I do not see how any reasonable person can refuse his assent.’ From this we must conclude either that natural selection has not hitherto got a fair statement, or else that the number of ‘reasonable persons’ is sadly limited. Lest it might be thought that this is taking an unfair advantage by fastening on a single sentence, which is perhaps afterwards qualified, turn on to page 362,¹ and read—‘The circumstantial evidence in favour of natural selection is indeed so strong that no unprejudiced person can refuse to accept it.’ And again, turn on to the end of the second last paragraph, and read—‘[The great principle of Darwin] has afforded the solution of the profound problem presented by organic life.’ These state-

¹ *In Starry Realms.*

ments are as unqualified as the most rabid Darwinian could wish. We may in passing express our regret that the 'unprejudiced person,' though presumably the fittest to survive, is being so steadily extinguished 'by natural selection.' Those who cannot 'refuse to accept' Darwinism are becoming decidedly rare. May Sir R. Ball long survive as a 'persistent type,' and write us more good science and less bad philosophy.

He goes on to give examples of the usual kind, showing development by variation and heredity under man's intelligent selection. He then tells us—'What we have here described [as taking place under man's intelligent care] is going on everywhere on the grandest scale in nature.' Here, surely, is assertion 'on the grandest scale.' We are not given a hint that natural selection is in any way at a disadvantage as compared with man's intelligent selection. Not the smallest reference is made to difficulties or objections, so that Sir R. Ball's readers might suppose natural selection one of those fortunate institutions that have never had an enemy. They must find out elsewhere, if they find out at all, how every point of the 'great principle' has been attacked, and mostly with success, even to its very name, which Darwin himself had to admit to be 'a false term.'¹

Next, as an illustration of how natural selection does its work, we are presented with a vivid picture of the precarious existence of the herring; from which our first conclusion certainly is that the life of a herring is hardly worth living. From the egg to the—grave, shall we call it?—the life of the herring seems to be one continuous effort to dodge relentless enemies. Water, air, and dry land swarm with foes. The mackerel surrounds them below, the sea-gull swoops on them from above, the treacherous tide lures them to their death on the shore. Compared with these daily experiences, the Six Hundred, with 'cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them, cannon in front of them,' must be regarded as fortunate. After all they hadn't cannon behind them, and under them, and over them! Henceforth Sir R. Ball's

¹ *Origin of Species* (1892), p. 58.

readers, if they have hearts as well as stomachs, must find a new trouble added to the bones in the discussion of their morning relish. The bitter cry of persecuted herringdom must reach them from the far-off sea, and turn the tasty morsel to ashes in their mouths.

The survivors of this fearful massacre [he goes on to say] are naturally objects of interest. How is it that they have been spared when so many myriads of their brothers and sisters have been annihilated? No doubt their safety is partly due to the chapter of accidents. They happened to be out of the way when the mackerel made a fatal rush. The sea-gull had eaten so many that when it came to their turn he positively could not eat any more. They got into the middle of the shoal afterwards, and escaped the fish that preyed on its margin. But making every allowance for the benefit of accidents, I think we must credit the surviving herrings themselves with some share in their success. The few that have survived were, on the whole, certainly not the most stupid. They must have had quick sight, they must have had nimble fins, they must have had vigilance and activity. They must have been skilful in procuring food as well as in avoiding danger. They had no maternal solicitude to watch over them [!] Every little herring had to forage for himself, and to hide from or elude his enemies as well as he could; he had no kind of warning when the tide was falling, and that he would be left high and dry if he did not get away from the edge [!] I think we must admit that the few herrings that survive out of a million eggs are above the average in whatever qualities best adapt the herring for fighting the battle of life. I will not say that they must be actually the very best of the million, but I think we must admit that they were among the best.

It is to be hoped that the reader is duly impressed with the weight of evidence contained in this passage. However, considering the nature of the dangers just described, most readers will, we think, feel inclined to attribute the survival of the fittest herrings far more to what Sir R. Ball lightly passes over as 'the chapter of accidents,' than to the superior intelligence, nimbleness of fins, or knowledge of the tides, which he would have us believe had most to do with the selection.

But passing by all that, without even pausing to inquire how the smart young herrings acquire a knowledge of the tides, we ask ourselves after reading the illustration—To what conclusion does it all lead? What point of the

evolution theory does it tend to prove? Twice in the last two sentences Sir R. Ball tells us 'we must admit' that probably the best herrings survive. Well, suppose we do admit it, what follows? Clearly that the breed of herrings is steadily improving, and that a time may come when they will deserve a better fate than the herring barrel. But does this thrilling tale of the sea afford the least evidence of any tendency in the superior herring to become a salmon or a whale, not to say a bird or a horse? Sir R. Ball shows almost unlimited confidence in the credulity of his readers, but he forbears asking them to swallow this.

Passing over the next paragraph, which is of the usual kind, we take up the three following paragraphs (pp. 359-361), which Sir R. Ball devotes to showing how imperceptible may be the change of one species into another. All this might indeed have been spared, as it is not the *imperceptibility* of the process that is denied, and has to be proved, but *the fact of its taking place at all*. However, let us look a little into the argument, such as it is. As an illustration of the imperceptibility of the change from one generation to the next of an improved kind, by which we are to suppose a fish might ultimately become a bird, Sir R. Ball points to the imperceptibility of the growth of a baby into a man. How the latter process can be an illustration of the former altogether baffles us. If the baby imperceptibly grew into a *horse*, we could see some meaning in the illustration; but that he should merely grow into a *man* does not seem to throw much additional light on Darwinian evolution.

There is another aspect of the illustration in which it is peculiarly unhappy as regards the object in view—viz., the transmutation of one species into another. Everybody knows that one of the chief difficulties of evolutionists in proving such transmutation to have taken place is the absence of all trace, either in existing organisms or in fossils, of the *transitional forms* through which, according to the theory, the first species must have gradually passed into the second. These undiscoverable transitional forms are of course the 'missing links'—familiar even to the man in the street.

Now in Sir R. Ball's illustration the 'links' between child and man are not missing. In fact they are embarrassingly numerous in the shape of photographs taken from week to week. We might not be able to arrange these photographs in their proper order; but we can easily see that they represent transitional stages in the development of the child into the man, and we have no difficulty in tracing the man back through them to the child. Unfortunately in the case which this is intended to illustrate—viz., the supposed transition of one species into another, the embarrassment does not arise from the *multiplicity* of representatives of the transitional stages, but from their *total absence*. The direct suggestion of this contrast by Sir R. Ball's illustration makes it, as we have said, a peculiarly unhappy one. These three paragraphs, then, do not carry the mind very far towards conviction, at least towards the conviction desired by Sir R. Ball.

In the next paragraph (p. 361) he gives us quite a fascinatingly simple account of how two species may be derived from one by spontaneous variation and survival of the fittest. Unhappily, however, *it supposes a state of things not found in free nature*. To point to but one difficulty—no notice is taken of the promiscuous intercourse that takes place in free nature, and the certain swamping thereby of individual peculiarities. Even Darwin had to modify his views on this point.¹ Sir R. Ball's A and B might hope to become the ancestors of widely different cousins, if when they discovered their varied gifts, they separated from each other and from their less gifted relatives, and went into far countries where there was no danger of inferior admixture. Even then they would be greatly bothered by the unfortunate tendency to *reversion*, which would soon encumber their families with representatives of the old inferior stock, thus making things pretty nearly as bad as before.

Sir R. Ball indeed admits that 'in no case would the process be so simple as that here described; a multitude of circumstances will occur to complicate it.' But then he

¹ *Origin of Species* (1892), p. 66.

does not leave it to be supposed that the complication will hinder it. Indeed, he at once goes on to state that he regards the whole contention as proved—‘Enough has been said to show that in the great principle of natural selection we have a means of producing animals and plants which in the course of time will differ widely from other organisms from the same progenitors’—which, by the way, was not the thing to be proved at all, as far as the theory of evolution is concerned. What we want produced from the same progenitors is not *widely different cousins*, but *different species*—a very different thing.

Sir R. Ball closes the case for natural selection by calmly telling us¹ that ‘no one has ever seen a new species developed by natural selection, but that is because no one has ever lived long enough for that purpose.’ That is the sole reason, according to Sir R. Ball. He does not think it necessary to add, as another possible reason, because, so far as is known, *it never happened*.

The next paragraph touches shortly on the evidence of geology, and supplies us with yet another instance of unqualified assertion for which there is not a particle of warrant, and which is flatly contradicted by evolutionists who are better geologists than Sir R. Ball. Having referred to the fragmentary nature of the geological record at present, he roundly asserts of those fragments:—‘They show us several of the links which connect one class of animals with another *in the way the Darwinian theory suggests*’—in other words, support the Darwinian theory. Without going into further detail, we may let Professor Huxley answer that—‘An impartial survey of the truths of palæontology *negatives* the doctrine [of evolution]; for it either shows us *no evidence* of such modification, or demonstrates it to have been *very slight*.’ He says the evidence from the fossiliferous rocks is ‘quite incompatible with the theory.’

Sir R. Ball finishes with an illustration from mathematics, into which we need not follow him. It is simply another false analogy added to those that have gone before.

¹ Page 362.

² *Lay Sermons*.

Enough has been said to show that the proverbial shoemaker was not more unlucky when he left his last than the astronomer when he left his stars and planets to try his hand at evolution. From the moment when, forgetting his own admonition that 'the functions of the astronomer are at an end,' he passes into an unfamiliar region, his essay is little better than a succession of groundless assertions, fallacious analogies, mistakes, and mishaps, which make us almost doubt that this can be the master who has delighted and instructed us in so many beautiful works, whose skilful pen has made 'the story of the heavens' as pleasant reading as a romance.

Wisdom mounts her zenith with the stars.

There, and not with the evolutionists, Sir R. Ball will find her.

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion on the validity of the marriage contracted in the following circumstances :—A girl—a *vaga*—who chanced to be living in my parish, wished to marry a man from a neighbouring parish. Acting as the *proprius parochus vagar*, I made arrangements for the marriage. The parties, however, expressed a wish to be married in a neighbouring parish, where one of the parochial clergy—a relative of the bridegroom—was to say a Nuptial Mass. I delegated my curate to assist at the marriage, and he did so. Is the marriage valid or doubtful?

P. P.

For the purposes of the Tridentine Law the presence of the parish priest of the place in which the marriage of *vagi* is contracted, or of another priest delegated by him, is necessary for the validity of the marriage. The presence of any other priest whatever is not sufficient. The opinion of those who held that a parish priest might, anywhere in his own parish or out of it, assist at the marriage of *vagi*, is pronounced by Murray to be *prorsus obsoleta et improbabilis*.¹

Apart, therefore, from local legislation, the parish priest had, in the case proposed, no power to assist at this marriage outside his own parish; nor could he delegate to his curate a power that he himself did not possess.

It is just possible, however, that the marriage is valid, though the statement of the case does not give us the *data* to decide. If the parish priest of the place in which the marriage was celebrated assisted at the marriage, it is, of course, valid. The woman, having no domicile, or

¹ *De Imped. Mat.*, 357; Con. Feije, n. 238; Lehmkühl, ii. 776.

quasi-domicile, could validly contract anywhere before the parish priest of the place, or any other priest duly delegated to assist at the marriage in that place.

Needless to say, too, the marriage is valid if contracted before the *parochus sponsi*.

The statement sent us does not exclude either of these hypotheses. We hazard them to save the validity of a marriage otherwise invalid.

POINT-TO-POINT RACES

REV. DEAR SIR,—A Subscriber would feel thankful for an answer in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, as to whether the reunion, usually termed ‘a point-to-point race,’ with which the sporting gentry in some counties wind up the hunting season, should be regarded as falling under the prohibition of the Maynooth Statutes,—*A publicis equorum cursibus*, etc.

K.

The statute referred to reads :—

A publicis equorum cursibus, . . . prorsus abstineant [clerici]. Si quis vero clericus sive saecularis sive regularis hanc legem violaverit, suspensionem ipso facto incurrat.

We cannot claim to have a very accurate knowledge of the essential notes of a point-to-point hunt race, or to be able to determine how exactly it differs from other horse races. But nothing that we do know would warrant us in thinking that these point-to-point hunt races fall outside the operation of the statute.

We print this question in the hope that some one more competent may give his views to our correspondent and the other readers of the I. E. RECORD.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE DRESS TO BE WORN BY CANONS ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will much oblige me and others by stating in the next number of the I. E. RECORD what is the proper dress of a Canon—(1) In choir. (2) When he receives the Blessed Eucharist, *more laici*; say on the concluding morning of his annual retreat. (3) When he administers the Sacrament of Baptism solemnly. (4) When he assists at a marriage which is not followed by the Mass *pro Sponso et Sponsa*. (5) When he preaches.

CANONICUS.

P.S.—The Ordinary has decided as to the matter, form, and colour of the dress.

1. By the common law of the Church, canons are not permitted to wear any distinctive habit or dress whether in choir or elsewhere. Hence, without the permission of the Holy See, canons can wear in choir only the black soutane and surplice. It generally happens, however, that with the diploma sanctioning the erection of a Chapter is given permission for the use of a distinctive habit, consisting usually of the rochet, and mozzetta or cappa. This special dress is, then, the proper dress for a canon when in choir in the cathedral church of his own diocese, in his own church,—but merely by custom,—and when with other canons he attends the bishop *capitulariter* in any church in the diocese. ‘That the canons may proceed *capitulariter*,’ writes Dr. O’Leary, ‘the presence of three preceded by their cross is required and sufficient.’¹ Of the rochet, cappa, and mozzetta, the same learned author writes:—

The rochet is never to be worn uncovered by anyone except the Ordinary; hence, if the cappa or mozzetta is to be laid aside

¹ *Pontificalia*, by the Rev. Patrick O’Leary, D.D., Dean, Maynooth College, Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd., 1895, p. 83, n. 14. The answers to all the questions asked here by our esteemed correspondent can be found by anyone in this valuable treatise. The author treats the various subjects which come up for discussion, not only from the standpoint of the common law, but also from that of custom, and of special concessions. To canons, to the various grades of prelates, and to all who have to take part—even as mere spectators—in episcopal functions, this handy volume appears to us to be almost indispensable.

for any reason, the rochet, too, must be laid aside for a surplice, or a surplice must be put on over the rochet. The cappa, or mozzetta, being a choral dress, may be worn for all functions for which the choral dress, and not the surplice, is prescribed; and therefore for all functions except the administration of the Sacraments. . . . The cappa is used in the winter, *i.e.*, as long as the bishop wears the heavier cappa with ermine. In summer, *i.e.*, when the bishop wears the lighter cappa without ermine, the canons wear the surplice; however, in some churches the cappa is retained in summer, the ermine being replaced with silk of the same colour as the rest of the cappa.¹

2. When a canon receives Holy Communion *more laici* he wears a stole in addition to his ordinary choir dress. Hence, if he communicates in this manner in a church, or in circumstances in which he is allowed to wear the special dress of a canon, he puts the stole round his neck without removing cappa or mozzetta. It is not generally permitted to wear the stole along with the cappa or mozzetta, but an exception is made when the action requiring the use of the stole is of brief duration, as when receiving Holy Communion,² and during the imposition of hands at an ordination.³

3. We have just stated that the stole cannot, as a general rule, be worn over the cappa or mozzetta. Hence, when a canon is the celebrant of a function for which the use of surplice and stole is prescribed, he must divest himself of the cappa or mozzetta; and as he is not allowed to wear the rochet uncovered, it follows that he must either replace the rochet by a surplice—the liturgical vestment in the administration of the Sacraments—or he must put on the surplice over the rochet. The reply to our correspondent's question regarding the dress of a canon when he administers Baptism solemnly is, that he should wear only the surplice and stole, or the surplice and stole over the rochet.

4. From the principles laid down in reply to the preceding question, it follows that a canon assisting at a marriage which is not immediately followed by the Nuptial Mass, should vest, as we have seen he should, when administering Baptism solemnly.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87, nn. 8, 9, 10.

² Merati, par. 2., tit. 10., n. lv. Bourbon, n. 230, &c.

³ O'Leary, *loc. cit.*, p. 87, n. 9. Bourbon, *loc. cit.*

5. Canons are allowed to wear rochet and cappa, or mozzetta, but without stole, when preaching in their own churches only.¹

THE TITULAR OF A CHURCH TO BE COMMEMORATED IN
THE 'SUFFRAGIA'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Are the secular clergy in Ireland bound in the recitation of the office to the *commemoratio de patrono vel titulari ecclesiae* amongst the *suffragia*?

A SUBSCRIBER.

According to the general rubrics of the Breviary all the clergy, whether secular or regular, who are legitimately appointed to officiate in a church, are bound to make in the *suffragia* the commemoration of the patron or titular of that Church. The words of the rubric are:—

Commemorationes communes seu Suffragia de Sanctis . . . dicuntur in fine Vesperarum et Laudum . . . et illis adjungitur commemoratio de patrono vel titulo ecclesiae, etc.²

Writing on this rubric, De Herdt says:—

Certum est de praeceptio in suffragiis fieri debere commemorationem titularis in cujus honorem ecclesia est dedicata vel saltem benedicta, sive sit sanctus, sive persona divina, seu aliquod mysterium, ut SS. Trinitas, Spiritus Sanctus, Corpus Christi, SS. Salvator, etc., etiamsi contraria vigeat consuetudo, aut commemoratio in suffragiis fiat de patrono loci vel religionis.³

The general law, then, as announced in the rubrics of the Breviary, and proclaimed by the interpreters, is that the commemoration of the patron or titular of a Church must be made in the *suffragia*, by all who are *legitime adscripti* to that Church. And why should the secular clergy in Ireland be excepted from the obligation of this law? The general rubrics of the Breviary and of the Missal form a very strict code of ecclesiastical laws, and are absolutely universal in their application. They bind, therefore, in the remotest parts of Ireland, indeed of the world, as strictly as they do in Rome itself, and without a special dispensation no one may deviate from them.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ O'Leary, *loc. cit.*, Martinucci, lib. viii., cap. viii., n. 13, etc.

² Titul. 35, n. 1.

³ *Sacr. Lit. Praxis*, tom. 2, n. 369.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEW CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with great interest, in the two last numbers of the I. E. RECORD, the admirable letters relating to the forthcoming issue of a new Catechism ; and believing, as I do, that its use will not be confined within the limits of Dublin Diocese, I look forward with delight to the approaching time when a much-needed *desideratum* will be supplied.

With several of the views put forward by your learned correspondents I am in thorough accord ; but from some of them I am inclined to dissent. The idea of adding a dozen or more questions, with Scriptural answers, is an excellent one ; but, instead of placing them at the end as an appendix, I would prefer that they be distributed through the body of the text, wherever they might be fittingly inserted. Questions on doctrinal matters should, whenever convenient, be answered, partly or entirely, in Scriptural language. When this is done, the answers carry with them far greater weight ; the children become familiar with the leading texts that demonstrate dogmatic or moral truths ; and a ready proof is ever after available, either to guide the learner or to refute the gainsayer. I would urgently recommend that at the end of the Catechism there would be inserted three or four pages of indulgenced prayers, such as may be had on leaflets from Catholic publishers. The more prayers are learned in childhood, the more will be recited in later years. Children who attend convent schools are taught many indulgenced aspirations ; but the majority of Irish children do not receive a convent education, and unless they find indulgenced prayers in their Catechism, they are not likely to seek or to learn them elsewhere. Teachers find it the most effectual way of making children learn the Catechism by appointing a small number of questions for each day's lesson. Five questions, with answers of ordinary length, form a suitable lesson for children of average intelligence. If, therefore, the questions were divided into groups of five, and numbered on the margin 1, 5, 10, 15, &c., the teacher would thereby be greatly facilitated. In the National Catechism, generally used since the Synod of Maynooth, we have

definitions of the theological virtues, but no short acts of them suitable to the capacity of children. This is a serious omission, especially in a catechism whose chief feature, and whose chief fault, are its prolixity. Neither is there any enumeration of the Mysteries of the Rosary, the daily prayers of lay or cleric; nor of the Eight Beatitudes, the summary of Gospel morality; nor of the Seven Spiritual and the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy, the special test that will determine the lot of every soul when cited to judgment. All of these will, it is hoped, find a place in the pages of the new Catechism. Children learn these enumerations very quickly, and remember them very easily, because they partake of the form of a school rhyme.

The accuracy of certain words in the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed has been called in question; but, I think, without sufficient reason. It is said that 'crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus' should be translated, 'was crucified, *died*, and was buried.' The current translation, both on the title of ancient and venerable usage and grammatical accuracy, is, to my mind, preferable, and should not be altered. Deponent verbs like 'morio' usually carry with them an active signification: but not unfrequently, in classical as well as ecclesiastical Latin, they are used in a passive sense. The question then arises: Should we interpret 'mortuus,' in the case under consideration, in the passive voice? I answer that we should; for, in the first place, it is bracketed with and between the two passive verbs, 'crucifixus' and 'sepultus,' and it would be contrary to the rules of language to insert an active verb between two that are evidently passive. In the second place, 'mortuus' signifies a continued state of death, as the word 'dead' implies, and not a transient act merely, as 'died' expresses. For we know from the inspired narrative that 'crucifixus' means an agony of three hours; 'sepultus' means an entombment of nearly forty hours; and 'mortuus' means a continued state of lifelessness for fully forty hours. 'Died' would not accurately express this continued state, whereas 'dead' correctly does. Furthermore, the reality of our Lord's death is more emphatically declared in the old form, 'dead,' than it would be in the new one suggested; and the ground is thus more effectually taken from under the feet of rationalists, who advance the fanciful theory of suspended animation to explain away the miracle of the Resurrection. In contending that 'mortuus' should be rendered by the word 'dead,' we may refer to a

parallel case in St. John xi. 14 : 'Lazarus mortuus est.' In every version of the Douay Bible these words are translated : Lazarus is dead. Why not, in this case, say 'Lazarus died' ? Because it would not adequately convey the idea expressed in verses xvii. and xxxix. of the same chapter, that Lazarus was already a corpse for four days in the grave. Therefore, as the death of our Lord is the corner-stone of Christianity, the word 'dead' is preferable to any other, because it more forcibly announces this fundamental truth.

Another expression in the Creed is brought forward for amendment. One of your reverend correspondents states that 'rose again' is incorrect, because implying that our Lord rose a second time. No such implication is, however, suggested by the word 'again.' The obvious meaning is that He rose again to life, and not rose again—that is, a second time—from the tomb. But what removes all ambiguity, and places the old translation beyond all controversy, is that in the Apostles' Creed it is not 'surrexit,' but 're-surrexit,' occurs ; and this latter word has only the one unquestionable meaning : He rose again.

Amendments in the wording of the Lord's prayer are suggested, and, if adopted, they would hardly, I think, be improvements. 'Forgive us our debts' would not impart the real meaning of the fifth petition. In modern English this word has divested itself of its ancient meaning, and now signifies something due, and not sins. In the Lord's Prayer it is sins in general that are meant, and not merely sins against justice. This is apparent from St. Luke's narrative of the *Pater Noster*, where, in the Greek original, he uses the word *ἁμαρτίας*, properly rendered in the Vulgate by 'peccata.' Hence the word 'debts,' according to its modern acceptance, would not correctly express the intended meaning.

Exception is also taken to the word 'trespasses' in the Lord's Prayer, as clumsy and out of date. This word is an old Norman one, derived from *trespasser*, and literally means 'passing beyond the bounds of law.' It is true, that it has a restricted legal meaning ; but it must also be admitted that it still retains its original signification of a moral offence. Until the latter meaning of the word becomes obsolete, it seems better not to trespass against the usage of centuries by substituting another term, while expunging 'trespass.' I am not an advocate for change ; but, if one were made at all, I would suggest that the wording of this

petition might be: 'Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us.' Still the old maxim seems, in this case, to be a wise one: 'Let well enough alone.'

There is a word in the Lord's Prayer which seems fairly open to criticism. It is the word 'daily' in the fourth petition. St. Mathew relates the prayer in chapter vi. of his Gospel, and St. Luke gives it in an abridged form in chapter xi. of his. The Greek version of both evangelists contains the same words: ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον. The Vulgate translation for ἐπιούσιον in St. Mathew is 'superstantialem,' while in St. Luke it is 'quotidianum.' These words are not certainly identical in meaning either in Latin or in English. Are we then to conclude that one of them is erroneous? Certainly not. But it follows that the original word has two distinct and natural meanings, and a different one is given to it in each of the two evangelists. It is not unusual in Scripture, as well as in our own language, for words to bear two or more meanings which must in individual cases be gathered from the context. Now, it seems that the primary meaning of ἐπιούσιον is found in St. Mathew, and the reference is to the Blessed Eucharist, and the secondary one is found in St. Luke, where the reference is to corporal food, *panem quotidianum*. The most learned commentators thus interpret the varied translations of this word in the Vulgate.

In the other six petitions of the Lord's Prayer we supplicate, primarily at least, spiritual blessings or deprecate spiritual evils, but 'daily bread' is a temporal blessing, and does not harmonize with the principal meaning of the petitions that either precede or follow it. Our English version of the Lord's Prayer is all taken from St. Mathew, except the one word 'supersubstantial,' and there does not appear any valid reason why this important word should make room for one borrowed from another evangelist. If the prayer were taken in its entirety from the one source, I would not recommend for English use such a puzzling and polysyllabic word as 'supersubstantial.' A more intelligible equivalent should be employed. The petition might be rendered: 'Give us this day our heavenly bread,' or 'our living bread,' or "the bread of life," as our Lord Himself described His promised gift.

It has been suggested that the present might be an opportune time for shortening the Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, read before the public Masses on Sundays and holidays. I consider

that the proposed change would not be expedient. All the charts containing the existing form of the Acts would then have to make way for others with shorter formulas, and the faithful would reasonably murmur against the abandonment of prayers handed down through two languages for four generations. Complaints are sometimes heard that the sermon or some religious function is too long, but no one ever heard it said that the Acts are too long or wearisome. It seems indeed that their very length has several advantages, one of which is, that persons coming late to Mass may, however, arrive before its commencement, owing to the long prayers being read as a preparation. In spite of every warning to the contrary there will, especially in country districts, be always some who reach the church only when the Acts are nearly ended, and feel at ease when they are so fortunate as to miss no part of Mass.

I have not seen a proof of the new Catechism, but I have learned from those acquainted with its contents and capable of forming a sound judgment on its merits that it has the three essential qualities of such a work, namely, brevity, simplicity, and accuracy. Such a Catechism will be an inestimable boon in most dioceses of Ireland, and its publication will be cordially welcomed by clergy, catechists, and children.

ARMACANUS.

DOCUMENTS

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION ON THE PROHIBITION AND
CENSURE OF BOOKS

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII
CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA DE PROHIBITIONE ET CENSURA LIBRO-
RUM

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Officiorum ac munerum, quae diligentissime sanctissimeque servari in hoc apostolico fastigio, oportet, hoc caput atque haec summa est, assidue vigilare atque omni ope contendere, ut integritas fidei morumque christianorum ne quid detrimenti capiat. Idque, si unquam alias, maxime est necessarium hoc tempore, cum, effrenatis licentia ingeniis ac moribus, omnis fere doctrina, quam servator hominum Iesus Christus tuendam Ecclesiae suae ad salutem generis humani permisit, in quotidianum vocatur certamen atque discrimen. Quo in certamine variae profecto atque innumerabiles sunt inimicorum calliditates artesque nocendi : sed cum primis est plena periculorum intemperantia scribendi, disseminandique in vulgus quae prave scripta sunt. Nihil enim cogitari potest perniciosius ad inquinandos animos per contemptum religionis perque illecebras multas peccandi. Quamobrem tanti metuens mali, et incolumitatis fidei ac morum custos et vindex Ecclesia, maturime intellexit, remedia contra eiusmodi pestem esse sumenda : ob eamque rem id perpetuo studuit, ut homines, quoad in se esset, pravorum librorum lectione, hoc est pessimo veneno, prohiberet. Vehemens hac in re studium beati Pauli viderunt proxima originibus tempora : similique ratione perspexit sanctorum Patrum vigilantiam, iussa episcoporum, Conciliorum decreta, omnis consequens aetas.

Præcipue vero monumenta litterarum testantur, quanta cura diligentiaque in eo evigilaverint romani Pontifices, ne haereticorum scripta, malo publico, impune serperent. Plena est exemplorum vetustas. Anastasius I scripta Origenis perniciosiora, Innocentius I Pelagii, Leo magnus Manichaeorum opera omnia, gravi edicto damnavere. Cognitæ eadem de re sunt litteræ

decretales de recipiendis et non recipiendis libris, quas Gelasius opportune dedit. Similiter, decursu aetatum, Monotheletarum, Abaelardi, Marsilii Patavini, Wicleffi et Hussii pestilentes libros, sententia apostolicae Sedis confixit.

Saeculo autem decimo quinto, comperta arte nova libraria, non modo in prave scripta animadversum est, quae lucem aspexissent, sed etiam ne qua eius generis posthac ederentur, caveri coeptum. Atque hanc providentiam non levis aliqua caussa, sed omnino tutela honestatis ac salutis publicae per illud tempus postulabat: propterea quod artem per se optimam, maximarum utilitatum parentem, christianae gentium humanitati propagandae natam, in instrumentum ingens ruinarum nimis multi celeriter deflexerant. Magnum prave scriptorum malum, ipsa vulgandi celeritate maius erat ac velocius effectum. Itaque saluberrimo consilio cum Alexander VI., tum Leo X. decessores Nostri, certas tulere leges, utique congruentes iis temporibus ac moribus, quae officinatores librarios in officio continerent.

Mox graviore exorto turbine, multo vigilantius ac fortius oportuit malarum haereseon prohibere contagia. Idcirco idem Leo X., posteaque Clemens VII. gravissime sanxerunt, ne cui legere, neu retinere Lutheri libros fas esset. Cum vero pro illius aevi infelicitate crevisset praeter modum atque in omnes partes pervasisset perniciosorum librorum impura colluvies, ampliore ac praesentiore remedio opus esse videbatur. Quod quidem remedium opportune primus adhibuit Paulus IV. decessor Noster, videlicet elencho proposito scriptorum et librorum, a quorum usu cavere fideles oporteret. Non ita multo post Tridentinae Synodi Patres gliscentem scribendi legendique licentiam novo consilio coercendam curaverunt. Eorum quippe voluntate iussuque lecti ad id praesules et theologi non solum augendo perpoliendoque Indici, quem Paulus IV. ediderat, dedere operam, sed Regulas etiam conscripsere, in editione, lectione, usuque librorum servandas: quibus Regulis Pius IV. apostolicae auctoritatis robur adiecit.

Verum salutis publicae ratio, quae Regulas Tridentinas initio genuerat, novari aliquid in eis, labentibus aetatibus, eadem iussit. Quamobrem romani Pontifices nominatimque Clemens VIII., Alexander VII., Benedictus XIV., gnari temporum et memores prudentiae, plura decrevere, quae ad eas explicandas atque accommodandas temporis valuerunt.

Quae res praeclare confirmant, praecipuas romanorum Ponti-

ficum curas in eo fuisse perpetuo positas, ut opinionum errores morumque corruptelam, geminam hanc civitatum labem ac ruinam, pravis libris gigni ac disseminari solitam, a civili hominum societate defenderent. Neque fructus fefellit operam, quam diu in rebus publicis administrandis rationi imperandi ac prohibendi lex aeterna praefuit, rectoresque civitatum cum potestate sacra in unum consensere.

Quae postea consecuta sunt, nemo nescit. Videlicet cum adiuncta rerum atque hominum sensim mutavisset dies, fecit id Ecclesia prudenter more suo, quod, perspecta natura temporum, magis expedire atque utile esse hominum saluti videtur. Plures Regularum Indicis praescriptiones, quae excidisse opportunitate pristina videbantur, vel decreto ipsa sustulit, vel more usque alicubi invalescente antiquari benigne simul ac provide sivit. Recentiore memorin, datis ad Archiepiscopos Episcoposque e principatu pontificio litteris, Pius IX Regulam X magna ex parte mitigavit. Praeterea, propinquo iam Concilio magno Vaticano, doctis viris, ad argumenta paranda delectis, id negotium dedit, ut expenderent atque aestimarent Regulas Indicis universas iudiciumque ferrent, quid de iis facto opus esset. Illi commutandas, consentientibus sententiis, iudicavere. Idem se et sentire et petere a Concilio plurimi ex Patribus aperte profitebantur. Episcoporum Galliae extant hac de re litterae, quarum sententia est, necesse esse et sine cunctatione faciendum, ut *illae Regulae et universa res Indicis novo prorsus modo nostrae aetati melius attemperto et observatu faciliiori instaurarentur*. Idem eo tempore iudicium fuit Episcoporum Germaniae, plane petentium, ut *Regulae Indicis . . . recenti revisioni et redactioni submittantur*. Quibus Episcopi concinunt ex Italia aliisque e regionibus complures.

Qui quidem omnes si temporum, si institutorum civilium, si morum popularium habeatur ratio, sane aequa postulant et cum materna Ecclesiae sanctae caritate convenientia. Etenim in tam celeri ingeniorum cursu, nullus est scientiarum campus, in quo non litterae licentius excurrant: inde pestilentissimorum librorum quotidiana colluvies. Quod vero gravius est, in tam grandi malo non modo connivent, sed magnam licentiam dant leges publicae. Hinc ex una parte, suspensi religione animi plurimorum: ex altera, quidlibet legendi impunita copia.

Hisce igitur incommodis medendum rati, duo facienda duximus, ex quibus norma agendi in hoc genere certa et perspicua

omnibus suppetat. Videlicet librorum improbatae lectionis diligentissime recognosci Indicem; subinde, maturum cum fuerit, ita recognitum vulgari iussimus. Praeterea ad ipsas Regulas mentem adiecimus, easque decrevimus, incolumi earum natura, efficere aliquanto molliores, ita plane ut iis obtemperare, dummodo quis ingenio malo non sit, grave, arduumque esse non possit. In quo non modo exempla sequimur decessorum Nostrorum, sed maternum Ecclesiae studium imitamur: quae quidem nihil tam expetit, quam se impertire benignam, sanandosque ex se natos ita semper curavit, curat, ut eorum infirmitati amanter studioseque pareat.

Itaque matura deliberatione, adhibitisque S. R. E. Cardinalibus e sacro Consilio libris notandis, edere *Decreta Generalia* statuimus, quae infra scripta, unaque cum hac Constitutione coniuncta sunt: quibus idem sacrum Consilium posthac utatur unice quibusque catholici homines toto orbe religiose pareant. Ea vim legis habere sola volumus, abrogatis *Regulis* sacrosanctae Tridentinae Synodi iussu editis, *Observationibus*, *Instructione*, *Decretis*, *Monitis*, et quovis alio decessorum Nostrorum hac de re statuto iussuque, una excepta Constitutione Benedicti XIV. *Sollicita et provida* quam, sicut adhuc vigit, ita in posterum vigere integram volumus.

DECRETA GENERALIA

DE PROHIBITIONE ET CENSURA LIBRORUM.

TITULUS I.

DE PROHIBITIONE LIBRORUM.

CAPUT I.—*De prohibitis apostatarum, haereticorum, schismaticorum, aliorumque scriptorum libris.*

1. Libri omnes, quos ante annum MDC aut Summi Pontifices, aut Concilia oecumenica damnarunt, et qui in novo Indice non recensentur, eodem modo damnati habeantur, sicut olim damnati fuerunt: iis exceptis, qui per haec Decreta Generalia permittuntur.

2. Libri apostatarum, haereticorum, schismaticorum et quorumcumque scriptorum haeresim vel schisma propugnantes, aut ipsa religionis fundamenta utcumque evertentes, omnino prohibentur.

3. Item prohibentur acatholicorum libri, qui ex professo de

religione tractant, nisi constet nihil in eis contra fidem catholicam contineri.

4. Libri eorundem auctorum, qui ex professo de religione non tractant, sed obiter tantum fidei veritates attingunt, iure ecclesiastico prohibiti non habeantur, donec speciali decreto proscripti haud fuerint.

CAPUT II.—*De Editionibus textus originalis et versionum non vulgarium Sacrae Scripturae.*

5. Editiones textus originalis et antiquarum versionum catholicarum Sacrae Scripturae, etiam Ecclesiae Orientalis, ab acatholicis quibuscumque publicatae, etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant, iis dumtaxat, qui studiis theologicis vel publicis dant operam dummodo tamen non impugnentur in prolegomenis aut adnotationibus catholicae fidei dogmata, permittuntur.

6. Eadem ratione, et sub iisdem conditionibus, permittuntur alia versiones Sacrorum Bibliorum sive latina, sive alia lingua non vulgari ab acatholicis editae.

CAPUT III.—*De Versionibus vernaculis Sacrae Scripturae.*

7. Cum experimento manifestum sit, si Sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri; Versiones omnes in lingua vernacula, etiam a viris catholicis confectae, omnino prohibentur, nisi fuerint ab Apostolica Sede approbatae, aut editae sub vigilantia Episcoporum cum adnotationibus desumptis ex Sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus, atque ex doctis catholicisque scriptoribus.

8. Interdicuntur versiones omnes Sacrorum Bibliorum, quavis vulgari lingua ab acatholicis quibuscumque confectae, atque illae praesertim, quae per Societates Biblicas, a Romanis Pontificibus non semel damnatas, divulgantur, cum in iis saluberrimae Ecclesiae leges de divinis libris edendis funditus posthabeantur.

Hae nihilominus versiones iis, qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam, permittuntur: iis servatis, quae supra (n. 5) statuta sunt.

CAPUT IV.—*De Libris obscenis.*

9. Libri, qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant, narrant, aut docent, cum non solum fidei, sed et morum, qui huiusmodi librorum lectione facile corrumpi solent, ratio habenda sit, omnino prohibentur.

10. Libri auctorum, sive antiquorum, sive recentiorum, quos classicos vocant, si hac ipsa turpitudinis labe infecti sunt, propter sermonis elegantiam et proprietatem, iis tantum permittuntur quos officii aut magisterii ratio excusat: nulla tamen ratione pueris vel adolescentibus, nisi solerti cura expurgati, tradendi aut praelegendi erunt.

CAPUT V.—*De quibusdam specialis argumenti libris.*

11. Damnantur libri, in quibus Deo, aut Beatae Virgini Mariae, vel Sanctis aut Catholicae Ecclesiae eiusque Cultui, vel Sacramentis, aut Apostolicae Sedi detrahitur. Eidem reprobationis iudicio subiacent ea opera in quibus inspirationis Sacrae Scripturae conceptus pervertitur, aut eius extensio nimis coarctatur. Prohibentur quoque libri, qui data opera Ecclesiasticam Hierarchiam, aut statum clericalem vel religiosum probis afficiunt.

12. Nefas esto libros edere, legere aut retinere in quibus sortilegia, divinatio, magia, evocatio spirituum, aliaeque huius generis superstitiones docentur, vel commendantur.

13. Libri aut scripta, quae narrant novas apparitiones, revelationes, visiones, prophetias, miracula, vel quae novas inducunt devotiones, etiam sub praetextu quod sint privatae, si publicentur absque legitima Superiorum Ecclesiae licentia proscribuntur.

14. Prohibentur pariter libri, qui duellum, suicidium, vel divortium licita statuunt, qui de sectis massonicis, vel aliis eiusdem generis societatibus agunt, easque utiles et non perniciosas Ecclesiae et civili societati esse contendunt, et qui errores ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos tuentur.

CAPUT VI.—*De Sacris Imaginibus et Indulgentiis.*

15. Imagines quomodocumque impressae Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Beatae Mariae Virginis, Angelorum atque Sanctorum, vel aliorum Servorum Dei ab Ecclesiae sensu et decretis difformes, omnino vetantur. Novae vero, sive preces habeant adnexas, sive absque illis edantur, sine Ecclesiasticae potestatis licentia non publicentur.

16. Universis interdicitur indulgentias apocryphas, et a Sancta Sede Apostolica proscriptas vel revocatas quomodocumque divulgare. Quae divulgatae iam fuerint, de manibus fidelium auferantur.

17. Indulgentiarum libri omnes, summaria, libelli, folia, etc., in quibus earem concessionem continentur, non publicentur absque competentis auctoritatis licentia.

CAPUT VII.—*De libris liturgicis et precatoriis.*

18. In authenticis editionibus Missalis, Breviarii, Ritualis, Caeremonialis Episcoporum, Pontificalis romani, aliorumque librorum liturgicorum a Sancta Sede Apostolica approbatorum, nemo quidquam immutare praesumat: si secus factum fuerit, hae novae editiones prohibentur.

19. Litaniae omnes, praeter antiquissimas et communes, quae Breviariis, Missalibus, Pontificalibus ac Ritualibus continentur, et praeter Litanias de Beata Virgine, quae in sacra Aede Lauretana decantari solent, et litanias Sanctissimi Nominis Iesu iam a Sancta Sede approbatas, non edantur sine revisione et approbatione Ordinarii.

20. Libros, aut libellos precum, devotionis, vel doctrinae institutionisque religiosae, moralis, asceticae, mysticae, aliosque huiusmodi, quamvis ad fovendam populi christiani pietatem conducere videantur, nemo praeter legitimaе auctoritatis licentiam publicet: secus prohibiti habeantur.

CAPUT VIII.—*De Diariis, foliis et libellis periodicis.*

21. Diaria, folia et libelli periodici, qui religionem aut bonos mores data opera impetunt, non solum naturali, sed etiam ecclesiastico iure proscripti habeantur.

Curent autem Ordinarii, ubi opus sit, de huiusmodi lectionis periculo et damno fideles opportune monere.

22. Nemo e catholicis, praesertim e viris ecclesiasticis, in huiusmodi diariis, vel foliis, vel libellis periodicis, quidquam, nisi suadente iusta et rationabili causa, publicet.

CAPUT IX.—*De facultate legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos.*

23. Libros sive specialibus, sive hisce Generalibus Decretis proscriptos, ii tantum legere et retinere poterunt, qui a Sede Apostolica, aut ab illis, quibus vices suas delegavit, opportunas fuerint consecuti facultates.

24. Concedendis licentiis legendi et retinendi libros quoscumque prohibitos Romani Pontifices Sacram Indicis Congregationem praeposuerunt. Eadem nihilominus potestate gaudent, tum Suprema Sancti Officii Congregatio, tum Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide pro regionibus suo regimini subiectis. Pro Urbe tantum, haec facultas competit etiam Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magistro.

25. Episcopi alique Praelati iurisdictione quasi episcopali

pollentes, pro singularibus libris, atque in casibus tantum urgentibus, licentiam concedere valeant. Quod si iidem generalem a Sede Apostolica impetraverint facultatem, ut fidelibus libros proscriptos legendi retinendique licentiam impertiri valeant, eam nonnisi cum delectu et ex iusta et rationabili causa concedant.

26. Omnes qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet, aut ephemerides ab Ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in apostolico indulto expressa facta fuerit potestas legendi et retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatos. Meminerint insuper qui licentiam legendi libros prohibitos obtinuerunt, gravi se praecepto teneri huiusmodi libros ita custodire, ut ad aliorum manus non perveniant.

CAPUT X.—*De denunciatione pravorum librorum.*

27. Quamvis catholicorum omnium sit, maxime eorum, qui doctrina praevalent, perniciosos libros Episcopis, aut Apostolicae Sedi denunciare; id tamen speciali titulo pertinet ad Nuntios, Delegatos Apostolicos, locorum Ordinarios, atque Rectores Universitatum doctrinae laude florentium.

28. Expedit ut in pravorum librorum denunciatione non solum libri titulus indicetur, sed etiam, quoad fieri potest, causae exponantur ob quas liber censura dignus existimatur. Iis autem ad quos denunciatio defertur, sanctum erit, denunciantium nomina secreta servare.

29. Ordinarii, etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae, libros, aliaque scripta noxia in sua Dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere, et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant. Ad Apostolicum iudicium ea deferant opera vel scripta, quae subtilius examen exigunt, vel in quibus ad salutarem effectum consequendum, supremæ auctoritatis sententia requiri videatur.

TITULUS II.

DE CENSURAE LIBRORUM.

CAPUT I.—*De Praelatis librorum censurae praepositis.*

30. Penes quos potestas sit sacrorum bibliorum editiones et versiones adprobare vel permittere ex iis liquet, quae supra (n. 7) statuta sunt.

31. Libros ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos nemo audeat iterum

in lucem edere : quod si ex gravi et rationabili causa, singularis aliqua exceptio hac in re admittenda videatur, id nunquam fiet, nisi obtenta prius sacrae Indicis Congregationis licentia, servatisque conditionibus ab ea praescriptis.

32. Quae ad causas Beatificationum et Canonizationum Servorum Dei utcumque pertinent, absque beneplacito Congregationis Sacris Ritibus tuendis praepositae publicari nequeunt.

33. Idem dicendum de Collectionibus Decretorum singularum Romanarum Congregationum : hae nimirum Collectiones edi nequeant, nisi obtenta prius licentia, et servatis conditionibus a moderatoribus uniuscuiusque Congregationis praescriptis.

34. Vicarii et Missionarii Apostolici Decreta sacrae Congregationis Propagandae Fidei praepositae de libris edendis fideliter servent.

35. Approbatio librorum, quorum censura praesentium Decretorum vi Apostolicae Sedi vel Romanis Congregationibus non reservatur, pertinet ad Ordinarium loci in quo publici iuris fiunt.

36. Regulares, praeter Episcopi licentiam, meminerint teneri se, sacri Concilii Tridentini decreto, operis in lucem edendi facultatem a Praelato, cui subiacent, obtinere. Utraque autem concessio in principio vel in fine operis imprimatur.

37. Si Auctor Romae degens librum non in Urbe sed alibi imprimere velit, praeter approbationem Cardinalis Urbis Vicarii et Magistri Sacri Palatii Apostolici, alia non requiritur.

CAPUT II.—*De censorum officio in praevio librorum examine.*

38. Curent Episcopi, quorum munus est facultatem libros imprimendi concedere, ut eis examinandis spectatae pietatis et doctrinae viros adhibeant, de quorum fide et integritate sibi polliceri queant, nihil eos gratiae duros, nihil odio, sed omni humano affectu posthabito, Dei dumtaxat gloriam spectaturos et fidelis populi utilitatem.

39. De variis opinionibus atque sententiis (iuxta Benedicti XIV praeceptum) animo a praeiudiciis omnibus vacuo, iudicandum sibi esse censores sciant. Itaque nationis, familiae, scholae, instituti affectum excutiant, studia partium seponant. Ecclesiae sanctae dogmata, et communem Catholicorum doctrinam, quae Conciliorum generalium decretis, Romanorum Pontificum Constitutionibus, atque Doctorum consensu continentur, unice prae oculis habeant.

40. Absoluto examine, si nihil publicationi libri obstare

videbitur, Ordinarius, in scriptis et omnino gratis, illius publicandi licentiam, in principio vel in fine operis imprimendam, auctori concedat.

CAPUT III.—*De libris praeviae censurae subiiciendis.*

41. Omnes fideles tenentur praeviae censurae ecclesiasticae eos saltem subiicere libros qui divinas Scripturas, Sacram Theologiam, Historiam ecclesiasticam, Ius Canonicum, Theologiam naturalem, Ethicen, aliasve huiusmodi religiosas aut morales disciplinas respiciunt, ac generaliter scripta omnia, in quibus religionis et morum honestati specialiter intersit.

42. Viri e clero seculari ne libros quidem, qui de artibus scientiisque mere naturalibus tractant, inconsultis suis Ordinariis publicent, ut obsequentis animi erga illos exemplum praebeant.

Iidem prohibentur quominus, absque praevia Ordinariorum venia, diaria vel folia periodica moderanda suscipiant.

CAPUT IV.—*De Typographis et Editoribus librorum.*

43. Nullus liber censurae ecclesiasticae subiectus excudatur, nisi in principio nomen et cognomen tum auctoris, tum editoris praeferat, locum insuper et annum impressionis atque editionis. Quod si aliquo in casu, iustas ob causas, nomen auctoris tacendum videatur, id permittendi penes Ordinarium potestas sit.

44. Noverint Typographi et Editores librorum novas eiusdem operis approbati editiones, novam approbationem exigere, hanc insuper textui originali tributam, eius in aliud idioma versioni non suffragari.

45. Libri ab Apostolica Sede damnati, ubique gentium prohibiti censeantur, et in quodcumque vertantur idioma.

46. Quicumque librorum venditores, praecipue qui catholico nomine gloriantur, libros de obscenis ex professo tractantes neque vendant, neque commodent, neque retineant: ceteros prohibitos venales non habeant, nisi a Sacra Indicis Congregatione veniam per Ordinarium impetraverint, nec cuiquam vendant nisi prudenter existimare possint, ab emptore legitime peti.

CAPUT V.—*De poenis in Decretorum Generalium transgressores statutis.*

47. Omnes et singuli scienter legentes, sine auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae, libros apostatarum et haeticorum haeresim propugnantes, nec non libros cuiusvis auctoris per Apostolicas

Literas nominatim prohibitos, eosdemque libros retinentes, imprimentes et quomodolibet deferrentes, excommunicationem ipso facto incurrunt, Romano Pontifici speciali modo reservatam.

48. Qui sine Ordinarii approbatione Sacrarum Scripturarum, libros, vel earundem adnotationes vel commentarios imprimunt, aut imprimi faciunt, incidunt ipso facto in excommunicationem nemini reservatam.

49. Qui vero cetera transgressi fuerint, quae his Decretis Generalibus praecipuntur, pro diversa reatus gravitate serio ab Episcopo moneantur; et, si opportunum videbitur, canonicis etiam poenis coerceantur.

Praesentes vero litteras et quaecumque in ipsis habentur nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut obreptionis sive intentionis Nostrae vitio aliove quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse; sed semper validas et in suo robore fore et esse, atque ab omnibus cuiusvis gradus et praeeminentiae inviolabiliter in iudicio et extra observari debere, decernimus: irritum quoque et inane si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate vel praetextu, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari declarantes, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis, etiam impressis, manu tamen Notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi his praesentibus ostensis haberetur.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae constitutionis, ordinationis, limitationis, derogationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.—Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo sexto, VIII. Kal. Februarias, Pontificatus Nostri decimo nono.¹

A. CARD. MACCHI,

A. PANICI, *Subdatarius*.

VISA —De Curia I. De Aquila c. *Vicecomitibus Reg. in Secret.*
Brevium.

L. ✠ Plumbi.

I. Cugnonius.

¹ In hisce documentis, data computatur, non a die prima Januarii, sed a die Incarnationis idest a die 25 Martii. Unde praesens Constitutio fuit promulgata die 24 Januarii. 1897.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GRANIA WAILE. A West Connaught Sketch of the Sixteenth Century. By Fulmar Petrel.

RARELY have we read a more entertaining book than *Grania Waile*. The sympathy of the author with his subject, the stirring events he narrates, the varied scenes he describes, and above all the intense interest that must ever attach to the heroine of the story, make this volume one of the most pleasing sketches that can fall into the hands of an Irish reader. But is the book a history or only a tale? It is both in one; and the narrative is written with such spirit as to carry us on captive from page to page with much indifference as to whether the story is perfect in every detail of construction or not.

Several characters stand out with more or less boldness from the author's pages. But from the first page to the last the portrait is one of Grania. So it should be. The side figures of action ought to be the side figures of history; and the O'Malleys, Bourkes, and O'Flaherties, all own the sway of Grania at this period. As coming in from sea, the mariner nears the myriad low-lying islands of Clew Bay and looks back on Knockmore in Innish Clare, rising high over the main in graceful strength; he has in sight no inapt type of the heroic maiden whom Fulmar Petrel has so well portrayed.

The story opens with the appearance of a poor widow within the castle bawn on Clare Island, bewailing the loss of her lambs that had been carried away by eagles.

'On the castle steps were two young girls to whom the tale was told and to whom the poor widow looked for pity if not for help. They were eager to learn all details, more particularly the elder of the two. She was tall and well knit; her dark eyes, almost shrouded by the raven locks which fell in a heap on her shoulder, sparkled at this moment with indignation, and one might be at a loss to interpret their full meaning, were it not for those expressive lips, where sympathy and determination were strongly combined. Her face was of that type of beauty which was sure to awaken intense interest because of the soul which every feature expressed. At this time she must have seen

eighteen summers; and the flaxen-haired girl, who with tears in her eyes listened to the tale of woe, and clung to her cousin for support, was about four years younger.

The elder maiden was Grace, daughter of Owen O'Malley, Chieftain of the Owles and Lord of the Isles of Aran, called also Dhudharra, or the "Black Oak." This Clare Island was an outpost of his territory. The younger girl was Eileen, Grace's foster-sister, daughter of Robert O'Malley, who was the chief of the island.

Although her home was on the mainland, Grace, as was customary in those days, was placed out with foster-parents; and, as the times were troubled, her father had selected the household of her kinsman, living on this remote island, as a home for his only girl. Here, while sharing the pursuits of the islanders, she learned the use of the sail and the oar; and while listening to tales of wild adventure on the wide, restless ocean, she acquired a deep love for all things pertaining to the sea.'

Grace's descent on the eagle's nest, and the conflict of the brave girl with its fierce tenants, are described with great power. As she ascends Knockmore for this hazardous trip, which no man would undertake, she rests for a little with her young cousin, and faces eastwards to watch the glow of the sunrise.

'Clew Bay lay beneath them; the islands at its head shrouded in grey mist, above which the sky blazed in saffron-coloured light. Higher up a number of golden cloudlets floated out of the mists, as it were, and against the glory of the dawn the dark conical peak of Croagh Patrick stood up clear and sharply cut. Away further to the south, Mulrea, the highest peak in Connaught, had caught the golden tint of the dawn, as had Slievemore and the other peaks of Achill to the northward. As the girls watched, the sun rose, and transformed the steel-blue waters of the bay into a floor of shining gold . . . A new day had commenced—a day to be remembered by Grace through a long, eventful life.'

The 'tyrant brood' was slain, and Grace returned from fosterage in Clare Island to Kilmena Castle, with a well-marked temple scar which the mother eagle had imprinted in the first great conflict of the girl's life. Already she could trim a sail, or handle an oar, or grasp the helm. But that passionate love of the sea that afterwards helped so much to build her power on the waves had yet to grow. The possessions of her sept, its traditions and occupations, and her political career, as years went on, turned familiarly with the great ocean in ardent life-lasting

fellowship. The scene on shore as she landed from Clare Island was worthy of Clan Umalia.

‘Close to where they landed, the shore presented a busy scene. A fine vessel had been built from planks obtained from a captured cargo, and timbers sawn from oak-trees, felled on the slopes of Croagh Patrick. Her fine lines and clean run, showed that speed had been aimed at, while her top-sides, bulging out at water-line, then falling in, and rising high fore and aft, into a forecastle and poop, gave her safety in rough water, and clear room to work the guns for which her bulwarks were pierced. Men were at work tarring her sides, and carpenters were preparing her spars; while further on along the beach, two smaller boats were being built for fishing purposes.’

The command of the Western seas, which the O’Malleys held, gives them a place of unique interest in the history of Irish clans. They were, indeed, a sea-power of no small strength. From Cape Clear to the Scotch islands they carried freight and fought battles. And if they sometimes pillaged from the sea, in Desmond or Tyrconnell, it was a time when Tyrconnell and Desmond practised raids from a basis of operations on land, that can be little applauded as the O’Malley incursions. The war-condition of the country at that period explains such things as well as the general attitude towards ‘prizes’ at sea. Cargoes belonging to the English enemy were not spared, and in Grania’s time, Umalia was strong enough to make the Western seas rather uncomfortable for even the battle-ships of Queen Elizabeth. Grace’s first acquaintance with war on the ocean came when she succeeded in hiding herself in her brother Teige’s ship, as he went to rescue a French vessel consigned to him, that had been captured by pirates off Boffin.

‘She had often argued to herself on similar lines, but now her idea had advanced a step, and she came to the conclusion, that although she was only a woman, she would go too. And she quickly made her plans. She knew well that if she spoke of her idea to anyone, she would only be laughed at and hindered. Undoubtedly, there was danger in the enterprise; but this only fired her imagination, and rendered her more anxious to share it. . . . At this moment, Grace came out from her lair, and to the utter amazement of her brother took her place beside him on deck. . . . “The O’Malleys” was shouted from a man on the bowsprit. . . . Some of them afterwards said that they would not have given in, only that they saw standing at the tiller of the galley, a tall slight girl, clad in dark yellow, which made them think that O’Malley’s own daughter was on board.’

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is the "launch" of the "Dhudarra," with the important gathering of the Clans, Celtic and Norman, which it occasioned. On the eve of that long-expected event Grace discourses thus to peace-loving Eileen on the words of a Spanish friar:—

'He says, and I quite believe him, that people must fight for what is right, or our holy religion would be lost, and God would hate us. And you, and I, and all our people around us would be hunted from our homes. There are bad people in the world to be put down, and the English are the worst. All they have got they have taken by murder and robbery, and it is a good thing for anyone to take it from them. Oh! I wish I were a man!'

'The Mendicant' is a capital spy for that period, and the capture of 'a prize' in Donegal Bay, near Innish Murray, involves a sea encounter in which Teige O'Malley receives a mortal wound.

'Overpowered, as he now most certainly was, the English captain hauled down his flag, and stepping forward over the gory deck, craved the lives of his crew from O'Malley. O'Malley, ghastly pale, his saffron doublet clotted with blood, gives his word for their safety. They numbered fifteen weather-beaten men, and three fair-haired youths, while twenty lay dead or dying about the decks. Five men of the galley's crew were killed, and O'Malley and several others were badly wounded.'

The friar who assists at the marriage of Richard Bourke, nicknamed the Devil's Hook, a kinsman of MacWilliam Eighter, Grace's second husband, performed the ceremony from a very sordid motive. But the tone of the book towards the clergy is not unfriendly; and in such times it scandalizes no one to have it suggested that with much trouble a clergyman could be found who would risk celebrating a mixed marriage for one who said he would 'bait the hook.' Bourke failed in his promise, and hence his name.

The 'Storm' and the 'Wreck' show our author at his best. 'Fulmar Petrel' is a real stormy petrel. Every creek and harbour, every rock and bar, that Grania's fleet ever touched, are as familiar to him as the highways by our houses are to the rest of us; and no matter how the wind shifts, or on what coast the storm blows, he knows how to set his sails, and hold the helm to best advantage. Does he think Grace O'Malley excelled him in navigation?

After the burial of Teige in storm-swept Erris and her marriage engagement with Donal O'Flaherty she sails south for Westport.

'The frowning headland of Achill now loomed up off their port bow, its dark cliffs rising two thousand feet above the surge at their base. In their middle height the dark crags were diversified by strips of grass of moist green ; while aloft in the mountain's crown the heather and yellow bog-grasses had caught the golden glow of the setting sun. The dark sea rolled beneath with uneasy swell, and as the wind had dropped, the sails of the vessels flapped heavily against the spars. The night came on, and the stars shone out, and Grace, peering down into the dark depths, saw many a creature drift by like a globe of living light ; and, again, as the night wind, charged with the scent of the heather, came in puffs from Slievemore, the sails swelled out, and shoals of fish flashed like sheets of molten fire as they darted from the bows. She looked up at the huge cliffs towering into the sky, appearing spectral in the starlight, and that strange love of the sea stole over her more powerfully than ever. Never before had it been so overwhelming. One part of her nature was absorbed by it. To be the Queen of the Sea was a passion which grew with her life, which moulded her whole history, and only died with her death.'

Near Clare Island her party had a skirmish with a great battleship, the 'Antelope,' belonging to another queen, whom she was to visit in later years. It was only, however, after her marriage with Donal O'Flaherty, of Bunowen, that she got command of her father's galleys, and became a power on the coast. The book brings down her story to the death of Donal, a few years later, at the battle of Kilmury, on Avonmore, in the arms of victory. At the age of twenty-four she is back again in Clare Island, a sorrow-stricken widow, with her two infant boys ; 'but her life was like one of those cyclones which strike on our wild western shores, and the tranquillity which she now enjoyed was but the lull that almost invariably heralds in the full development of the tempest.'

We hope Fulmar Petrel, true to his name, will not dread the 'tempest.' If he does for the second part of Grania's career what he has done for the first in this delightful volume the life of one of the most remarkable of Irish heroines will be rescued from the caricatures that hostile writers have made current for three centuries. No doubt the undertaking is more difficult. From the period of Grace's marriage with Bourke, the

interplay of different motives in her policy and the causes which led some important operations apparently at least in favour of the enemies of her cause are not easily explained. But if the author, making due account of her difficulties, brings to his task the same keen insight into events, the same warm sympathy with and genuine appreciation of his subject, that delight the reader of this volume, we may well hope for a sound interpretation of her whole life. For one thing, he has already broken the virago mould in which her figure was cast for us so often by the unfriendly artist. It would be a fitting coincidence, if by the time her island is transformed under the auspices of the Congested Districts' Board, the history of her whole career were presented in its true light.

We think *Grania Waile* a most interesting story-book for a parochial library, although it is a pity it does not give us a glimpse of Grace at her prayers.

AN EX-RECORDER.

MISSA SOLEMNIS in Hon. Smi. Cordis Jesu, for mixed voices and orchestra or organ. By Ig. Mitterer, op. 70. Innsbrück: Johann Gross.

THE Sacred Heart Society of the Tyrol celebrated last year the centenary of its foundation, and for this occasion Mitterer composed a festal Mass for mixed voices and orchestra, which must be pronounced as one of the most remarkable church compositions of recent date. The work is thoroughly modern in character, melodious, and full of sensuous harmony. Though contrapuntal devices are made use of sparingly, the part-writing is very fine, as may be expected from a man who masters counterpoint so well as Mitterer does. But it appears from this Mass what a danger orchestral accompaniment is for a church composer. Even Mitterer, who is as orthodox in his other compositions as any of the Cecilian composers, here goes to the very limit of what can be allowed for the Church.

The orchestral writing is for two clarionets, two horns, two trumpets, trombone, and string quintet, to which a flute and tympani may be added *ad libitum*. Though evidently conceived with orchestral accompaniment, and likely to produce its best effect with it, the Mass will undoubtedly sound very well also with an organ accompaniment, which the author has himself provided, and which is printed separately. Perhaps a good player might add to this organ accompaniment from the

orchestral score ; but he should imitate the composer in avoiding everything that is not congenial to the nature of his instrument. The organ accompaniment gives also some indications as to the voice parts, but not enough for conducting. So an organist who is also conductor should have the orchestral score before him—rather an inconvenience. Both instrumental and voice parts are printed. The work has not yet been put on the German Cecilian catalogue. Hence, if to be performed in the diocese of Dublin it should first get the approval of the Diocesan Commission.

H. B.

THREE DAUGHTERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By Mrs. Junes Browne. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd.

FROM the perusal of this book we have carried away the impression that the writer is a lady of exalted piety and refined sentiment, with considerable powers of composition ; but we have failed to discover proof or promise of the genius that would ensure success. No doubt the story is edifying, and we would be the last to say that it is devoid of merit ; but, if we gauge the public taste aright, we fear it is not such as will make headway in the scramble for patronage. Did it contain more action and character and less sentiment we should have better hope of its success.

MIRLI'S RING AND THE MYSTERIOUS SHRIEKS. By Margaret E. Merriman. London : The Catholic Truth Society. 1896.

THIS is one of the Catholic Truth Society's shilling volumes, and the two stories it contains are well written and pleasant to read. *Mirli's Ring* is a Swiss rustic tale the main incidents of which, the writer assures us, are literally true, the names only of persons and places being changed. 'The Mysterious Shrieks,' the scene of which is laid in an Australian town, leads up to an interesting solution of strange occurrences that seemed at first to promise mystery enough for a good ghost story.

P. J. T.



BISHOP DOYLE AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS

THE worship of heroes was probably the first of all idolatries, as it is certainly the most respectable, seeing that any man has more in him that is godlike than all matter, sidereal and terrestrial. At the same time, man and woman-worship has run into more insane excesses than any other, on the principle that the 'best corrupted is the worst.' The work of making and decorating heroes, once in the hands of poets, painters, and sculptors, has in our time fallen into those of the biographer, and it is a pity that so many seem to have little idea of the difficulties of their task, which, in fact, are greater than those of ancient makers of gods and goddesses, who were pretty well unrestrained in their efforts to give 'local habitations and names,' to their own ideals. Evidently it is owing to this want of diffidence on the part of the biographer, that his efforts are so often unrequited, and he is pained and astonished to find that people who had better opportunities than himself of knowing his hero, declare that they cannot recognise the portrait. We have had an instance on a gigantic scale in Mr. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*: one which will probably be a warning to biographers for many a long day. Although it would be unjust to place the biographers of Bishop Doyle on the same level, it is clear that they have laid themselves open to the accusation of constructing their hero, and that on lines which are open to discussion. Both Mr. Fitzpatrick and

Mr. MacDonagh¹ are evidently of opinion that Bishop Doyle was a great bishop because he was a politician, whereas my contention is, that he was a great politician because he was a bishop.

No Christian will object to the proposition that the standard or ideal of the minister of Christ ought to be higher than that of the layman ; from which it follows that to say a Churchman is first a statesman, then a bishop, is to reduce him to a lower level. Indeed, if we substitute the word Christian for Catholic, I believe the best and wisest men in this Empire would cordially agree with Lord Denbigh's political profession when he said, 'First a Catholic, and then an Englishman.' Such was certainly the mind of Edmund Burke from youth to old age : in 1757, when he wrote, 'The first beginnings of civility have been everywhere made by religion,'²—and, in 1796, when contemplating the possibility of the establishment of godless schools, he declares :—'Better this island should be sunk to the bottom of the sea than that (so far as human infirmity admits) it should not be a country of religion and morals ;'³ and no one doubts that the religion to which he alluded was the religion of those who teach 'that their God is love, the God whom we adore in human form ;'⁴ and that Burke would have cordially agreed with Cardinal Newman, that 'The men in Europe who now talk bravely against the Church, owe it to the Church that they can talk at all ;' and with Lord Macaulay, 'If it were not for the Christian religion, Europe would now be made up of beasts of burden and beasts of prey,' which is very generally confessed to be the case during all temporary accesses of modern revolutionary heathenism.

It seems from the following announcement, that

¹ *Life of Bishop Doyle*, Fitzpatrick, New Edition. Dublin, Duffy, 1880.
Bishop Doyle, Michael MacDonagh, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

² *Abridgment of English History*, p. 165.

³ *Regicide Peace*, p. 347. (Payne's ed.)

⁴ *Impeachment of Warren Hastings*. Life by P. Burke, p. 216.

Mr. Fitzpatrick does not hold to this necessary predominance of Christianity in the politics of Christendom :—

That most intricate questions of ecclesiastical polity are interwoven with the life of Bishop Doyle, I am aware. But I have yet to learn that they are beyond the power of a layman to grasp and unravel. . . . Dr. Doyle's life being intensely political, it is the province of a layman rather than of a priest to follow it. . . . I may further add, that, no doubt, in many estimations it will be deemed desirable that the historian should not be committed to the jealousies, or to the circumscribed and technical views which are apt to grow up in all professions.¹

Churchmen will hardly accept these views in this absolute form, even in the case of professional ecclesiastical politicians, such as Richelieu and Wolsey, but certainly they will not hold in that of Bishop Doyle. What these 'circumscribed and technical views,' in the ministry of the Catholic Church may be, I do not pretend to understand; and I imagine they were not very clear to Mr. Fitzpatrick, for he certainly gives no evidence that they stood in the way of the Bishop of Kildare. The narrowness and obstinate adherence to old prejudices with which he had to contend were in society, not in the Church, and it was his religion which raised him above them. When, more than seventy years ago, a Catholic bishop not only professed, but succeeded in convincing Protestants of his genuine conviction of their honour and sincerity, he merely carried into public life the Catholic doctrine of the security of natural virtue within its own limits, and its fundamental identity in all men. It is, indeed, a weak guide and much in want of assistance, and to give light and support to its uncertain steps is one of the greatest works of genius in those to whom God has given the plenitude of natural virtue: for as *The Imitation of Christ* tells us: 'As a man is interiorly, so he judges exteriorly;' and the same idea lies in the line :—

Virtue and goodness to the vile are vile.

The man who sees and loves God in everyone is not necessarily good-humoured, pleasant, and popular; in fact, it

¹ Pref. to first Edition. New Edition, p. xiv.

is rather the other way, and his indignation will probably be as fiery as his love. We have seen, how for a time, Bishop Doyle was the idol and undisputed leader of the people, and the bold and yet pacific conqueror of their rulers: 'The approbation of Dr. Doyle,' said O'Connell, in 1828, 'will bring to our cause the united voice of Ireland:'¹ a few years later and he was on the way to that comparative oblivion which has so long rested on his memory. How was it that such a man sank under the charge of venal adulation of power; an imputation so fatal to all popular leaders? If an answer can be given to this question, it will be a useful lesson in our own times. To some extent it may have been owing to that daring indifference to his own reputation which was seen when he declined to take the trouble of correcting the report of his answers before the Parliamentary Commissions; but this will not explain how it was that his former devoted admirers did not come forward in his defence. The real explanation is to be found in his bold enunciation of new principles of political conciliation and moderation, which are only now beginning to work as a bond of union amongst Christians of all denominations. He was in advance of his age; and it was the misfortune rather than the fault of inferior men that they did not understand him. It was a strange announcement, in days when a sort of armed neutrality was the most that could be hoped for amongst the religious bodies of the Empire, to hear a Catholic bishop declare before the British Parliament:—

I have stated at different times, and I state now, that from my infancy I never felt a dislike to a man on account of his religion. I have long had amongst my most early and intimate friends, and I still have, members of the Established Church, and other Protestant communities, in whom I confide, and whom I love as much as I do any people upon the earth; and if I had to choose a friend to whom I would confide my life, or my honour, whether amongst people high in station or low, I should, at least, amongst those high in station, prefer some of my Protestant friends to any others in the world.²

¹ Fitzpatrick, ii. 76.

² Fitzpatrick, ii., p. 389.

His letter on the death of Lord Donoughmore (Hely Hutchinson) is in the same spirit :—

The good works of your brother were not confined to individuals, to a city, or to a shire; they extended to all men; they were concentrated upon us—the Catholics of Ireland. We were the inheritance, and he was the hereditary advocate of a poor and an oppressed people. He knew the unmerited wrongs we suffered; he communed with us in all our disappointments and trials, he ate with us the bread of affliction, and he made all our grievances his own.¹

If ever there was language from the heart it is this, and it reveals to us how it was that the Bishop of Kildare was so great a conqueror in the lists of honour and chivalry, whenever he met 'foemen worthy of his steel.' But, alas! when it came to practical politics, in which noble principles are compelled to hover and temporize; where, as Burke says :—'The *major* makes a pompous appearance; but it is the little *minor* of circumstances which carries the day,' Bishop Doyle, like Burke himself, 'too fond of the right to pursue the expedient,'² found that he was alone, and so far a-head of his own followers, that as they could not make out what he was doing, they suspected that he was pursuing some private end of his own; and then began that process of sifting, not unlike what goes on at a canonization, which public characters must pass through on their way to fame.³

We will now turn our attention to the only real difficulties in the Life of Bishop Doyle.

First comes his own confession, that in his youth at Coimbra, before he had finished his classics, he found himself in the midst of disciples of d'Alembert, Rousseau, and Voltaire, and 'prompted to inquire into all things, and to deliberate whether I should take my station

¹ Fitzpatrick, vol. i., p. 465.

² Goldsmith, *Retaliation*.

³ At the canonization of St Vincent de Paul, Benedict XIV., then Prosper Lambertini, was *Promoter Fidei* (*Advocatus diaboli*), and the ordeal was terrific. When the battle was won, the General of the Lazarists said so to the accuser. 'Ah!' said Lambertini, 'I knew your glorious father would come out all the brighter from the midst of these fires.'

amongst infidels, or remain attached to Christianity, . . . but, even then, when all things which could have influence on a youthful mind combined to induce me to shake off the yoke of Christ, I was arrested by the majesty of religion.' He goes on to say that he carefully studied, and passed in review before his mind all the religions of antiquity, from Moses to Numa and Plato, the religions of the East, the Koran, Jewish history, and that of Christ, His disciples, and the Church, and concludes:—'I did not hesitate to continue attached to the religion of our Redeemer as alone worthy of God; and, being a Christian, I could not fail to be a Catholic.'¹

The whole letter is well worthy of study, and certainly gives the impression that his trial of faith was altogether from without. There is nothing in it, or in his subsequent writings, to show that the New Philosophy itself made the least impression on his mind. His own view that the fault which he confesses was that of recklessly aiming at impartiality: making his mind, so to speak, a *tabula rasa*—is confirmed by his own words in the same letter when he says, 'Since I became a man, and was enabled to think like a man, I have not ceased to give thanks to the Father of Mercies, who did not deliver me over to the pride and presumption of my own heart.' It is clear, therefore, that he did not think that he had been cast off by God; and that he merely accuses himself of want of reverence for divine truth: as, late in life, speaking of his constitutional absence of fear, he said that he had not fear enough even of his God.

If it is said that it is unnecessary to defend this youthful 'thinker,' when so many old heads were turned, I answer, that there are two reasons for doing so: one intellectual, the other moral. To be deluded, even for a day, by those whom Burke calls 'the jays and magpies of philosophy,' would be for ever a blot on his intellectual character. It is plain from the line of his investigations, that it was not to the consideration of the impudent sophistry of the *Philosophes* that he directed his attention, but rather to that world-wide

¹ *Letters to a Friend in England*, p. 55.

revolt against God and Revelation which had culminated in the French Revolution, which Carlyle calls the last act of Protestantism; while if we accept Fitzpatrick's language about his 'tottering conviction,'¹ and MacDonagh's, that 'he caught the contagion,'² the idea is likely to be fostered that Bishop Doyle belonged to what is called the 'liberal' school of theologians.

This charge is one from which the modern political churchman can hardly escape. Liberality is man's noblest quality; but, at the same time, it is the one which most requires guidance, lest in his ardour man becomes liberal with things which are not his own. Now religion is certainly one of those, and the two most serious difficulties in the life of Bishop Doyle—his project for the union of Christians, and his views on mixed education must now be faced.

I confess that I cannot get a clear idea of his plan of union; and, what is more, it does not seem that it was clear to himself. In his letter to Mr. Robinson,³ in 1824, thrown off in great haste, he says:—

It may not become so humble an individual as I am to hint even at a plan of effecting so great a purpose as the union of Catholics and Protestants in one great family of Christians; but as the difficulty does not appear to me at all proportioned to the magnitude of the object to be attained, I would presume to state, that if Protestant and Catholic divines of learning and conciliatory character were summoned by the Crown to ascertain the points of agreement and difference between the Churches, and that the result of their conference was made the basis of a project to be treated on between the heads of the Church of Rome and of England, the result might be more favourable than at present would be anticipated.

Again, at a meeting of a mixed deputation of Catholics and Protestants,

It was observed that some Catholics were exceedingly anxious lest he contemplated a compromise of their faith in his project of union; here the Bishop smiled, and said, 'I am too good a *Papist* to compromise anything; and if I sought to do so, there

¹ *Life*, i., p. 23.

² *Bishop Doyle*, p. 23.

³ Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Ripon.

is not an old woman, or a young child in the diocese who would not see my error, and abandon it. No good can ever be affected by compromise, and the nature of truth is to be unchangeable, and not to ally itself with error.' ¹

From the last sentence it is clear that his idea was that Catholics were to remain as they were, having all they wanted, and that large-minded Protestant statesmen, under the sanction of the Crown, might frame some sort of Bill for general agreement, which might be useful and agreeable to Protestants, and do no harm to Catholics; for he declared that he believed the English people at that time would change their religion as easily as in the time of Queen Mary. Twenty years later, when the eloquence of Newman and the poetry of Keble had invested Protestantism with vitality and dignity, which it never possessed before, or can hope for again, this idea would, probably, never have entered his mind; but certainly it had some show of plausibility in days when the English king was in the full enjoyment of his authority, as head and centre of the English Church: the clergy represented by men like Dr. Routh at Oxford, and Sidney Smith in London, while the apathy of the bishops was only exceeded by the ignorance of their flocks.

The third and last difficulty we have to meet in the life of Bishop Doyle are his views regarding mixed education; and certainly, when seen in the light of the experience of the last seventy years, they are a reproach to his judgment, and a proof that he was not wiser than his generation in everything. He had been educated at a mixed school himself at a time when Protestantism had practically no existence in Ireland, save that which politics gave it; ² and he seems to have had no experience of that heresy in league with infidel and immoral principles which now prevails even amongst the humblest classes, and to have carried with him through life that good-humoured contempt for Protestantism which is traditional in Ireland, and as there were few more fiery or uncompromising assailants of Protestantism when

¹ Fitzpatrick, i., pp. 331, 344.

² 'A good Irish Protestant,' said O'Connell, 'is a man who hates the Papists, and never goes to church.'

it took the shape of 'Bible Societies' or the 'New Reformation,' it is impossible to reconcile his approval of mixed schools on any other supposition than his belief that Catholic children would get the best of it in the contest.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's indifference to order, dates, and references makes it hard to follow the sequence of Bishop Doyle's ideas on this subject. In Vol. I., we have some very confused paragraphs about Bishop Doyle's *possible* concurrence with Cardinal Wiseman and Archbishops Murray and Crolly, on the question of the 'amended statutes' of the Queen's Colleges in 1845, for which we sorely want references; then the writer quotes Bishop Doyle as follows:—'I do not know any measure which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age, and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another, and to form those little intimacies and friendships which often subsist through life;' but in a note Fitzpatrick gives an extract (Dec., 1831) containing the bold declaration that 'should bad men attempt to corrupt the education of youth, we are no dumb dogs who know not how to bark; we can guard our flocks, and do so easily, by the simple process of excluding the Commissioners and their books and agents from the schools.' In 1824 he writes:—

In a mixed community such as ours, where mutual harmony and good-will are to be promoted, and children of different creeds to be educated together, let intruders of no defined creed, whose only religion seems to consist of anti-Catholic zeal, and a senseless enthusiasm about Bible-reading — let such intruders be excluded; and let men of fixed and known principles, eminent for their knowledge and moderation, as well as their love of order and attachment to the State; let such persons be commissioned to dispense the public bounty in a way calculated to promote a well-ordered system of education; a system which *not only will not interfere with the religious opinions of any, but which will secure the religious instruction of all.*¹

The following shows that the spirit of compromise was

¹ *Letters to a Friend in England*, vi., p. 139. The Italics of this very utopian sentence are the Bishop's own.

as alien to his mind in the matter of Christian education in that of the union of the Churches :—

Were we combined for the destruction of the faith of Christ, and unable to effect our purpose by argument and opposition, what means could we resort to more efficacious than to exclude it from our schools—to prevent the tender child to lisp his prayer, and recite his Creed, and learn the commands of his God from that master or mistress who is to him a parent and a model, and instructor in all things else he has to learn—to let his passions grow and shoot and bloom, and choke the little bud of virtue which has been scarcely planted, and still requires to be watered in his heart—to cause him to hear the voice of God, inviting him to come and seek for wisdom, and partake of refreshment for his wearied soul—to cause him to hear this voice for the first time amidst the tumult of his passions, the noise of the world, and the seductive allurements of a seductive pleasure. Have pity on our youth, O God, have pity on them. . . . Let us keep the fountain clear which His Blood has sealed, and not expose our holy religion to the danger of being polluted at its very source. Let us not suffer to go loose upon society the mere animal man, who, destitute of education, is like a savage; nor again, give him instruction that, as a fox tutored in low cunning, wiles, and craft, he may steal upon our simplicity, trade upon our piety, or filch from us our property or good name.¹

If it is impossible to reconcile the ideas in these extracts, it is easy to see that it is in the last that the master spirit of his soul shines out. We could not have clearer evidence of the proposition with which I started, that Bishop Doyle was made by his faith. Without its unchanging infallible guidance, he would have been a visionary and an enthusiast; the victim of that simplicity which is inherent in the highest forms of speculative genius. Such minds are too great for vulgar life. It is only in the Catholic Church that they can find their sphere, and become practical. There is no sign that Bishop Doyle ever met his match amongst men, much less his master. All his life he went his own way, and the wonder is that he made so few mistakes. Moreover, his mistakes are one secret of his attractiveness. He was Irish in every sense of the word,

¹ Fitzpatrick, i., p. 324.

with all the glories and all the imperfections attached to the name.

It is agreed [says Bishop Milner] amongst intelligent and liberal observers, that the Irish are both remarkably quick and remarkably clear in their conceptions, and that they acquire sciences and arts in less time than the English do. But they are probably behind-hand with our countrymen in intense application, to gain a perfect mastery of the science or art which is to be attained, and in that depth of judgment which is, perhaps, their characteristic. For, next to the omnipotent decrees of Providence, it is depth of judgment which regulates the destiny of the world.¹

Of his countrymen, Bishop Doyle himself writes :—

The Irish are, morally speaking, not only religious, like other nations, but entirely devoted to religion . . . they are more sanguine than the English, less mercurial than the French : they seem to be compounded of both these nations, and more suited than either to seek after, and indulge in, spiritual affections.²

Bishop Milner was one of Ireland's truest and wisest friends, and his advice, as well as his reflections, will be always valuable. Writing to a friend in Waterford, nearly ninety years ago, he says :—

Circumstances, then, my dear sir, have certainly been irritating ; the times are critical and eventful ; but, for heaven's sake, keep yourselves cool. A great part of your past miseries have been owing to the intemperate warmth of some of your countrymen. Be patient : for it is unquestionably better to 'bear the ills we have than fly to others we know not of' . . . If I had the voice of thunder, I would cry throughout your island, at this moment in particular : 'Irishmen, be cool ; command your temper. Your evils are working their own cure ; they cannot last but for a little time longer.'³

The Bishop of Kildare was not always cool ; neither had he always command over his fiery and loving heart. It may be said that he was cool in great battles, and impatient at little obstacles in times of peace. Certainly, compared with Bishop Milner, on the question of mixed education, he was

¹ *An Inquiry. Letters from Ireland*, p. 41. Keatinge, London. 1808.

² *Letters to a Friend in England*, p. 58.

³ *An Inquiry. Letters from Ireland*, p. 242.

an illustration of what the latter calls Irish inferiority of judgment. In the work quoted Bishop Milner writes :—

To speak the plain truth, then : We wish our youth in general to be educated apart, precisely for the opposite reason to that which makes you wish them to be educated at the universities. You desire them to be sent there in hopes that by associating with other youths, whom you call more liberal, we more lax, they may lose their religion. We wish to keep them at a distance from such society, for fear of the same consequence. We have proof, indeed, that this consequence does not always follow ; but we have also proof that it frequently does follow. In fact, the Catholic religion being more strict and rigorous, both as to belief and practice, than that of the Establishment, it is, of course, ridiculed by members of the latter as being superstitious. Now, the imputation of this blind and grovelling vice is what few young men of spirit can submit to ; hence they are under a continual temptation, when intimately and continually mixed with Protestant companions, of deserting their faith.¹

Although a patient study of the life and writings of Bishop Doyle reveals that his whole spirit was opposed to compromise in religious matters, it is very likely that his trumpet's uncertain sound has had an evil effect on many minds during the long contest which has gone on in Ireland regarding mixed education. The mistakes of great men are our best warnings, when we discern the fallacies from whence they spring. Experience, bought at a great price, has now taught Catholics the principles enunciated by Cardinal Newman, and illustrated with all the fertility of his genius, that education, in its true sense, as the development and formation of mind and character is never safe or successful save under the rule of religion. No one has stated this more forcibly than Bishop Doyle when he writes :—

In every state, whether Christian or Pagan, the instruction of youth has been confided to the minister of religion ; for those who are esteemed capable of preaching truth and morality to the community at large, must be deemed most fit to regulate the education of children ; he to whom the father looks as an instructor for himself, must, in his opinion, be the very person to whom he would commit the care of his child.²

¹ *Ib.*, p. 25.

² *Letters to a Friend in England*, vi., p. 132.

Bishop Doyle had political and social pacification on the brain. He saw that without peace between honest and sensible men of the three nations in Ireland, as they have been called, Catholic, Established Protestant, and Presbyterian, this harmony was impossible, and to this strong passion of his soul we must attribute his uncertain, contradictory utterances on the subject of mixed education. We may add, that as in youth he was himself an instance of what he styles the influence of 'the genius of the place,' and the example of companions; the fact that this made so little impression on him, must be attributed to that fault which he recognised in his own disposition, in its excess of 'security which is mortal's chiefest enemy.' As long as the young are learning *sub tutoribus et actoribus*, whether at school or the university, their minds, as a rule, if they are to learn anything, must be in the position of passive recipients; and as to the formation of those friendships between members of different religions, so important in mixed societies, to which Bishop Doyle refers, they can be deferred to the time when education, and its controlling influences are at an end, and they go forth equipped for the battle of life, and capable of making wise decisions.

One point which is misleading remains to be noticed in the biographies before us. Both writers are enthusiastic admirers of their hero, but their ardour has led them too far when they paint him as a reformer of the Irish clergy, for the simple reason that in his time, as a body the clergy were not in need of reform. Fitzpatrick's *Life of Bishop Doyle* is, perhaps, the best Irish Church history of the first years of this century, which, if they were not so near us, would be counted the most glorious period of her national life since the ninth century, when the heathen began his work of destruction, which other heathens have continued. To say that this history is the best, is however, moderate praise, seeing that so little has been done by others. It is a serious matter therefore when Messrs. Fitzpatrick and MacDonagh set to work to depict the life, manners, and policy of the bishops and clergy of this momentous period, painting their hero as if he was a being different in kind from the rest of the

clergy. He was a vigorous administrator, and a great missionary bishop, ruling about one twenty-fourth part of the Catholics of Ireland in a country diocese; but there were bishops equally vigorous and devoted before his time, and during his time. They who are familiar with the lives of Bishop Hussey, of Waterford; Bishop Murphy, of Cork, or Bishop Egan, of Kerry, are naturally indignant at the caricatures these writers give us, as unreal as they are ludicrous, of aged prelates 'grasping a crozier with enfeebled hand,' while their priests were farming or hunting.¹

It is to be hoped that the resurrection of Bishop Doyle foreshadowed by his appearance in the 'New Irish Library,' although in so one-sided and inadequate a form, will stir up some competent writer to give us his real life, or at least to balance it by the lives of some of his contemporaries. It is a task demanding even more prudence and discrimination than a life of Cardinal Manning. When the Cardinal flung himself into political life, Gallicanism, with its half-hearted obedience to the Vicar of Christ, was dead, and the new era begun, in which the Church goes forth to the conquest of the world, perfect in all those degrees of subordination, which in the moral order reveal the unity of God. Things were very different when, four years after the fall of Napoleon, Bishop Doyle began his political work. To whom in the past, or in his own time, was he to look for example or for guidance? Abroad the old state of things, when kings controlled even the sacristies, had for a time returned. In the British Empire alone, the bishop was as independent as any other man, and it is Bishop Doyle's great glory to have been, perhaps, the first bishop in Europe, who without fear, faced the terrible problems of the Revolution. In his public career, the praise of Bishop Milner is enough; that he was 'celebrated for the splendour of his talents, and especially for his political sagacity:'² it is as great a mistake to make him master in everything, as to imply that his fellow-bishops were masters in nothing; and if his estimate of the dominion of the Vicar of Christ was far below that

¹ Fitzpatrick, i., 104. MacDonagh, p. 36,

² *Life of Milner*, Husenbeth, p. 49.

which is now universal in the Church, how many bishops at the time had ideas much more exalted?

Eighteen years after Bishop Doyle's death, and still eighteen before the Vatican Council, were they all prepared for the teaching of Cardinal Newman in his *Irish University Discourses*, when he said:—

Deeply do I feel, ever will I protest, for I can appeal to the ample testimony of history to bear me out, that, in questions of right and wrong there is nothing really strong in the world, nothing decisive and operative, but the voice of him to whom have been committed the keys of the kingdom, and the oversight of Christ's flock. That voice is now, as ever it has been, a real authority, infallible when it teaches, prosperous when it commands, ever taking the lead wisely and distinctly in its own province, adding certainty to what is probable, and persuasion to what is certain. Before it speaks, the most saintly may mistake; and after it has spoken the most gifted must obey.¹

Had Bishop Doyle reached his sixty-sixth year he would have met Cardinal Newman in Ireland. Would they have agreed? Probably we may answer in the affirmative, for they were both men who loved truth better than themselves, and better than their own devices, and so they were not ashamed to change their minds: '*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*,' said the former in his youth; and 'In a long course of years I have made many mistakes,' said the latter in his old age.

Of necessity this study is confined to the public life of Bishop Doyle. It is only indirectly that the splendour of his fiery love of God and man shines out like that of St. Charles Borromeo, who said that a good bishop should court death for his flock. This age of ours has got criticism on the brain. It costs less than study, and it is intoxicating equally to reader and critic. Everyone and everything now, past, present, and future, are summoned to the bar of the professional critic, and morning and evening verdicts are given, and sentences passed, to be reversed on the morrow. This may suit people whose one end and object

¹ *University Discourses*, p. 22. Dublin: Duffy, 1852. Truly styled 'Their Charter,' by the students in 1879: better call them the Charter of the intellectual liberties of Christian Ireland.

is to get over time and life as fast as they can, and who find that liberty uncontrolled by principle is the easiest road to this consummation. But serious men, without, as well as within the Church, are of a different way of thinking; and they refuse to allow the heroes of their race to be served up in minced meat for the critical or political table. And a hero indeed, by nature and grace, was James Kildare and Leighlin. I have ventured to liken him to St. Charles, who was consumed by his own fires at the age of forty-six. A comparison of the closing scenes of their lives will, I think, bear me out. Both faced the foe until they fell, and both died as penitents: St. Charles in his cuirass of hair, and Bishop Doyle, at his own request, received his last Communion on the cold hard bed of the floor of his own room.

W. B. MORRIS.

THE RISE OF MONASTIC LIFE

A.D. 340

A NEW volume on the monastic life¹ will be suggestive of some remedies, from a Christian standing-point, of some problems which are before the world. Those very problems, which are the long catalogue of human ills, lay open to the eyes of Christ when, on the Mount, He spoke of riches through poverty, domination through meekness, happiness through grief, repletion through hunger.

Europe, as it now stands, was built up by this divine law of contraries. Christendom was formed whilst Rome, its capital, was smouldering; its stones were barbarians, hewn and polished into sons of Abraham by monks. This can be proved only by one deeply versed in heathen knowledge, which, viewed by itself, means nothing, but taken in its context is a torch in the hands of faith. The *Pax Romana* has about it an incompleteness which vanishes when it is

¹ *The Monastic Life, from the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne.* By T. W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1895.

considered as a figure and type of Christian fulness, the *Pax Christiana*. Old Rome gathered up in its mighty hand the forces of heathen civilization. Affiliation to it was the only passport to greatness and prosperity. The city which held itself aloof was outside the pale of society, an alien, and for its people there was neither present nor future. Rome considered herself the one way to power. By me, she said, and by me alone, shall kings reign. She gathered peoples and nations to her bosom by assimilation, drawing throughout her huge empire the mystic boundaries which constituted the Roman citadel and *ager*, and conferred the proud rights of Roman citizen. Yet, in multiplying the likeness, Rome remained one and indivisible. There were not two Romes; the second would have been death to the first. It was the same with Christian Rome: Constantine called his city *Nova Roma*; but it was not Rome at all. Constantinople became the city of human ambition, and left Rome, in its ruins, to spiritual conquests. The very rule of Constantine altered with his residence, and he began at once to be an Oriental sovereign.

Monastic life was a contribution of the far East to the Roman emporium. The life-giving herb had been discovered in Egyptian solitudes, and it was brought to Rome at a moment of crisis. After centuries of persecution, the Christian people for the first time tasted peace, in virtue of Constantine's edict. The year 314 thus inaugurated a new state of things. If the Christians had been called upon to die for their faith, they were now to live for it. Constantine became sole ruler in 323, and he lost no time in making his personal influence felt. His first gift to the Church was the Council of Nicea, which sat in 325. Equally significant was the act by which he left smouldering Rome to Peter in the person of Pope St. Sylvester, and took the seat of Empire with himself to *Nova Roma*. Constantinople, the fair city which he founded, soon became synonymous with decadence; but during the years of the expiring Western Empire its power was often matched against that of Rome. Its see was raised to a patriarchate, founded on the imperial dignity, and sharing its ephemeral

fortunes. Heresy and disunion shook the throne of Constantine, for, if his sons succeeded to his inheritance, they had neither his faith nor his genius.

The Christian fathers at Nicea legislated against heresy, which in the spiritual order is revolt. They strictly defined the dogma attacked, and communicated a new impulse to the mainsprings of life, without which the venerable assembly would have spoken in vain. At that time the Egyptian desert was flowering with the prayer and toil of Paul and Anthony, the hermits. Having studied God in complete solitude, they revealed the knowledge they had thus gained, Paul to Anthony, Anthony to numerous disciples, amongst whom was St. Athanasius. It was Athanasius who brought the new science to Rome, about 340. Rome knew the higher life of the counsels in isolated instances, it might be called, unscientifically; for confessorship had prepared the way for martyrdom. Athanasius headed the ranks of those whom heresy had tortured. Arian fury would not have spared his life. In the midst of hairbreadth escapes he found time to do more than compose two treatises of rare genius. He wrote the life of Anthony, the man distinguished 'solely for his piety.'¹ It was the book which moved Augustine to conversion, blinded as he was by sin rather than by Manicheism. Athanasius wished to perpetuate the lessons of Anthony's life, as best calculated to cope with the altered state of things, and the dangers of peace. Through him the seal of Rome was set upon Monasticism as an institution.

The example of the Egyptian hermits burst forth into the cenobitic life, and produced some of the great centres which created perfect monks, even before St. Benedict's day. The science of the perfect monk may be resumed in one word of the Spanish saint, *Solo Dios basta*.² Turning their backs upon cities, they went out to God and solitude; and it must be noted that solitude was sometimes a condition of finding God. St. Chrysostom has painted, in his graphic and

¹ Διὰ δὴ μόνην θεοσεβειανῶ, Περὶ Ἀντονίου, 504.

² Page 120.

beautiful language, the corruption of Antioch. The same was true in various degrees of Rome, Alexandria, and Carthage--of any centre, in fact, which revelled in Roman civilization; that is, had learned its vices. The greatest men in the Christian hierarchy and literature, therefore, 'embraced the offspring of the desert fathers.' Basil and Augustine adopted the 'common life' in their own abodes, and shaped it according to their respective rules. 'For the first time it was profitable to temporal interests to become a Christian.'¹ The new institution provided against one of the evils arising from the incipient union of the Church and the secular power. Courtier bishops, or men too weakly cast to retain their independence, were replaced by monks who carried their strong and holy traditions into their episcopal lives. Lérins, Marmoutier, and Bangor, amongst others, were training-ground for those admirable pastors who showed forth the Christian teaching in their example, which is a voice 'louder than any trumpet.'² Lérins furnished numerous French churches with 'their most illustrious bishops.' The great monastery of Marmoutier was founded by St. Martin of Tours. Bangor, in Wales, with its nine hundred monks, emulated Irish Bangor. These men, living for God alone, prepared the future Christendom, and raised the edifice of political on the basis of spiritual unity.

Still the glories of Lérins and Marmoutier might have dimmed, and monastic life have become local and special to a very chosen few, had not the rule of St. Benedict given shape and consistency to the whole institution. If it needed one thing in order to live, it was the stamp of unity.

Benedict was born in 480; consequently his spiritual sons were in readiness to take possession of Gaul with the Franks and of Britain with the Saxons. The misery of Europe was complete. The Western Empire was collapsing, a ruin amidst ruins, and everywhere Roman society was giving way to barbarian invasion. The devastating hordes were opposed by the men of peace, for *pax* was the watchword of

¹ Page 116.

² St. Chrysostom.

Benedict. The conversion of Clovis, in 496, and of Ethelbert, a century later, marked epochs. At the end of the sixth century the numerous monasteries in Gaul had accepted the Benedictine rule, which was an admirable blending of wisdom, human and divine. It subdued without killing the natural man, and has probably been the finest contribution to what our modern scientists are pleased to call 'the survival of the fittest.' Mortification wisely practised meets hygiene half-way, and when it is combined with labour, mental or manual, it tends to prolong life to its natural span. In the titles of their chosen retreats the monks set on record the well-spring of their joy. Mr. Allies has ingeniously put them together to tell their own tale: the 'fair place,' the 'good place,' the 'beautiful place,' the 'joyous place,' the 'sweet valley,' the 'good harbour,' the 'sweet rest,' the 'blessed valley,' the 'bird's nest,' the 'sweet fountain,' the 'gate of heaven,' the 'crown of heaven,' 'God's portion,' 'God's brightness, the 'harbour of sweetness,' the 'blessed meadow,' the 'rest,' the 'comfort,' the 'joy,' are some of the most striking.¹ The hand was at work, the heart in heaven in those houses; and this made them the abodes of a happiness, which is not generally at home in this world. Tilling the soil and the finer occupations of the scriptorium were bricks in the building of Europe; and, if Mr. Allies is to be trusted, there were no heartier or more finished masons than the monks.

The meeting between Pope St. Leo and Attila, the Scourge of God, recounted in a previous volume,² was strangely typical. Unarmed and undefended, the Pope left a smouldering city to confront the barbarian, and he spoke to Attila as one 'having authority.' If Attila bent to Leo, the fierce Totila was no less softened by Benedict. The process of converting and civilizing the descendants of both Attila and Totila fell to the monks, for in the designs of Providence those very barbarians were to reconstitute the fortunes of Europe.

¹ Page 203.

² *The Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son.*

The conquests of the Church symbolized in Pope St. Leo and Benedict were moral, and in striking contrast to those of old Rome. For instance, whilst Roman legions were victorious from sea to sea, Roman legislation totally failed to produce domestic life. The Church founded the Christian family through a sacrament. 'Until death do us part' had been the secret yearning of the Roman matron, who wrote *uni viro* on her tomb. If Christian marriage was the bulwark of society, monastic life was the fortification of the bulwark itself. To those valiant enough to give up all worldly joys for Christ's sake, it showed forth a new home as much more blessed than the family home as divine love is greater and more blessed than human affection.

The conversion of the Saxons by monks is an idyll in monastic annals. Religion and poetry meet and embrace. The noblest in the land, not the bruised hearts whom the world rejected, chose God for their inheritance. Ethelreda, alone, confutes Protestant prejudice. A queen for twelve years, a wife only in name, she esteemed herself happy when at last she was able to turn her back upon the court, and to exchange her crown for the veil of religion.

These new forces of the Christian faith were fully required in order to beat off the impetus of Mahommed's flood. Under Roman legislation it would have swept away the poor semblances of morality which remained. The false prophet had no greater opponent in the world than Benedict, who, a man of peace, furnished other men with the internal armour and breast-plate of resistance. Mahommed pandered to every illicit desire of fallen nature, whereas the rule of Benedict converted man into an angel. 'The barem fought the monastery,'¹ and the monks in their meekness were the army who broke the victorious course of the Crescent. From the beginning of his labours on the *Formation of Christendom*, the philosophy of history has ever been the salient feature of Mr. Allies' writings. He throws a light on the dullest page of petty struggles or uninteresting personalities. The dreary story of barbarian

invasions, sapping at the sources of life and society, acquires a new significance, for 'from these undisciplined, regardless raiders the forming of Christian nations began.'¹ The long travail of three hundred years was inaugurated by Pope St. Leo going out to meet Attila, and persuading him by earnest words not to erase Rome from the face of the earth.

Those three hundred years of mysterious growth from Attila to Charlemagne culminated in the definite formation of Christendom, which is the union of Christian nations under one head. The successor to the effete Western Empire was chosen by Pope St. Leo III., the successor not only to Empire, but the founder of the Christian State, which was a creation of the Church. The fortunes of *Nova Roma* exhibited a State on the heathen lines: From the beginning it was a perfect type of Erastianism, and so it continued to the end, hostile to the Pope, and seeking every opportunity of reducing him to the rank of its first subject. There are instances on record of Popes sent to *Nova Roma* to bide the Emperor's pleasure. Could the Pope's moral liberty of action have been taken away, the Church would have become the handmaid of imperial power, national instead of universal. Such slavery would have been her funeral knell.

It would certainly seem that there is no longer an ideal Christian state. The battle-field has changed, and with it, the forces of Christendom, which now lie in the heart of the Christian people, scattered over the world. Absolute monarchy is not the evil—if it be an evil—to be feared, but absolute democracy, a cruel tyrant when he takes for his device *ni Dieu ni Maitre*. Christendom, then, as it now exists, the union of all the faithful under one head, must produce a democracy which shall not be all bad. Some ardent spirits may speak of an ideal democracy, but that is hardly possible. Humility is at the basis of Christian law, and there is no humility in democracy.

This volume on the *Monastic Life* completes the history

of the foundations, or as the author calls it, of the *Formation*.¹ It traces back to the Christian life and spirit whatever we may now possess of order and stability, government and morality. The thought of Christendom is familiar enough to most men, yet, in these stirring nineteenth century days of progress, who stops to consider its builders—Popes and Monks?

Ἀληθῆς.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

I.

THE story of the Exiles of Erin, in its general outline, has been well told by many brilliant pens. Their footsteps have been traced with loving care by writers whose hearts burned with sympathy for the heroism and manifold sufferings of their dispersed brethren, and the record of this saddest outcome of our national sorrows has an assured place in the historical literature of our people. Those who follow in this work may therefore restrict themselves to the particular facts they wish to illustrate, assuming as securely established the great principles which explain the exodus of Irishmen from their native land, and which interpret, in a way honourable to our national sentiment, the historic facts from which this sad necessity arose.

There is an aspect of history in which a nation's sufferings are a dishonour to its name; defeat is a stain upon its standard, and overthrow is a sufficient reason to bring contempt upon its children. The school which holds this view logically is bound to laugh at the fall of peoples who have failed in securing power for their race, and have been beaten in the struggle for existence; the 'survival of the fittest' is taken in this context to mean the victory of those who have succeeded, no matter what the motive or the means of their success may have been. But this cannot be a true canon of

¹ *The Formation of Christendom*, by T. W. Allies.

history; it would consecrate all the successful crimes of which there are so many in the story of the nations, and against such a view the conscience of the world revolts. The true criterion of the relative worth of nations, as of men, must be found in their ideals; those who serve higher principles, no matter what their economic failure, must be adjudged a higher place than they who have served lower ones, no matter how great their political success. This is an extension of the principles which underlie our judgments of individuals, and must be true of the *ens morale* resulting from their aggregation. We do not judge a man by his stature, and a Napoleon with his diminutive figure was worth a thousand grenadiers of the guard; our friends and our heroes are those whose minds were filled with higher principles, and whose hearts are consecrated to such service. Expanded to the proportions of a nation, this would mean that great armies and clever policy do not constitute its worth. Such strength may sustain the greatest crimes, and consequently its true value must be known through the analysis of the purposes to which it has been devoted.

Such an inquiry favours Irish history; it makes its sorrows almost joys, and lines all its clouds with sunshine. It is better die for a truth than live for a falsehood; it is better die in exile in the service of God than live at home chained to false altars built by the enemies of His Church; and, when this choice was proposed to our forefathers, they were given the supreme grace to choose what was the better of the two, and spurn with sublime contempt what was infinitely the worse. In this way one sees how the exiles of Erin, in their deepest distress, were victors in a very true sense; in their apparent overthrow they preserved their faith and their honour inviolate, their sufferings being not the measure of their weakness, but the fire-test of their heroic devotion and supernatural strength.

These reflections sustained my national pride when I first met with the annals of the Irish in Brittany. They are not such as would awaken pleasurable thoughts in the heart of one whose historic school was that of the late Mr. Froude; they are a sad story of broken lives; homeless outcasts, whose

wretchedness seemed a miserable setting for a picture in which there was so much nobleness and real grandeur. But all their weakness and poverty is forgotten when we recall their lives before they had fallen into this sad condition, and it becomes the source of our pride and pleasure that we have common name with those who played such a noble part in the great drama of our national history.

While I have entitled this paper the 'Irish Exiles in Brittany,' I do not propose to follow their history through the full extent of this province. The resources at my command confine me to the diocese where I write, and I shall be obliged to leave the fuller treatment of my theme to another time, and probably to other hands. I have found it no easy task to collect the documents which sustain my narrative; indeed, I could not have succeeded had I been left to my own researches. I have, it must be confessed, little talent, and scarcely enough of leisure to devote to the searching of archives and the laborious collation of authorities which is a necessary foundation of solid history, and could not have undertaken the task of weaving together the many threads of which the chronicle of our people in Brittany is composed had I not been helped by other hands. My thanks are due in a special way to the Very Rev. Canon Delorme, of Nantes, who has devoted many years to the collection of facts and documents bearing upon my subject, and has with great courtesy placed all his laborious work at my disposal.¹ The nature of his labour will not appear at once from the reading of the results; this is a necessary adjunct of historical studies. To verify a date there is often need of weeks of searching, and the correct form of a name sometimes entails the writing of half-a-dozen letters. The ease with which I can use his hardly-won material shows how much more pleasant it is to spend a fortune than to make it. I hope this acknowledgment will suffice to mark my sense of the great kindness of this estimable priest and learned archæologist, who already assured on many titles of the honour

¹ I wish also to acknowledge, in a very special way, the kind offices of M. l'Abbé Delanoue, Vicar of St. Denatien, Nantes.

and esteem of his own people, has earned the gratitude of the Irish race by his devotion to the memory of the exiles of Erin who in the past made their home in Brittany.

II.

The earliest emigration from Ireland to Brittany, according to the best authorities,¹ took place during the course of the sixteenth century, and the numbers were increased towards its close when the storm of religious persecution raged more fiercely at home. This latter period synchronized with the terrible excesses of the Elizabethan period, when flight was the only safety for those who preserved the ancient faith. The first of those confessors to touch the coasts of America was the Right Rev. Adam Magauran, Bishop of Mayo, who was preconized to that see on 25th July, 1585, in succession to the Right Rev. Patrick O'Hely, who had been put to death for the faith.² The new pastor endeavoured to fill the arduous position to which the Holy See had called him, and held the field for some short time. But two years after his creation he was compelled by the terrible circumstances of the period to relinquish the work, and his crozier became the staff of the pilgrim. No more venerable figure could be imagined to lead the sad procession which was to follow. Venerable from his years as from his high ecclesiastical position, he so touched the hearts of the authorities in this good city of Nantes, that they, in an instrument still to be seen in the Communal archives,³ endeavoured to provide for his more urgent needs. It would be hard to conceive a more pathetic document than that in which the public charity of the city is registered; it gives in its simple phraseology a touching picture of the broken and desolate old man, and enables us in some way to realize the terrible sufferings of those who, in the day of national trial, preserved the faith to our race. The following is an authentic copy taken from the Municipal Archives:—

A Révérend Père en Dieu, Adam Evesque de Majone au royaume d'Ibernye ou Irlande, six escus sol à lui ordonnés par

¹ *Annales de Bretagne*, 1894, p. 524.

² Brady: *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 156.

³ *Inventaire des archives Comm.*, c. 127, 1586-1589.

aumône que la ville lui aurait faite en considération de sa pauvreté et de sa vieillesse et de son exil et bannissement de son pays, par la force et la violence des hérétiques du dit pays d'Irlande ou d'Ibernye et de la Roynie d'Angleterre qui l'auroit chassé, spolié et mis hors de son pays et bénéfice, et pour lui donner moyen de s'en retourner à ses affaires.

This is the only mention of Dr. Magauran that I can find in the archives of Nantes ; it is certainly honourable to him, and does not discredit the hospitality of Brittany. The alms given to him does not appear to be very generous, even taking into account the changed values of currency, but it marks a municipal act of sympathy with his sorrows, his years, and his sacred cause. In this respect it is significant of the Catholic spirit of this city, which during its history has been always noted for its piety and religious zeal.

The venerable exile doubtless met with many other sympathizers on the banks of the Loire, who enabled him to realize the wish of the City Fathers, and gave him the further means needed for his return to his flock and pastoral duties. But his subsequent history is clearly outside the scope of this paper, which professes to deal only with the Irish exiles in so far as they had associations with the province of Brittany.

The seventeenth century brought with its opening days a renewal of the worst features of persecution to the Irish people. The executioner was once more active in his propaganda of the principles of the Reformation, and the gallows dripped with the blood of the confessors of the faith. Yet this process could not well reach the great body of the people : it was reserved for the leaders of the Church, and for the more distinguished laymen who bravely held the faith of their fathers. For the rest a substitute for capital punishment was found in confiscation of estates for those who were wealthy, and imprisonment and torture for those who were not favoured with the goods of fortune. Soon the prisons were filled with the refractory Celts, who could not be induced to deny their faith, and the authorities began to complain of the expense of sustaining enemies of the Queen's Government. To meet this condition of things it was

enacted that all guilty of professing the Catholic belief, who did not hold property to a certain amount, should be compelled, three months after their arrest, to either embrace the Anglican Creed or quit the Kingdom.

It goes without saying what the issue of this decree was ; the Irish Catholics gave up home and country, and became outcasts rather than deny what was deeper in their hearts than even the love of fatherland. In their search of a new home, numbers of these exiles came towards the coasts of France, and, as a French authority tells us, 'Brittany was invaded, and taken in assault by an army of mendicants.' The strangers seem to have justified this description ; they became, according to a very sober and careful historian, a source of public danger. They carried things with a high hand, considering their situation. They overran the country, and in the villages near the coast forcibly lodged themselves in the homes of the natives. The result of this action may be easily foreseen. Brittany forgot its generosity, and endeavoured to defend itself from what really appears to have been a species of hostile invasions. Parliament was appealed to, and it was enacted 'that the public be forbidden to bring the Irish into Brittany,' and ordered 'that this decree be published especially in the maritime towns.' The lower authorities took in hand the enforcement of this law, and our poor countrymen had evidently a very hard time of it. Public opinion was aroused, not unnaturally one would say, against them, and every city took measures to hinder their coming inside the corporate boundaries. The history of the Breton Parliament puts their case in words which I shall cite as they stand, in the hope that their severity may be, in some sort, veiled by their foreign dress : 'On se mit à les traquer comme vagabonds.'

In these very extreme circumstances our poor countrymen turned to Nantes in the hope of better treatment. In this they were emboldened by the fact that some Portuguese refugees had recently come to this city, and against the protest of the authorities had been sustained by the royal power. The King took them under his protection and safeguard, and the city was compelled to submit to their

presence. If the Irish exiles looked for such good fortune, they were disappointed in it, and the royal authority put no stay upon the vigorous measures of the corporation against them. The city fathers would have nothing of them, as will be seen by the following ordinance dated May 15, 1605:—

Pour le regard des Irlandais qui sont à présent vagans et en grand nombre par ceste ville et forsbourgs, lesquels a esté proposé de chasser et d'envoyer, ladite assemblee a advisé et delibéré, afin de purger la ville de telle sort de gens et esviter aux inconveniens de maladie, qu'ils seront chassez et envoyez par mer en quelque vaisseau ou navire aux despans de la ville, aux lieux où il sera advisé par le corps de ladite ville. Et pour cet effet, y sera employé jusques à la somme de huit à neuf cents livres, si tant en faut, des deniers de la ville de toute nature.

It would be difficult to fancy a more energetic document than this: the strangers were looked upon as a danger to the public health, and the city desired to be free of them as if they were an epidemic; they were to be hunted and deported at the public expense, and thrown finally upon the first land that would be weak enough to suffer their presence or good enough to succour their misery. The determination of the civic authorities is further and practically shown by the sum voted for this purpose, which points also to the numbers which the Irish immigration must have reached at this juncture. Without means or friends it remained only to the exiles to bow before this storm, and we find them in a short time disperse through the other sections of Western France.

Towards the year 1622, the tide of Irish immigration again set in towards Brittany, and the new-comers became noted for the same spirit as had brought upon their fore-runners the anger of the people and the rigour of the law. The account of their progress through the province reads like an inroad of a hostile force, and certainly did not become the position of those who, at most, could but reasonably ask for asylum from a sympathetic people. The minutes of the Breton Parliament speak of them in this way:—

Ils courent le pais et font degast universel en telle sorte que lesdits habitants du pais ne pouvant les contenter sont contrainctz de quicter et abandoner leur maisons, ce qui peut causer, oltre

la perte du bien, de grandes malladyes : et sobz ce prétexte, les ennemys du roy pourroient faire des entreprises sur ses places et serviteurs.¹

It is hard to explain this mode of action on the part of our expatriated countrymen, and certainly no one can complain that the Bretons took extreme measures to defend themselves. The result was that the Irish had to leave the country and seek asylum in other parts. Some few succeeded in settling in Nantes, as there is on record that letters of naturalization were obtained for some who became citizens of this city between 1622 and 1628.² What the reason of this better treatment may have been, we have no evidence to satisfactorily establish. It may be that those favoured ones were of gentler condition than those others who make such a sorry figure in the annals of Brittany, and they, perhaps, gave security by their social standing and intelligence for the right use of the citizenship they acquired. From the year 1628 to 1651 there is no record of a similar privilege having been accorded to persons of Irish birth or lineage.

Towards the year 1649, an incident occurred which shows the exiles in a better light and proves the hospitable spirit with which the City of Nantes was always ready to receive those who were worthy of its good-will. Some nuns arrived from Ireland, and took up their residence at Richebourg, one of its environs. They became at once an object of interest to the authorities, who, hastened to inform them that all strangers, of whatever condition, needed the permission of the Corporation to permanently fix their residence within the city jurisdiction. An inquiry was at once instituted, and the Commissioners appointed made the following interesting report to the Corporation on July 17th of the above year:—

Ce jour, Messieurs de la Grunerre Rabeau, sous-Maire et Touraine, procureur syndic, ont fait leur rapport au bureau comme ils ont, en consequence de leur commission, descendu, lundi dernier onzieme de Juillet, présent mois et an, au logis où

¹ Arch. du Parement : Minutes de grande chambre, 1622.

² Archives depart. Nantes.

sont logées les religieuses de Richebourg. Auquel logis, ils auroient veu soeur Marie-Baptiste, Superieure et Catharine de Roches,agée de environ 14 ans, interprette, par la bouche de laquelle, ladite Superieure leur auroit dit qu'elles sont huit religieuses de l'ordre de Sainte Elizabeth, reformé, venues d'Irlande dans un vaisseau que commandait un nommé le Prince d'un port et havre de l'entree de cette riviere de Loire. Estant pressées par les gens de guerre parlementaires ennemis de la religion Catholique, elles avoient en dessein de passer du lieu où elles estoient dans un autre lieu plus seur, où il y a des religieuses de leur ordre. Mais elles n'avoient pu, à cause que lesdits gens de guerre tenoient la campagne et occupèrent les chemins et passages, et ainsi avoient esté contraintes de se jeter dans le vaisseau dudit Prince pour éviter la furie dudit ennemis. Elles estoient arrivées au Croisie¹ il y a environ six à sept mois, d'où elles s'estoient rendues à la Fosse² et de là avoient esté reçues par la damoiselle de Moire, veufve, dans sa maison, en ceste ville de Nantes, rue de Verdun. Et environ la feste de Pasque estoient venues demeurer dans la maison de la Brigollière où elles sont à présent. Laquelle maison avait esté louée pour deux ans qui ont commencé à la feste de Noël dernière, par feu Monsieur l'Archidiacre à Monsieur Sanguin. Elles ont veu et vivent encore par les charités des gens de bien de ceste ville et forsbourgs, où elles ne desiront point s'habituer en communauté, ni y demeurer qu'en attendant qu'il plaise à Dieu leur donner la paix et la liberte de retourner en leur pays où elle souhaitent s'en aller sitost qu'elles sauront qu'il y a seureté. Elles vont ouïr la messe en l'eglise des Peres minimes et sont ouyes en confession par un religieux Recollet de leur país qui est venu avec elles et est à présent demeurant dans une maison du meme forbourg de Richebourg où elles sont. Elles ont prins une servante pour achepter ce qui leur est nécessaire pour vivre et ladite Catharine pour leur servir d'interprette. Ladite Catharine n'a ni père ni mère et est venue en ce país depuis les quatre ans derniers du pays d'Irlande d'où elles est native et qu'elle a demeuré longtemps à la Fosse avec sa deffunte mère en la rue des Capucins et que sa dite mère l'écabla quinze jours ou environ avant l'arrivée desdites religieuses. Qu'il est vrai qu'elles ont fait demander à Monsieur³ de Nantes permission de faire dire la messe dans la maison où elles sont, afin de n'estre point obligées de sortir et d'observer en quelque façon le voeu de closture, qu'elles ont fait ; à quoi mon dit sieur³ de Nantes auroit respondu qu'il y pourvoiroit.

This document under its archaic form and cold legal

¹ A town on the estuary of the Loire.

² A quarter of the city near the river.

³ Monseigneur, the Bishop of Nantes.

directness tells a story that is very creditable to these poor religious. It shows them reduced to the last extremity of want, living on alms begged in a foreign city, and at the same time living up to the exigencies of their rule and solicitous for its observance under circumstances in which even a very rigid theology would have left them a large measure of liberty. We are not told what was the issue of this municipal inquiry; we do not know whether they had to suffer like their less worthy compatriots the sentence of banishment, but we may assume from the countenance given them by the bishop that they remained unmolested until a favourable turn in affairs enabled them to return to their native land. In point of fact, Travers, in his history of Nantes,¹ says there is no further mention of their names in the archives of the city, and subjoins to the account above given that the religious soon after left Brittany for Ireland.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century a great and favourable change took place in French sentiment with respect to the Irish exiles in France. The severity of the early days of the century was laid aside, and honour and hospitality were freely and nobly given to the refugees. Many things contributed to this new policy: the character of the strangers was far other than that of those who first felt the weight of persecution and defeat, and, then, perhaps, the political situation of the time explains a great deal of the new policy. Of the political sympathy between France and the Royalists in Ireland we need not speak; it is an historical fact which may be assumed in these pages; but to investigate the character of the new *immigrés* is part of our purpose in compiling these notes. They were the victims of the Cromwellian *regime*, and counted among their numbers some of the most distinguished Irishmen of that day. Bishops, priests, and nobles were obliged to fly from home, and on their arrival in France they at once in public estimate rose to the dignity of martyrs to an noble and just cause, and confessors of the true religion common to both peoples.

¹ *Histoire de Nantes*, iii., p. 341.

They had, for the most part, lost all in the battle for life and liberty, and were suppliants for even the necessities of food and clothing. In a manuscript history¹ of Nantes we read of them :—

Beaucoup de ces braves champions de la fidélité et du malheur étaient dans le plus grand dénûment. Les prêtres qui les accompagnaient furent réduits à vivre d'aumônes et de faibles honoraires dont on retribuait quelques actes de leur ministère.

Reduced to such straits these great sufferers for a lost cause did not appeal to France in vain; means were lavished on them by the generosity of the King and the people, and these favours were repaid by the loyal service they gave to their generous patrons. During the Fronde troubles the King was touched by the fidelity to the throne evinced by the Irish exiles, and ordered the sum of £1,200 be placed yearly at the disposal of those who were at Bordeaux alone.² Parliaments followed the royal example, and some of the grants to individuals surprise one by their amount; the historian Hamard gives an instance of a bishop who was given annually over 3,000 fr.² In this way Bretons generously made amends for the rigorous treatment with which the earlier Irish exiles had been received in Brittany.

When the Jacobite cause was finally overthrown in 1689 and 1690, France became the rendezvous of all those who still followed the royal fortunes. James II. passed through Nantes in 1689, and made some stay in the Chateau of this city. He was received with more honours than he deserved; as the historian of the time says: 'Il fut reçu au bruit d'artillerie, la millice bourgeoise étant sous les armes.' His coming had the very happy result of bringing still more honour and public consequence to his Irish followers, many of whom chose Nantes and Brittany as their second home. Their descendants are still to be met in Nantes, and retain a warm love for the

¹ *Bibliothèque Publique de Nantes.*

² Louis XIV. en fut tellement touché que le 22 Novembre, 1653, l'accorda à ceux de Bordeaux la somme de douze cents livres, par chacun an. *Histoire Card. de Sourdis.* Ravaln, p. 77.

³ Il y eut un évêque qui chaque année recut jusqu' à trois cents pistoles.

land of their ancestors, which most of them have never seen. But their names will always remind them of their past associations with Ireland, and the Dillons and M'Carthys among them will never succeed in obliterating their Hibernian origin. Many of them have reached high positions in the Church and army, and their characters reflect much of the splendid spirit which lifted their fathers into name and honour in the olden days.

I have gathered these authentic particulars of the Irish exiles in Nantes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and venture to think the record will not be wanting in interest to all who cherish the memories of those who played such a characteristic part in our history. I hope at some future time to continue the narrative of the seventeenth century when the interest will be increased by reason of the personages concerned, and of the very notable facts associated with their names. This interest is largely, if not entirely, of an ecclesiastical nature, as might be conjectured from the causes which made exile a sad necessity for those much-tried men. They had won name and reverence at home because of their splendid work in the sanctuary, and this *rôle* they continued to play in the years they were forced to spend abroad. Many of them rest in the soil of Brittany, and their graves are unknown and forgotten, but enough remains of their history to prove that their lives were not unworthy of the best traditions of their native country.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF 'THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

IV.

IN my last communication I put forward the overwhelming evidence of contemporary witnesses in favour of a Kempis as the author of *The Imitation*. If space permitted I might have added considerably thereto, but this seemed needless in view of the personal and domestic nature of the testimony adduced, which came largely from those who either knew Thomas himself, or were intimate with his companions. Before leaving this subject I may observe that Thomas is the *only* candidate in whose favour a *single* contemporary witness can be produced.

If I stopped here I believe no rational person could doubt his authorship; but, for reasons already named, and to complete the statement of his case, I think it well to show something of the *External Evidence* of the various manuscripts in the same direction, and also the *Internal Evidence* which the book itself similarly offers.

II.—*External Evidence of Manuscripts*

This branch of the controversy covers so wide a field that it would be impossible to treat it fully in the present essay, and I must confine myself to little more than an abstract of the conclusions to which it inevitably leads. I shall commence with a few observations touching the age of the manuscripts. This is a matter of necessity, in order to demolish certain baseless fabrics erected by a Kempis' adversaries with the design of invalidating his claims.

In the first place, I may state, with what I am satisfied is incontrovertible certainty, that *no manuscript of 'The Imitation of Christ' has ever been produced of an age antecedent to the mature manhood of Thomas à Kempis—that is to say, the first third of the fifteenth century.* We may find many efforts made to discredit this statement, but not one is in the slightest degree worthy of credence.

The various manuscripts, numbering four hundred and twenty, may be classified into those which are dated and those without date. The earliest dated manuscript, worthy of confidence, is that from Hattem, near Zwolle, and it bears the record 1424. Let it be remembered that at this period à Kempis was forty-four years of age.

There exists one manuscript bearing the dates 1384 and 1385, to which I must allude at some length, for the purpose of showing that it is not worthy of the smallest confidence.

The codex in question is named the 'Paulanus'; it comes originally from the Benedictine monastery of Wiblingen, and now belongs to that of St. Paul, in Carinthia. Oddly enough it has only recently been brought prominently to light. Dom Wolfsgruber, in his work on John Gersen, gives a description of the manuscript and a facsimile of the two last pages. He writes with praiseworthy caution, and candidly avows that there are many difficulties connected with it! As the foregoing dates, referring to a period when à Kempis was a child, would, if genuine, manifestly displace him, I felt convinced that a thorough investigation of this manuscript should be made, all the more so as I demonstrated in my essay of 1887 that the account given of it by its sponsor, Dom Wolfsgruber, of Vienna, is most unsatisfactory. Accordingly I wrote to Dom Augustine Duda, the Abbot of St. Paul's, asking permission to examine the codex, and to photograph such portions as I deemed necessary.

In due course my request was granted, and in the autumn of 1889, properly equipped, I made the journey—six days from Dublin—and was most kindly received. It gives me great pleasure to record here the perfect freedom I was allowed at St. Paul's, both by the Reverend Abbot, and Dom Achatz, the Hofmeister of the monastery, and to state my conviction of the good faith and love of truth with which they permitted me to examine and photograph the manuscript, for whose shortcomings they certainly are in no way accountable. It came to them from Wiblingen, after many vicissitudes, for preservation and safe keeping, and involves them in no responsibility whatever. I have pub-

lished the result in the *Précis Historiques*, Brussels, May, 1890, and shall here merely record it in a few words :—

First. The writing of the Paulanus manuscript shows it to belong to the sixteenth century, about one hundred years after the death of à Kempis !—

Secondly. The dates are all clumsy forgeries !—

Thirdly, create the Paulanus manuscript for ever.

Respecting the undated manuscripts it will be necessary to consider their value in the controversy with some care. À Kempis' adversaries made vigorous efforts to turn their uncertain ages into weapons against him, with what result we shall soon see. I need not, in these days of more perfect information and knowledge, allude to the wild statements of enthusiasts like Dom Cajetan and De Grégory, who were foolhardy enough to attribute the Arona and Avogadro manuscripts to the thirteenth century. No one hears of such eccentricity now without a smile ; but there are still to be found theorists—like Wolfsgruber, Puyol, Loth, and others—who would argue that some of the undated manuscripts of *The Imitation* may belong to the end of the fourteenth or first years of the fifteenth centuries ; in other words, to a period when Thomas à Kempis was too young to have been the author. This theory must be first discounted, and then weighed against the positive facts which point to him as the author.

The consideration of the undated manuscripts of *The Imitation* brings us at once to the subject of paleography,—the science of determining the age of an undated manuscript, from its style, writing, abbreviations, &c. Obviously if one single manuscript of *The Imitation* could be definitely proved to have been written at the end of the fourteenth, or the very commencement of the fifteenth century, the claims of Thomas à Kempis should be abandoned at once and for ever ; *but this is exactly what has never been done, despite all efforts.* For centuries his adversaries have searched the libraries of Europe, but their long-wished-for manuscript *has not been found.* Not a single manuscript of *The Imitation* which has been put forward by à Kempis'

adversaries as of date excluding his authorship has stood the test of paleographic science, or been shown to be earlier than his middle age. I may here observe that the claims made for the Italian codices named above, in this connection, are thus annihilated.

It is a very significant fact that Father Denifle, who, as subarchivist of the Vatican Library, must have exceptional knowledge of dated Italian manuscripts of all ages, and therefore be an excellent judge of those which are not dated, asserts positively that every single one of the manuscripts of *The Imitation* put forward by the Gersenists belongs to the fifteenth century, and not the earliest portion of it. Let it be clearly understood and remembered, anent the arguments of those who contend for an imaginary author of the thirteenth century, that, while the libraries of Europe are filled with manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, not a solitary codex of *The Imitation of Christ* has been examined by this highly skilled expert, Father Denifle, which he does not declare to belong to the fifteenth century and not the commencement of it!

In fine, *it may be confidently repeated that not a single manuscript of 'The Imitation,' dated or undated, can be shown to be antecedent to à Kempis' middle age.*

Taking the manuscripts of *The Imitation*, dated and undated, as a whole, they offer a very remarkable subject for study and analysis. In number they amount at present to about four hundred and twenty, and their derivation and origin may be roughly stated as follows:—Twenty-five belong to France, nineteen to Italy, fifteen to England, while the rest—just three hundred and sixty-one—appertain to Germany, and especially the lower district of Germany, including Holland and the Low Countries, which formed part of Germany at the period when *The Imitation* appeared. Further, when we come to examine each manuscript carefully, we find that about sixty point to Thomas à Kempis by indications more or less definite, and the great preponderance of the whole show contact and amity between Windesheim and the various monastic institutions from which they emanate.

Thus a Kempis' candidature is supported, in the manuscripts by an irresistible mass of probability.

This subject, if fully worked out, would need thirty or forty pages to develope, and this I cannot give at present; neither is it necessary, because anyone who chooses can read Father Becker's essay on the subject, which I merely epitomize. His research, with the pitiless logic of fact, leaves no room for doubt as to the origin of *The Imitation* in the heart of the school of which Thomas was the recognised exponent, historian, and writer.

Let me revert for a moment here to a Kempis' own manuscript of 1441, already quoted. The four first essays in that codex are the four books of *The Imitation*, followed by nine other treatises, which have come down to us as his undisputed works. If, then, we reject Thomas as the author of *The Imitation*, we must accept the impossible theory that he deliberately placed in front of his own compositions four treatises which he knew were not his! The idea is too absurd for consideration.

To conclude this subject of the evidence of the manuscripts, I would urge that it bears irresistibly in favour of a Kempis, and this is most significant when we remember all the circumstances of the case—his obscurity, the anonymous appearance of the book, the ignorance of the world at large as to its origin, and the spirit of indifference of the Windesheimers as to any claim for its paternity. Let it be borne in mind, too, that as a Kempis is the *only* candidate for whom a *single* contemporary witness can be cited, so also he is the *sole* one in whose favour any manuscript can be produced which was written either during that candidate's lifetime or shortly after his death.

III.—*Internal Evidence.*

When we come to examine *The Imitation* closely, we find so many internal evidences which point to Thomas a Kempis as the author, that the main difficulty lies in knowing where to commence their description.

In the first place, as regards the style in which the book is written. It is needless to observe, to those who are

familiar with Thomas' works, that *The Imitation* constitutes less than *one-tenth* of the whole. Between it and the rest there is so remarkable a similarity of thought, language, and idiom, that it seems impossible to doubt that all are the product of one mind and the work of one hand. This point has been developed by many early writers upon the subject, such as Rosweyd, Hesel, and Amort; and later authorities, especially Malou, Hirsche, Spitzen, and Becker, have taken great pains to clear it up, and with remarkable success. The works of the four last-named authors are easily accessible to all.

To instance the similarity of thought and choice of subjects Malou gives a list of the parallelisms existing between *The Imitation of Christ* and the other works of à Kempis, such as the *Sermons to the Novices*, *The Soliloquy of the Soul*, *The Garden of Roses*, and *Valley of Lilies*. Some years ago I translated à Kempis' *Manuale Parvulorum*, and in the second edition gave a table of the similar passages found in it and in *The Imitation*. These are but selections from the many which might be offered. The opponents of à Kempis will argue that this merely proves his familiarity with *The Imitation*; but such a plea cannot stand. If he quoted *The Imitation* verbatim, it might be said that he copied from it, but was not its author. This he never does. He only develops in his other works the ideas contained in *The Imitation*, but in no instance refers to it. The inference is obvious. Some of à Kempis' adversaries lay stress upon the *supposed* inferiority of his other writings as compared with *The Imitation*. This argument is partly baseless and wholly inapplicable. It would appear that many who rely on it have not studied his compositions attentively. To those who have done so the conclusion is totally different. Rosweyd, one of the most erudite scholars of his time, profoundly versed in this subject, gives us his opinion in what I hold to be an aphorism. He says, 'As a rose has the perfume of a rose, so also *The Imitation of Christ* is like to the other writings of Thomas à Kempis.' Alban Butler, the author of *The Lives of the Saints*, unquestionably a very competent judge, denies the asserted inequality of many of

the acknowledged works of à Kempis as contrasted with *The Imitation*, and specially instances *The Three Tabernacles* and the treatise *On True Compunction*. To these I might add very many other productions of the holy Canon of Agnetenberg. Coustou, a skilled expert on this point, is of the same opinion. So also is Milman. Last, but certainly not least, I may mention Dr. Carl Hirsche, one of the most learned judges on this subject of modern days. This author, the discoverer of the peculiar punctuation adopted by Thomas both in *The Imitation* and in his other works, after an exhaustive investigation of them all, has arrived at the definite conclusion that he, and he alone, could have been the author of the great book.

Taking this argument at its fullest value, and admitting that some of à Kempis' works do not equal *The Imitation*, I would ask the question,—Are all authors even in their various compositions? Beyond question we must admit they are not. Few would compare St. Augustine's *City of God*, St. Thomas of Aquin's *Summa Theologica*, or St. Francis de Sales' *Introduction to a Devout Life*, with their other works; or, to come to an example in our own language, no one familiar with the works of John Bunyan would attempt to contrast *The Pilgrim's Progress* with the rest of his productions. In like manner we admit the obvious fact that à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* is his masterpiece, embodying not alone his own ascetical knowledge, but also the accumulated wisdom of the 'School of Windesheim,' from which it will be seen he borrowed largely.

While *The Imitation* comprises all the spirituality of the school which Thomas represented, his other works were written, doubtless often comparatively hastily, for different audiences, and more as dissertations on the principles inculcated in his great *chef d'œuvre*. Even so, many of them, I assert confidently, are quite worthy of the author of *The Imitation of Christ*.

We shall next allude to the peculiarities of diction which we find both in *The Imitation of Christ* and in à Kempis' other works. Wonderfully touching and epigrammatic as

its language undoubtedly is, no one would venture to hold it up as a model of classical Latinity. On the contrary, it is so manifestly uncouth that attempts have been made, very unsuccessfully, to amend the text. Sebastian Castellio's paraphrase is the most widely known of these efforts. The peculiarities of the original depend greatly on certain unusual elements, including a number of barbarisms, Italianized words, words used in a peculiar sense, and abundant Dutch idioms.

My object in dwelling upon these topics is to impress upon my readers the facts : first, that we find certain very marked singularities in the language of *The Imitation* ; secondly, that these same traits appear in all the other works of à Kempis ; and, finally, that from thence we are led to infer that he was the author.

One characteristic of the language of *The Imitation* is the presence of barbarisms. For example, the word *alta* is used to signify *sublime*, *tenere* in place of *aestimare*, *redient* for *redibunt*, *totum* for *omne*, and so on interminably. Now, we find the same rare terms, used in the same sense, throughout à Kempis' other works. To argue that this parallelism is the result of accident is to adopt an utterly untenable position.

Again, the author of *The Imitation* frequently uses Italianized words, such as *regratiari*, *pensare*, *querulando*, *sentimenta*, *bassare*, &c. An attempt has been made to utilize this fact as an argument that the author was an Italian ; but if this be true, Thomas à Kempis must have been an Italian, because we find all his writings filled with these words !

We notice the frequent occurrence of the word 'devotus' in *The Imitation* and in à Kempis' other works. Despite all cavil, the peculiar sense in which this word is constantly used in designating the members of 'The Modern Devotion' is very characteristic, and significant of the common authorship of all the works in question.

I have stated that the language of *The Imitation* partakes largely of a Dutch character, both in conception and idiom. It is needless to observe how important a corroboration this

offers in favour of Thomas. A German by birth, while still a boy he came to Holland, where he remained for the rest of his life. Naturally, he came to speak, think, and write as a Dutchman. This peculiarity of the Latinity of *The Imitation*, while it bears witness in favour of a Kempis, especially when coupled with other evidence, is sufficient to annihilate the claims of Gerson, or of the imaginary Italian Benedictine author. An erudite Frenchman like Gerson could not have written Latin full of Dutch idioms, not one of which is to be found throughout his voluminous writings, and such a feat would have been equally impossible for an Italian. This philological aspect of the subject is one which could not be satisfactorily treated in the present sketch, but I shall give a few illustrations.

The only language into which *The Imitation* can be translated literally is the Dutch. Let us take a few examples of the Flemish idioms which pervade the book from cover to cover. If a Dutchman wishes to say that he knows a book *by heart*, he says, 'van buiten,' that is, *outside*. Now, we find the author of *The Imitation* turns this phrase into Latin—barbarous no doubt, but a literal translation—as follows:—'Si scires totam Bibliam *exterius*.' This expression is untranslatable into French or Italian;—it must be rendered by a paraphrase. Again, to express *indifference* in good Dutch, one says, to see a thing with an *even countenance*, 'Met een gelijk aengezicht.' The author of *The Imitation* translates this phrase literally:—'Ita ut una *aequali facie* in gratiarum actione maneat.' This expression, like the foregoing, cannot be translated into French or Italian except by a paraphrase. The same idea of not caring about a thing is expressed in Dutch as *not falling upon it*—'Ik val daer niet op.' Now, we find the author of *The Imitation* adopts this precise phrase in the following barbarous Latin:—'Verus amator Christi *non cadit super* consolationes.' Here, again, his words are untranslatable into French or Italian. I might pursue this argument to the extent of filling a volume, but that is at present out of the question.

This appears to be a suitable time to touch upon the

literary structure of *The Imitation*, and to note the origin of the book, and the sources from which it is drawn, with a view to indicate its authorship. A lifelong study has led me to the knowledge that it is a compilation, and this we know is the sense in which it is spoken of by Busch and Ryd, two Windesheimers whose evidence I have quoted as knowing à Kempis personally.

First of all, and above all, the book is saturated throughout with the Sacred Scripture. No one can read many sentences in it which do not recall passages in the Old and the New Testament. It reflects them like a mirror, and applies them with unmatched deftness to meet the wants and soul-yearnings of humanity. All this is evident to the many who know the Bible well. Be the quotations direct or paraphrastic, there they are at every step.

Echoes of passages and thoughts of the spiritual writers who preceded it reverberate throughout the wondrous book. The author draws from St. Augustine, from St. Gregory the Great; St. Bernard is evident on every page; St. Francis of Assisi appears too; likewise St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, and the Roman Missal. He also recalls the Pagan classics, Aristotle, Ovid, Seneca, and Lucian, and we find remarkable coincidence between some passages and Dante.

Still, various as are the sources of *The Imitation*, it becomes manifest, on close investigation, that it is mainly drawn from three fountains.

I shall now allude briefly to these, especially with a view to indicate the probabilities of à Kempis' authorship. These three fountains are:—

First, the Holy Scriptures.

Second, the writings of St. Bernard.

Third, the spiritual works of the school of Windesheim.

(1) As regards the Scriptural lore of *The Imitation*, the edition which first demonstrated this element, in an extended fashion, is that attributed to Cardinal Enriquez, and published in Rome in 1754 and 1755. Many modern editions follow on the same lines, amongst which I may refer to those of Rivington and Parker. This point still needs con-

siderable expansion. Some years ago I worked at it with diligence, and with the result that I verified about three times as many Scriptural allusions as Enriquez.

Let us now see how this Scriptural origin of *The Imitation* favours à Kempis as the author. The Bible in his time, before the invention of printing, was a comparatively rare book, yet we find *all* his works replete with Scripture and the praises thereof, and we know that *he copied out the Old and New Testament in full for the use of his convent*, and was thus of necessity specially familiar with it. His manuscript still exists. It was long missing, but I understand, upon the authority of Father Becker, and Dr. Pohl, Director of the Thomas Gymnasium, at Kempen, that it has been found in the Library of the Grand Duke of Darmstadt.

(2) As regards the influence of St. Bernard in the inspiration of *The Imitation*, I was first led to investigate this point by finding in Busch's *Chronicle* record of the fact that St. Bernard's words were greatly esteemed by the Windesheimers, especially by Gerard Groot and Florentius Radewyn; and further, that Vos Van Huesden and the brothers John and Thomas à Kempis had made copious extracts from the writings of the great Abbot of Clairvaux. Thus guided, I studied the works of St. Bernard closely, with the result that I found in them *a singular resemblance in thought to the 'Imitation.'* I have an edition (Mabillon's) marked to prove this. As an illustration I give in my essay of 1887 (Appendix C) a chapter of *The Imitation*, with the similar passages in St. Bernard. Beyond cavil, this fact confirms the claims of à Kempis, because we have evidence of his special familiarity with St. Bernard.

(3) To conclude the subject of the internal evidence we shall now glance at a very striking and potent argument in favour of the general belief that Thomas à Kempis was the author of *The Imitation*. It is well known that he was the most prolific and representative writer of the 'School of Windesheim;' and therefore, assuming that he was the author, we should naturally expect to discover in the book traces of the teaching of that institution. Now this is

precisely what we do find. If we place the spiritual works of the Windesheimers side by side with *The Imitation*, we find that the latter reproduces them abundantly, often sentence for sentence, and word for word. From this we are drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that the author of *The Imitation* borrowed copiously from the writings of the 'school of Windesheim.' What could be more natural than that he, Thomas à Kempis, the leading exponent of that school, should put forth in his great masterpiece the doctrines with which he was so familiar?

The process of tracing the teaching of Windesheim into *The Imitation* was long since commenced, and has been elaborately worked out by Amort, Malou, Santini, Spitzen, and others, and more especially by Becker. For a full exposition of this topic I would refer to the works of the writers named. The limits of this essay allow me to give but a few illustrations. I shall place sentences from the Windesheimers side by side with quotations from *The Imitation* :—

JOHANNES VAN SCHOONHOVEN.

In primis ergo scire debes, quod vita nostra in peregrinatione hac non potest esse sine periculo et tentatione, quia, ut dicit B. Job, *militia est vita hominis super terram.*

Pax est in cella, foris autem non nisi bella.

Nemo secure apparet, nisi qui libenter latet. Nemo secure praeest nisi qui libenter subest. Nemo secure loquitur, nisi qui libenter tacet.

Humilitas, ut dicit S. Bernardus, virtus est, in qua quis in sui verissima cognitione *sibi vilescit.*

GERARDUS GROOT.

Semper debes niti aliquod boni notare et cogitare de alio.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

Quamdiu in mundo vivimus sine tribulatione et tentatione esse non possumus. Unde in Job scriptum est : *Tentatio est vita humana super terram.*

In cella invenies quod de foris saepius amittes . . . Mane cum eo [Jesu] in cella, quia non invenies alibi tantam pacem.

Nemo secure apparet, nisi qui libenter latet. Nemo secure loquitur, nisi qui libenter tacet. Nemo secure praeest nisi qui libenter subest.

Qui bene seipsum cognoscit, sibi ipsi vilescit.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

De se ipso nihil tenere, et de aliis semper bene et alte sentire :

Quanto plus homo scit se distare a perfectione tam prope est perfectioni.

. . . Item, secundum Bernardum, nullum verbum proferas, de quo multum religiosus vel scientificus appareas.

Maxima tentatio est non tentari.

FLORENTIUS RADEWYN.

Quam bene vobis est et quam *secure statis*, quod potestis sic vivere sub obedientia.

Semper sis vigilans *circa tentationem* et motus passionum.

EPISTOLA DE VITA ET PASSIONE
DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI.

(*Used as a spiritual handbook by the Congregation of Windesheim, at the recommendation of Vos van Huesden.*)

Ama nesciri et ab aliis contemni opta.

Ante initium operis *propone* qualiter te vis habere.

Qui autem student magis videri subtiles quam esse humiles, et plus quaerunt *scire quam bene vivere*, cito extolluntur et sunt carnales.

. . . quamvis haberet et *sciret omnem Bibliam*, et Scripturam, et Legem unquam positam aut conscriptam, id minime sufficeret.

Qui in tribulatione sunt et angustia, noli negligere eis servire et consolatorius esse.

Audiam quid loquator in me Dominus.

magna sapientia est et alta perfectio.

Nunquam ad hoc legas verbum ut doctior aut sapientior possis videri.

Sunt tamen tentationes homini saepe valde utiles, . . . quia in illis homo humiliatur, et purgatur, et eruditur.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

Multo *tutius* est stare in subiectione quam in praelatura.

Ideo unusquisque sollicitus esse deberet *circa tentationes* suas.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI.

Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari.

Bonus et devotus homo opera sua prius intus *disponit* quae foris agere debet.

Quia vero plures magis student scire quam bene vivere, ideo saepe errant et pene nullum, vel modicum fructum ferunt.

Si *scires totam Bibliam* exterius et omnium philosophorum dicta, quid totum tibi prodesset?

Et cum tentato noli duriter agere, sed consolationemingere.

Audiam quid loquator in me Dominus Deus.

It seems to me that I have already adduced sufficient evidence in support of the claims of the holy Canon of Mount St. Agnes to satisfy all reasonable people, and to justify my contention, and moral certainty, that he was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*. However, before proceeding to discuss the positions of the other two candidates, John Charlier de Gerson, and the so-called Abbot Gersen of Vercelli, I shall briefly recapitulate the proofs I have advanced in favour of à Kempis.

First. We have seen the overwhelming testimony of the witnesses who knew Thomas *personally*, and the widespread acknowledgment of his claims during his life, and immediately after his death, especially by those intimate with his associates.

Secondly. The external evidence of the manuscripts in his favour.

Thirdly. The internal evidence of the book itself, its peculiarities of language, common to it and the rest of à Kempis' writings; the literary construction of the book itself, and its derivation—from Scripture, St. Bernard, and the writers of Windesheim—with all of which we know he was specially familiar.

Let me here add, that of all the asserted authors of *The Imitation* the only one in whose favour a particle of internal evidence can be produced is Thomas à Kempis.

If all these accumulated arguments do not suffice I am at a loss to know what could do so.

In my next communication I shall discuss the position of the great Chancellor Gerson in reference to *The Imitation of Christ*.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

PART I.—MATTER

INTRODUCTORY

THE series of articles which, through the kindness of the Editor of the I. E. RECORD, will appear under the above heading, have no pretensions to either originality, completeness, or depth. They are, in fact, little more than gleanings from a very desultory course of reading. They have grown out of notes made with a view to some discussions at a clerical conference. Indulgent friends were kind enough to say that the notes, if published in some form, would prove useful, partly as supplying an order of thought on a rather complex subject, and partly as a handy summary of the opinions of some of the leading godless philosophers of our time. The original form of *notes* has, on advice, been more or less retained. This will explain the abrupt and often scrappy style of the paragraphs in many places. This inconsecutive style, though not in itself to be commended, may in the present case lighten the labour of reading, and afford facilities for reference.

The scope of the articles is limited to one particular aspect or school of materialism, viz., the so-called scientific materialism, of which Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer in England, and Virchow, Häckel, Vogt, Du Bois-Reymond, and Weismann on the Continent, may be regarded as the chief exponents. Though as philosophers these men cannot be regarded as by any means profound, yet they have done and are doing more mischief than much abler thinkers. Just because their philosophy is of a light—often, if you will, a superficial—kind, it is more generally read and more easily assimilated. Therefore they must not be merely despised because they are superficial, but rather feared because they are popular. Mill is, no doubt, as a lion in the path for the student; but

Huxley and Tyndall and Darwin are a greater danger to the people.

The strength of these men lies in their familiarity with the natural sciences. They dazzle the ordinary reader with illustrations, analogies, generalizations, &c., from these sciences. Their misleading theories are decked out in a bewildering array of the most beautiful facts of nature. Their knowledge appears prodigious. The heavens and the earth seem to them an open book, out of which they read such marvellous lessons that the bounds of fact and fancy become confused, and speculation passes for science. Some of these men too—notably Tyndall and Huxley—have a remarkable trick of style, which imparts to their philosophy some of the charm of fiction. Matter and style combine to form a sort of romance of science. Wonders follow wonders, linked by glowing sentences, until the common things of earth are so clothed in mystery and beauty that they almost begin to seem not quite unworthy to take the place of God. Traces of this power of word-painting will be met with even in the short extracts given in these pages.

The ordinary reader, especially if he be young and enthusiastic, is liable to be dazzled by all this brilliancy, and to let pass unchallenged the lop-sided illustration, or defective analogy, or unwarrantable generalization, by which he is lured into what seems a strong net of proof, and is really but a web of words. The glowing periods cover the limping logic, and sound becomes an excellent substitute for sense.

Their analogies in particular are always to be suspected. Their formula for conclusion by analogy would seem to be—when two things resemble, or appear to resemble each other in one or two points, they may be at once assumed to be altogether alike. Thus crystalline force is structural, and so is vital force; therefore these are alike in kind, and only differ in complexity. It would, of course, be equally reasonable to say that because a hodman hoists bricks, and so does a steam crane, man and crane are machines identical in kind, and differing only in complexity. This particular kind of fallacy, resting on false or defective analogy, is

perhaps more common than any other in the writings of this school. It will, therefore, require constant watching.

Our immediate object in these articles necessitates another limitation of their scope. We do not purpose stating a counter philosophy. That is sufficiently provided elsewhere. Here we shall have quite enough to do to dog the steps of these mischievous writers, taking as far as possible their own brilliant statements of their theories, and trying to show how little of solid reason and how much of contradiction, assumption, distortion of fact, and dishonest argument lies behind their glittering style. This will account for the numerous extracts with which the articles may perhaps seem overloaded. But it is always more satisfactory, when possible, to have an adversary's views in his own words. Indeed some of the views of these scientific philosophers are so extraordinary that nothing less than their own very words would make them seem credible utterances of sane men. The extracts have been selected with a good deal of care, and though short, they will, it is hoped, be found to give in each case the essence of the writer's view on the particular point under discussion.

The works, essays, articles, &c., from which the quotations are taken should be read by those who desire to make themselves familiar with the subject. It will be seen that they are not numerous. In Tyndall's case most of them are embodied in the second volume of his *Fragments of Science*. Dr. Elam's *Winds of Doctrine* (only 160 pp.) is excellent. Another small volume—*Biology and Transcendentalism*, by the Rev. Joseph Cook, a Boston minister—supplies a lot of information all round the subject. *Modern Ideas of Evolution* is a good and safe book to put into the hands of general readers. Father Gerard's *Science and Scientists* (Catholic Truth Society) will admirably suit for the same purpose.

It need hardly be said that this subject, and especially this aspect of it, has strong claims on the attention of the clergy. Its mischievous literature is being carried by the periodical press into every town and village where there is a reading-room or railway book-stall. Everyone who reads anything more serious than a newspaper or a novel is liable

to meet with it, and, if off his guard, to be half overcome before he knows he is being attacked. Here is where the priest, with his trained mind and wider knowledge, might step in and save. His people, accustomed to 'seek the law at his mouth,' will hearken to him with an attention they will give to no other. He must, however, show that on this, as on more strictly religious topics, he speaks out of an abundance of knowledge far beyond their own, and with a keenness and accuracy of analysis for which their education has not in most cases prepared them. The sources of such knowledge are to hand, the study light and attractive, the danger great and increasing, the need for guidance urgent. As in the multiplicity of books some may find rather a hindrance than a help, it is hoped that the compendium attempted in these articles will not be unwelcome.

WHAT IS MEANT BY MATERIALISM

Materialism is a system of philosophy which recognises the existence of nothing else but *matter*. Matter is the origin, principle, and source of everything that exists, from the dead stone to the living animal and the thinking man.

Matter is the origin of all that exists; all natural and mental forces are inherent in it. . . . Nature produced man by her own power, and takes him again.¹

I discern in matter the promise and potency of every form and quality of life.²

Not alone the more ignoble forms of animal life, not alone the exquisite and wonderful mechanism of the human body, but the human mind itself—emotion, intellect, will, and all their phenomena—were once latent in a fiery cloud. . . . At the present moment, all our philosophy, all our poetry, all our science, all our art—Plato, Shakspeare, Newton, Raphael—are potential in the *fires of the sun*.³

The existing world lay, potentially, in the cosmic vapour, and a sufficient intelligence could, from a knowledge of the properties of the molecules of that vapour, have predicted, say, the fauna of Britain in 1869 with as much certainty as one can say what will happen to the vapour of the breath in a cold winter's day.⁴

¹ Büchner, *Force and Matter*.

² Tyndall, *Belfast Address*, 1874.

³ *Scientific use of the Imagination*.

⁴ Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 305.

Here on the very threshold of our subject we get a fair idea of what we are to expect from the scientific philosophers. Perhaps the first feeling we have on reading such extraordinary language is—Did they really mean it? And if so, were they in that state of exaltation which a coroner's jury would call 'temporary insanity'? For it is surely hard to conceive sane men talking like this to other sane men. Tyndall's 'fiery cloud' is portentous enough, but Huxley's jaunty prediction is nothing short of magnificent. It will be noted that these eloquent sentences embody mere *assertions* wrapt up in ornate language, decked with figures of speech, but destitute of the smallest rag of proof. Indeed the inherent absurdity of the statements precluded any attempt at proof.

Father Dalgairns, in his sketch of theories of matter, directs attention to the contrast between 'shallow men' who 'know all about matter and space,' and 'the master-minds of a whole century occupied in fathoming the depths of the subject, and successively failing.'¹ History repeats itself in the persons of our self-styled 'philosophers' talking as glibly of the 'potentialities' of matter as though its ultimate particles were as visible as brickbats, while of these same ultimate particles and their 'potentialities' master-minds like Faraday and Cardinal Newman confess they know nothing.

The most remarkable public declaration in our day in favour of the materialistic philosophy was the famous 'Belfast Address' of Tyndall at the meeting of the British Association there in 1874. It will be found in his *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii. It may be regarded as a sort of gospel of modern scientific materialism.

Following the usual order of thought we now proceed to consider—(1) the materialistic views about matter; (2) about life; (3) about animals; and (4) about man. The last two sections, as the reader knows, are included under the name of Darwinism.

¹ *The Holy Communion*, third edition, p. 65.

NATURE OF MATTER

Though it is no part of our plan to state a philosophy of either matter, life, or mind, we may set down here a few guiding principles about matter, drawn almost exclusively from Father Dalgairns' historical sketch in his well-known work on the Holy Communion. Our extracts are necessarily both brief and broken.

1. What exactly do we mean by *matter* or *substance*?

Matter means the real external thing which remains the same in all changes of phenomena, and out of which they are all educed. . . . According to the latest views of scientific men, all these marvellous phenomena are attributed to the *matter*, and are drawn out of its latent powers.¹ . . . Matter is the hidden object which is the cause of all phenomena affecting the senses.²

In short, *matter is the invisible basis of phenomena.*

2. Is matter *in se* perceptible to the senses? Matter *in se* is altogether beyond the ken of sense. No instrument has ever been made, nor is there the least hope that an instrument ever will be made, capable of showing us the ultimate elements of matter. St. Thomas had said that *substance is discerned by the intellect, and not by sense.* 'Modern philosophy corroborates St. Thomas by establishing that the idea of substance comes not from experience, but from intuition.'³ Faraday says: 'All our perception and knowledge of the atom, and even our fancy, *is limited to ideas of its powers* . . . The powers we know and recognise in every phenomenon of the creation, *the abstract matter in none.*'⁴ And again: 'We know nothing of matter but its forces. . . . All the rest is only imagination.'⁵ It is of matter in this sense Cardinal Newman says: 'What do I know of substance or matter? Just as much as the greatest philosopher, and that is *nothing.*'⁶

In analyzing the idea of matter we perforce arrive at elements not derived from experience. Hence the failure of all attempts

¹ Page 55. The italics in every case are ours.

² Page 62.

³ Page 66.

⁴ Page 70, 71.

⁵ *Life of Faraday*, vol. ii., p. 177.

⁶ *Apologia*.

to explain it empirically.¹ . . . Sense can only tell us that the colour, taste, and smell of bread are there (in the Blessed Sacrament), which no one denies. It cannot inform us that the substance of bread lies under the appearances, *since it knows nothing of substance at all*. That these qualities are produced by a hidden substance is a truth furnished by the intellect, and of which sense knows nothing. It is folly, therefore, to appeal to the five senses to prove that the substance of bread lies there after the consecration, since *even before the miracle* they were incompetent to prove it.²

3. If matter *in se* so entirely evades our perception, how do we ascertain its objective existence? Its objective existence is a deduction from phenomena on the ground of the necessary connection of cause and effect.

Unless it were by virtue of a primitive law of our minds, it would be impossible for us to conceive the idea of substance. Sense and experience could never furnish us with it; they only tell us of *phenomena*, while *substance* is precisely that which lies underneath the appearances presented to sight, hearing, and touch. It is another shape of *the intuition of cause*, since it stands to the phenomena in the relation of cause to effect.³ . . . It is the external reality which is *inferred by the mind* to be the cause of impressions made on the sense.⁴

4. How can we form any rational conception of the *ultimate nature* of matter—a thing so hopelessly out of the reach of sense that its existence is purely inferential? By a further application of the principles of causation. A cause must be adequate to its effects. Here natural phenomena are the effects; from these we have to reason back to an adequate cause.

5. What are the most notable conceptions that have been from time to time formed of the ultimate nature of matter? A complete answer to this question must be sought in treatises on the subject. A compendious answer, up to a certain point, is supplied by Father Dalgairns in the chapter of his book from which we are here constantly quoting. We say, *up to a certain point*; for since Father Dalgairns concluded his sketch with the *force atom*, at least one other

¹ *Holy Communion*, p. 62.

² Page 61.

³ Page 60.

⁴ Page 62.

notable conception has been put forward, viz., Lord Kelvin's *vortex* atom, or *vortex ring* in an assumed perfect fluid universally diffused. An account of this latest attempt to provide an adequate cause for natural phenomena will be found in chapter XII. of Tait's *Recent Advances in Physical Science*. We cull out the following particulars regarding the *force atom* :—

Leibnitz framed the system which identifies the idea of *substance* with the idea of *force*.¹ . . . He defined its ultimate elements to be *simple, unextended forces*.² . . . The phenomena of the world are the result of the united action of these forces. They produce effects which impress upon our senses the feelings of resistance, colour, and the other phenomena which we call extension, solidity, and the various qualities assigned to bodies. . . . If anyone asks me how these heterogeneous forces can so act together as to form those bodies, I can only point to their Omnipotent Creator. Matter is unintelligible without creation. The energy of God's creative act still lasts within them. *Then* God bestowed upon them the power of being separate causes and ever active substances. *Then*, by a pre-established harmony, He contrived their future operations, so that they should all precisely correspond with each other, and act in unison, so as to produce upon our senses those united appearances.¹ . . . At this day some of the greatest names in various departments of science hold the view that the ultimate particles of matter are unextended. . . . So far from considering the reality of the external world to be imperilled, they unite in considering that *force without extension* is sufficient to account for all the phenomena of sensation, and to form a basis for the certainty of science.²

6. We have several times used the word *phenomena*, and therefore think it well to quote the following in explanation of it :—

Phenomena are *positive effects* upon our senses, caused by contact with these numberless forces of nature. Relatively true indeed they are, not absolutely; for they are the joint effect of the objects without us and of our organism. Therefore they only represent these objects as they appear to us, not as they are in themselves; yet inasmuch as the phenomena are really

¹ *Holy Communion*, p. 56.

² Page 62.

³ Page 93.

⁴ Page 68.

produced by the objects, they convey to us a true idea, though an imperfect one. They are God's signs by which He teaches the knowledge of His world.¹

MATERIALISTIC VIEW OF MATTER

The thought of the master-minds of all the ages may be said to have issued in the conception of matter outlined in the preceding points. Sad to say, it is, we are now assured, all absolutely worthless. Matter is not of this kind at all. 'Matter,' says Tyndall, 'has been defined and maligned by philosophers and theologians, who were equally unaware that it is, at bottom, essentially mystical and transcendental.'² What a sorry lot were those philosophers and theologians never to have even suspected this! Luckily for the credit of the human intellect, Tyndall & Co. were not left superfluously 'potential in the fires of the sun,' where they could be of little use, but by a merciful dispensation of atoms have been given to enlighten the world in a different way. Such intellectual farthing candles as St. Thomas, Leibnitz, Faraday, and Lord Kelvin may now, we suppose, be blown out!

But what is there, we ask, so entirely wrong about those ideas of matter? And we are told in reply that they give a quite inadequate account of the functions of matter. Matter as above described would be altogether incompetent to explain the phenomena of *life* and *mind*, which must somehow be got out of it. But *nemo dat quod non habet*—not even matter. Tyndall and his fellow-materialists are fully alive to the truth of Dr. Martineau's playful warning—'You will get out of your atoms by evolution exactly so much, and no more, as you have put into them by hypothesis.' Accordingly 'the promise and potency of life' has now to be put into the atoms by a process as summary as the stuffing of a Christmas turkey. A brand new definition, borrowed by Tyndall from Professor Bain of Aberdeen, is to do the work. And truly it was worth going all the way to N. B. for such a gem! Henceforth matter is 'a

¹ Page 61. We have ventured to break up one long sentence, and to substitute nouns for confusing pronouns.

² *Vitality*.

double-faced unity, having two sets of properties, or two sides—the physical and the mental.’¹ Behold what the philosophers and theologians had for centuries groped after in vain! With this talisman, Tyndall was ready for all sorts of philosophic knight-errantry. He would ‘exalt “brute matter” from its abasement.’ Spirit and matter are henceforth ‘equally worthy, equally wonderful—two opposite faces of the self-same mystery.’ He solemnly confirms their union with the usual text of Scripture, and ‘repeals the divorce hitherto existing between them.’² Matter, like the marble Galatea, seemed already to feel the first throbs of awakening life!

But there came a skeleton to the marriage feast! The human mind forbade the banns; and the high priest had to admit that the grand union was ‘unthinkable,’ and that ‘to try to comprehend it, is to attempt to soar in a vacuum.’³ Then, the magic definition had a suspiciously ‘ready-made’ appearance. One was forcibly reminded of Faraday’s patent recipe for turning out atoms that could be relied on—“To account for effects we have only to hang on to assumed atoms the properties, or arrangement of properties, assumed to be sufficient for the purpose.”⁴ We can fancy ourselves in the atomic dressing-room, seeing Professor Bain hang on the new ‘properties.’ But thankless ‘brute matter’ kicks; and we shall immediately find the worthy Professor much exercised to keep the new clothes on the old atoms. For the moment, however, he seems immensely satisfied—‘The arguments for two substances have, we believe, now entirely lost their validity.’ His one double-faced darling ‘would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case.’⁵ This is useful, at least as showing us the very latest method of disposing of an adversary’s arguments. We have only to draw up a definition that will cut them out, and then calmly inform him that ‘his arguments have now entirely lost their validity.’

¹ *Mind and Body.*

² *Scientific use of the Imagination.*

³ *Belfast Address.*

⁴ *Life of Faraday*, vol. ii.

⁵ *Mind and Body.*

But the belief of ages was not to be so airily dismissed. If Tyndall, with the best intentions, found the 'double-faced unity' *unthinkable*, others could hardly be blamed if they found it absurd. So Professor Bain had to try to reconcile men's minds to the new view.

Extension is but the first of a long series of properties all present in matter, all absent in mind. *Inertia* cannot belong to a pleasure, a pain, an idea, as experienced in the consciousness. Inertia is accompanied with *gravity*, a peculiarly material quality. So *color* is an utterly material quality; it cannot attach to a feeling properly so called, a pleasure or a pain. These properties are the bases of matter: to them are superadded *form*, *motion*, *position*, and a host of other properties expressed in terms of those. . . . Our mental and bodily states are utterly contrasted. Our mental experience, our feelings and thoughts have no extension, no place, no form or outline, no mechanical division of parts.

That is a fair statement of the difficulty; now for the solution. How does Professor Bain reconcile these contradictions?—'The only mode of union that is not contradictory is the union of close succession in time.' Here is something even more mysterious than the definition it is meant to explain. The whole question is about *one substance*—a 'unity.' This 'unity' has two sets of *inherent properties*, which admittedly cannot be present *together*. When one set is in, the other set is necessarily out. Yet both the 'ins' and the 'outs' are *inherent properties*, and inherent properties should be *always* present as long as the entity or unity continues to be what it is. Here, then, we have properties *that must be present and absent at the same time*—present *always* because they are inherent properties, and absent in turn to make way for each other! After this it may seem trifling to ask what becomes of the 'outs' while they are out? Do they, like our Parliamentary 'outs,' betake themselves to Opposition benches? And how do they get back again? And how are things so nicely balanced that they go on for ever succeeding without ever colliding? Or, look at it another way. The substance, with its

physical properties present, is a *physical* entity; and the same substance, with its *mental* properties present, is a *mental* entity. It is admitted that the substance cannot be these two *at once*. How, then? 'By close succession in time.' But how can it be *two* things in 'close succession,' and all the time be *one* thing—a 'unity'? To fulfil the conditions, we should have *the same substance* closely succeeding to *itself*! But 'that way madness lies!' We had better give up trying to think the 'unthinkable.'

Here, then, we have the failure of the 'hanging on' process virtually admitted—the properties won't 'hang on' *together*. There is no way out of the difficulty but the old one; the two sets of contradictory attributes must have two distinct substances in which to inhere. Philosophers not at all of our way of thinking confirm this. Sir W. Hamilton's 'common measure' for mind and matter was 'the whole diameter of being.' Herbert Spencer says:—'Materialists are profoundly convinced that there is not the remotest possibility of interpreting mind in terms of matter.' These, with Tyndall's 'vacuum,' will reassure us for the present. The great revolution in human thought has not come off. 'Brute matter,' notwithstanding all efforts to exalt it, remains pretty much where it was, and philosophers and theologians may still go on 'defining and maligning' it with impunity. We are still left our double heritage of matter and mind, and the most 'unthinkable' thing associated with them is that anyone should say they are one.

To be continued.

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ARE THOSE WHO CANNOT HEAR MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS OBLIGED TO HEAR IT AT OTHER TIMES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be kind enough to favour me, at your earliest convenience, with an answer to the following question :—

Ought a confessor to refuse absolution to a penitent who, though unable to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays during the year, is well able to hear Mass on some week-days in the year, but refuses to do so?

WORKHOUSE CHAPLAIN.

The solution of this question mainly depends on the source of the obligation in virtue of which the faithful are bound to assist at Mass. We shall, therefore, before answering the question, consider *quo jure* this obligation arises.

The obligation of the faithful to hear Mass may, conceivably, arise—(1) from the natural law, or (2) from the divine positive law, or (3) from ecclesiastical law merely.

The natural law binds man to worship God, not merely with internal, but also with external acts of homage. The natural law, however, does not define the particular acts by which, or the time at which, external divine worship must be offered. '*Ex vi solius legis naturalis non est positive determinatus modus particularis adorandi Deum cultu externo, nec quoad genera actionum, nec quoad tempora vel alias circumstantias.*'¹ St. Thomas, indeed, seems to assert that sacrifice is obligatory *jure naturae*.² Suarez, however, understands him to mean that sacrifice '*licet non sit in rigore praescriptum sola lege naturae, est adeo consentaneum illi, ut semper fuerit quasi de jure*

¹ Suarez, xiii. *De Virt. et Statu Relig.*, lib. i., cap. ii., 6.

² Vid. Quaest. 85, Art. 4.

*gentium, quod quodammodo naturalis dicitur.*¹ And Billuart, explaining the same doctrine, says that sacrifice is obligatory on all *jure naturae*, in the sense that, *in omni communitate [offerri debet] sacrificium pro omnibus*. We may, then, fairly assume—and it will suffice for our purpose—that there is no obligation, arising directly from the natural law, in virtue of which, each and every individual is bound to offer, or participate in offering, sacrifice. It is manifest, consequently, that the natural law cannot directly bind one to offer, or assist at, Mass. It obliges us to internal and external worship. But that external worship may be rendered either by assisting at Mass or by other external acts of homage:—

Multi sunt [writes Suarez] cultus externi, qui non sunt sacrificia nec oblationes externarum rerum, ut sunt geneflexio, tunsio pectoris, laudatio vocalis et similes. Possent ergo homines esse contenti similibus actionibus ad Deum adorandum sine aliis oblationibus; neque hoc haberet intrinsecam deformitatem ex vi legis naturae, ut per se constat, quia ex nullo principio ostendi potest intrinseca malitia in limitatione talium signorum cum negatione (ut sic dicam) aliorum.²

But, perhaps, there is an hypothetical obligation arising from the natural law. Once God has instituted a certain form of sacrifice, such as those of the Jewish dispensation or the sacrifice of the Mass, does that sacrifice *eo ipso*, independently of positive precept, become obligatory on those for whom it was instituted? In other words, does the natural law itself bind the faithful to assist at Mass, *i.e.*, in the hypothesis that the Mass is instituted by God? To us, the argument for such a hypothetical obligation appeals very strongly.

Man is bound to worship God externally. Sacrifice is the most natural and spontaneous external expression of man's homage to God, and of his dependence on Him; nothing else will account for the fact that sacrificial rites have found a place among all nations. When, therefore, God, by instituting a special form of sacrifice, desires the manner in which He desires to be worshipped, right reason would seem to oblige men not to disregard this indication of the

¹ Suarez, *De Virt. Relig.*, lib. i., cap. iii., 3.

² Suarez, *loc. cit.*

divine pleasure. Men ought sometimes worship their Creator by offering the sacrifice that He has instituted.

However, as we shall see, theologians of the greatest name refuse to recognise such an hypothetical obligation of the natural law. We may remark too, that a kindred controversy exists as to the obligation *posita institutione*, of receiving Confirmation or Extreme Unction. Theologians are found to affirm, and others to deny, a grave obligation hypothetically arising from the natural law,—with the result that, according to many theologians, no strict obligation of receiving these Sacraments can be enforced.

Apart from the natural law, the obligation to hear Mass must come either from the divine positive law or from the ecclesiastical law. Is there, then, a positive divine precept? Lehmkuhl is clearly of opinion that there is.

Qui per totum annum [he says] impediretur, quominus diebus Dominicis et festivis Sacro interesset, aliquoties id supplere deberet diebus ferialibus (v.g., ter quaterve) quia divina illa lex non est tempori determinato affixa, ut affixa est lex ecclesiastica.¹

We find that Marc² and Haine³ endorse the opinion of Lehmkuhl. Neither of these writers, however, states whether he relies on an express positive divine precept, or on that divino-natural precept of which we have spoken above. On the other hand, Ballerini, Gury, Aertnys, D'Annibale, Sabetti, Konings, and other modern writers, seem by their silence to deny the existence of this divine precept. Suarez discusses the question at some length. He admits that probable arguments in favour of a divine precept are derived from the institution of the Holy Sacrifice, and also from the words *Hoc facite*, &c., which were probably addressed, he thinks, not merely to the Apostles and their successors, but to the faithful generally. But he clearly enough conveys his mind, when he concludes with the following words:—

Quamvis hæc [argumenta pro præcepto divino] quæ probabilia sunt, non cogant ut simpliciter asseramus præceptum hoc audiendi missam etiam in communi sumptum, esse de jure divino satis ad rem moralem est, quod sit valde consentaneum, licet absolute ecclesiasticum tantum sit.⁴

¹ Vid., vol. i., n. 567.

³ Vid., i. q. 112.

² Vid., i., n. 685, note.

⁴ Suarez, *De Sacr. Missæ*, Disp. 88, sec. i., 3.

Lugo disposes of the matter in similar terms:—

Quamvis vero [praeceptum audiendi missam] *non sit mere naturale aut divinum sed ecclesiasticum*; est tamen multum conforme legi naturali et divinae, supposita institutione hujus sacrificii et obligatione exhibendi cultum aliquem visibilem Deo.¹

So much for the authorities we have seen for and against a divine precept.

All, of course, admit that it is in virtue of the ecclesiastical law alone that the faithful are bound to sanctify Sundays and holidays by hearing Mass. As far as the natural and divine laws are concerned, the obligation to worship God may be fulfilled on other days equally well. Whether, apart from ecclesiastical law, the natural and divine obligation of worship can be fulfilled without offering or participating in offering the Mass, depends on the answer that we give to the question in dispute between Lehmkuhl on the one side, and Suarez on the other.

And now we reply to the questions proposed. In other words, the question may be formulated thus: (1) Are the faithful bound by a natural or divine precept, as well as by the ecclesiastical precept, to hear Mass, so that one who cannot fulfil both obligations, by hearing Mass on Sundays and holidays, is bound if possible to hear Mass, at least a few times in the year, on week days, in order to fulfil the natural and divine law? and (2) is absolution to be refused to a person who refuses.

In our opinion there is, apart from the ecclesiastical law, a grave obligation, *jure divino aut hypothetico-naturali*, to hear Mass, at least a few times (three or four times, according to theologians) in the year. We base this opinion, not merely on the authority of the theologians above quoted for this view, but especially on the fact that the institution of the Holy Sacrifice of the New Law seems to us to carry with it a divine or hypothetico-natural precept, binding the faithful not to pass their lives without participating in the Sacrifice instituted for their use. But while this is our view, and while we would commend it as strongly as possible to our

¹ Lugo, *De Euchar.*, Disp. xxii., sec. i.; Conf. Elbel, *In Tertium Praecept. Decalogi*, n. 340.

penitents, we should not consider ourselves justified in refusing absolution to a penitent, *otherwise rightly disposed*, who might insist on following out the principles of Suarez to their logical conclusion. *Ex hypothesis*, it is impossible for him to comply with the ecclesiastical precept of hearing Mass on Sundays and holidays; there remains probably, according to Suarez, only the obligation of the natural and divine law to worship God sometimes, *cultu tum interno tum externo*. Assisting at Mass is *only one* of many ways in which external worship may be rendered to God. The man who makes use of vocal prayer and other such acts of external worship violates, in the opinion of Suarez and those who hold with him, no *certain* obligation, by refusing to assist at Mass. We could not strictly urge an obligation whose existence is denied or ignored by authorities of such repute.

DOUBTFUL BAPTISM AND THE IMPEDIMENT OF
'DISPARITAS CULTUS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Be so kind as to answer the following:—John, an infidel, marries Anne, baptized according to the rite of the Presbyterian Church, before a magistrate. John procures a divorce, and is now instructed with a view to marry a Catholic girl. Now, some canonists maintain that one must be certain of Anne's baptism before he can declare the first marriage invalid, and that in case of a doubtful baptism, as the Presbyterian, the Pauline dispensation must be made use of; others, however, hold that the presumption is in favour of the validity of the baptism, and the invalidity of the marriage. Having procured the sworn testimony of John's parents that he was never baptized, and the sworn testimony of Anne's parents that she was baptized according to the Presbyterian rite, can I marry them?

SACERDOS.

The salient points of this case are well and clearly put by our correspondent. John, an infidel, married Anne, a Presbyterian. The *fact* of Anne's baptism is certain; its *validity*, however, is doubtful, for it was administered according to the Presbyterian rite.¹

¹ Konings and Kenrick, writing with special knowledge of America, from which this question comes, declare the validity of Presbyterian baptisms doubtful. *Baptismus aliquando dubius evadit ex levi ratione qua baptizandos,*

After some time, John sought and obtained a civil divorce. He is now about to become a Catholic and he wishes to marry a Catholic. Is he free to marry without further formality? or, is it necessary or desirable that he should have recourse to the Pauline *privilegium fidei*, in virtue of which a converted infidel is free to marry again, whenever the infidel partner of the first marriage refuses to be converted or to cohabit *sine contumelia creatoris*?

We may say, at the outset, that practically everything turns on the validity of the baptism of the parties. One's first duty, therefore, would be to verify the assertions that John had not been baptized; that Anne had been. And in the case of Anne it would, then, be necessary to examine, not merely the sufficiency of the rite observed in her sect, but also, if possible, the circumstances of her individual baptism. If, as a result of these inquiries, John is found to have been certainly unbaptized, and Anne doubtfully baptized, our correspondent's question legitimately arises.

We should observe, also, that whatever may be our correspondent's solution of the case, he ought not rely wholly on his own judgment, but ought to submit the circumstances to the Ordinary, who, in turn, may think it well to submit the case to higher authority.¹ We may now state what, in our opinion, the decision in the case would be.

Assuming that proper inquiries have been duly made, and that the facts are found to be as stated, John is, we think, free to contract anew; and that without invoking the *privilegium fidei*. If Anne had been validly baptized, then, of course, John's marriage with her would have been invalid, owing to the diriment impediment of *disparitas cultus*. For it should be noted that this impediment invalidates the marriage of any baptized person, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, with an unbaptized person. If, then, Anne's baptism were certainly valid, her marriage with John would have been, with equal certainty, invalid; and John would be now free to marry.

eosque persaepe plures simul aspersoria lustrant sectarum ministri, praesertim, Presbyteriani et Methodistæ; pellem, "enim probabiliter contingere debet aqua et fluere." Konings n. 1264, iii. A.B.

¹ *Vid.* Resp. S.C.S. Officii, 5 Feb., 1851.

On the other hand, if Anne's alleged baptism were proved to be certainly invalid, then her marriage with John was—if there existed no diriment impediment of the divine law or of the civil law—a valid marriage. It would have been the marriage of two infidels, over whom the Church could not claim jurisdiction. In this hypothesis, John's marriage with Anne would remain valid, in spite of the civil divorce and of his conversion. Apart from a special Papal dispensation, his only remedy, with a view to a second marriage, would be to rely on the *privilegium fidei*.¹ He might ask Anne *aut converti aut cohabitare sine contumelia creatoris*. If she consents, John's second marriage is, without a Papal dispensation, impossible during Anne's life: if she refuses, John may in virtue of the Pauline dispensation, contract a new marriage—which *eo ipso* dissolves the first.

The difficulty, however, of the present case is that Anne's baptism is neither certainly valid, nor certainly invalid; it is doubtfully valid. A corresponding doubt, consequently, seems to arise regarding the validity of her marriage with John. And, now, when John wishes to marry a Catholic, he is face to face with the fact that he is probably already married, and that there is, therefore, a probable diriment impediment of the divine law, *impedimentum ligaminis*.

It would, no doubt, be a perfectly safe course to take the precaution of asking Anne to resume cohabitation. If she refused, then, whether his first marriage was valid or not, John would be free to contract with another. If it was invalid he is already free; if it was valid he will be liberated by the Pauline dispensation. But this course might lead to very obvious difficulties, especially if Anne were unexpectedly to consent. The question then naturally arises, is there any need to fall back on this Pauline dispensation, or, is John free to contract without further formalities?

We may, we think, in reply, lay down the following propositions: (1) that Anne's baptism is *in ordine ad matri-*

¹ The marriage of infidels may be dissolved by Papal dispensation, on the conversion of one or both, *modo matrimonium non fuerit consummatum*; according to many, and rightly, we think, *matrimonium consummatum in impeditate* can also be dissolved *modo non fuerit consummatum post baptismum receptum*. Ballerini—Gury, ii. 759; Gasparri, ii. 1108.

monium to be considered certainly valid; (2) that the marriage of John and Anne is to be considered certainly invalid *ob disparitatem cultus*; (3) that, therefore, no appeal to the *privilegium fidei* and no communication with Anne is necessary; that John is already free to marry. We give our reasons for these assertions.

We say that a doubtful baptism is *in ordine ad matrimonium* to be held valid. Even though the doubt may be such as to make re-baptism *sub-conditione* obligatory, a marriage, dependent for its validity or invalidity on the validity of the first baptism, is not affected.¹ This has been the invariable teaching of the Holy Office. Moreover, the validity of a marriage is not affected by a doubt about the baptism of one of the parties, whether the doubt arose *before* the marriage was contracted, or *after*. We give two out of many responses that might be cited on this point. In 1737, the Congregation had submitted to it the case of a woman married to a Catholic, who though herself brought up a Catholic, began, after her marriage, to doubt about her baptism, and it was asked, '*An Laura D. baptizari debeat sub-conditione in casu.*' The reply was '*affirmative, et secreto et sine præjudicio validitatis matrimonii.*' The baptism was thus declared doubtful, the marriage valid; though it was more or less probably a marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person.

The same reply was given to a Vicar Apostolic in Japan, in September, 1868, in cases in which the doubt about baptism is antecedent to the marriage. It was stated that in certain cases there was a doubt about the baptism of persons about to be married, and at the same time, it was alleged there was a difficulty in removing the doubt. The question was then put—

1. *Utrum in casu dubii de valore baptismi, qui ita baptismum susceperunt Japonenses ut Christiani vel infideles adhuc considerandi sunt?* 2. *Utrum si dubium de valore baptismi remaneat, et non visum sit opportunum solvere dubium de iis qui sic dubie baptizati sunt, in rebus quae matrimonium spectant ac si vere et valide baptizati fuissent, judicandum sit vel non.* The S. Cong.

¹ Conf. Lehmkuhl, ii., n. 752; Feije, n. 461; Gasparri, i. n. 597.

replied: 'Ad primum, generatim loquendo ut Christiani habendi sunt illi, de quibus dubitatur, an valide baptizati fuerint; ad secundum, censendum est validum baptismum in ordine ad validitatem matrimonii.'

There is no doubt, therefore, but we are justified in looking upon Anne's baptism as valid, *in ordine ad matrimonii validitatem aut invaliditatem*.

2. From this doctrine, our second assertion follows as a necessary consequence. *In foro externo*, at all events Anne's marriage with John is to be considered invalid *ob disparitatem cultus*. We say *in foro externo*, because *in foro interno*, the marriage, given due consent, and the absence of natural and civil diriment impediments, was valid in the event of Anne's baptism being *de facto* invalid. The parties in that hypothesis, were both unbaptized, and consequently were not affected by the merely ecclesiastical diriment impediment of *disparitas cultus*.

3. It seems to follow, therefore, that *in foro externo* it is unnecessary for John to rely on the Pauline dispensation. If his marriage with Anne is to be considered certainly invalid, then, his marriage with someone else would appear to be *per se* certainly lawful.

A case very similar to that proposed to us was put to the Congregation of the Holy Office in 1840. An Anglican married a woman who, according to his testimony, had not been baptized. The union proved unhappy, and he deserted his first wife, and married a Lutheran. He subsequently desired to become a Catholic, and the question arose, which of the women was to be considered his wife. The matter was referred to the Congregation, and the reply was that the first marriage was invalid *dummodo constet de non-collatione baptismi mulieris*, the second marriage valid *dummodo nullum aliud impedimentum obstat*.

We give the question and the reply:—

Vir quidam protestans Anglicanae sectae vult amplecti Catholicam religionem. In Anglia matrimonium fecit cum muliere quae ad sectam Anabaptistarum pertinebat et quae, prout ipse affirmat, nunquam baptizata fuit. Quum vero ipse baptismum a ministro Protestante Anglicano receperit, de validitate ejus

proprii baptismatis ratio quoque dubitandi gravis existit. Propter jurgia continua mulierem Anabaptistam vir praefatus deseruit venitque N., ubi matrimonium iterum fecit, sed cum muliere Lutherana. Quenam ex istis mulieribus tanquam ejus uxor haberi debet? S. C. die 20 Jul. 1840 respondit: Dummodo constet de non collatione baptismi mulieris Anabaptistae primum matrimonium fuisse nullum: secundum vero, dummodo nullum aliud impedimentum obstet, fuisse validum.

If, therefore, John, having been first baptized, *had already contracted* a marriage with the Catholic girl, and inquired about his status, we might, adapting the response of the Congregation reply: '*Dummodo constet de non-collatione baptismi Joannis, primum matrimonium cum Anna fuit nullum; secundum vero, dummodo nullum aliud impedimentum obstet, fuit validum.*'

It is worth noting that in the reply just given, the Congregation asserts that, in the absence of another impediment, the marriage of this Anglican with the Lutheran woman was valid. There is no reference to the necessity or desirability of the Pauline dispensation.

We should not fail to note, also, that the Anglican contracted this marriage with the Lutheran woman at a time when he was, more or less probably, already the husband of the Anabaptist. Yet, in the face of this doubtful impediment of the divine law, the Congregation upheld the validity of the marriage.

Can we, however, give the same reply when there is question of *contracting* a marriage? Can John be allowed to contract a second marriage, though it is more or less probable that *in foro interno*, at all events, he is already married to Anne. We think that the principles involved in the reply of July 20, 1840, given above, necessarily cover the case of a marriage yet to be contracted. But, lest it may appear that the Congregation would have dealt differently with a marriage yet to be contracted, we give a reply of the same Congregation, July, 1830, which removes all doubt from our minds. A number of questions were put regarding the marriage of an unbaptized person with a heretic doubtfully baptized—the very case proposed to us. We give two

of the questions, with their answers, which bear on the matter in hand.

Matrimonium dubie baptizati cum non baptizata estne validum? Si affirmative ad primum poteritne pars dubie baptizata uti privilegio fidei post reiterationem baptismi; et vice versa poteritne pars non baptizata uti privilegio post baptismum, si pars dubie baptizata nolet converti aut pacifice cohabitare? S.C. Jul., 1880, respondit: 'Ad primum, matrimonium habendum esse uti invalidum ob impedimentum cultus disparitatis. Ad secundum, provisum in priori.'

The Holy Office, therefore, we have no doubt, would reply to our correspondent's question by saying that John's first marriage was to be considered invalid, and that consequently there is no need of recourse to the *privilegium fidei*.

All this seems undoubtedly true *in foro externo*. But is it true *in foro interno*? *In foro interno*, as we have seen above, John is possibly, or probably, the husband of Anne? Can he then *in foro conscientiae* disregard this probable impediment of the divine law. Judging by the terms of the reply just quoted, we think, he can. The Congregation was asked: '*Poteritne pars non-baptizata uti privilegio post baptismum, si pars dubie baptizata nolet converti aut pacifice cohabitare?*' The reply was *provisum in priori*, in which the invalidity of the marriage was asserted. Now, this reply would be quite insufficient and unsatisfactory, if the Congregation recognised any obligation, even *in foro interno*, of using the Pauline dispensation. In view of such an obligation, the reply, no doubt, would have been '*potest et debet uti privilegio saltem ad cautelam*.' From the terms in which the answer was given we think ourselves safe in asserting that John is free *tum in foro externo tum in foro interno* to marry the Catholic girl without using the Pauline dispensation *ad cautelam*.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

CEREMONIES OF HOLY SATURDAY MORNING

REV. DEAR SIR, --Please inform me in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD how I am to proceed with the blessing of the font and holy water for the faithful in a parish church where the ceremonies of Holy Week are not carried out. Of course, in churches where they are solemnly carried out, and in those smaller churches where there are not sacred ministers, the rubrics are clearly laid down in Baldeschi. What about the blessing of the Paschal candle which should be used? Is there not (unless I mistake) a general rubric with regard to the ceremonies of Holy Week, that unless you carry them out in their entirety the three days, you are not to begin them on Holy Thursday morning?¹

P. P.

This question should, we think, be regarded as merely speculative. For in every parish church the entire morning services of the last three days of Holy Week should be gone through, either solemnly, when the requisite ministers and choir can be conveniently had, or as prescribed for small churches by Benedict XIII., where three or four altar-boys can be procured. Now, there is no parish priest in Ireland who could not procure this number of altar-boys; and therefore, there is no parish priest in Ireland who should not have in his church, in obedience to the laws of the Church, for the edification, consolation, and spiritual advantage of his people, the touching ceremonies of the three most solemn days of the year. Just fancy Holy Thursday, the day on which we commemorate the institution of the Most Holy Sacrament, without Mass in the parish church, without communion for the faithful, without a word from the priest to remind the people of the great act of love commemorated on that day, with, perhaps, the church doors locked,

¹ We answered a precisely similar question in these pages just two years ago (see vol. xvi., pp. 356 *et seq.*); but as little notice seems to have been taken of the reply then given, and as the matter is, in our opinion, one of grave importance, we give a full reply to this question also.

so that the people cannot, if they would, even visit our Lord! This occurs, and the parish priest thinks he is discharging his duty to God, and to the people over whom he has been placed! But, as our correspondent rightly remarks, the morning ceremonies of this Holy Triduum are so intimately connected, that it is forbidden to celebrate those on Holy Thursday, unless they are to be followed by the ceremonies proper to the two following days. And should not the people be invited to come to the church on Good Friday morning, to meditate on the Passion and Death of their Saviour? And what form of devotion or of religious service will produce the same impression on them as the touching ceremonies wherein the Church mourns for her Spouse? We have seen a whole congregation shedding tears while the priest uncovered the cross, and during the subsequent adoration of this symbol of our redemption. The ceremonies of Holy Saturday are also most beautiful and most impressive. It is impossible not to feel a thrill of heavenly joy, when, after the mourning and desolation of the preceding days, the Mass of Holy Saturday begins. The lights, the flowers, the carpets, and the rich vestments, together with the music, and ringing of bells, which break forth at the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the simultaneous uncovering of the statues and paintings around the sanctuary makes one more vividly realize the glorious Resurrection of Christ, than do even the ceremonies of Easter Day itself.

But is there a law of the Church obliging parish priests to carry out the ceremonies of the Holy Triduum? There is, if a decree of a Roman Congregation issued with the authority of the Pope constitutes a law of the Church. In replying to a question similar to the present one in the April number of the I. E. RECORD for 1895, we reproduced the following decree:—

An Ecclesia Parochialis *omnino adigatur* ad functiones Sabbati Sancti juxta parvum Caerimoniale sa, me, Benedicti XIII. si sufficienti clero destituatur.

Affirmative, et servetur in omnibus solitum juxta parvum Caerimoniale Benedicti Papae XIII.

It is true that there is mention made in the decree only

of Holy Saturday, but from what has been already said regarding the interdependence of the functions of the three days, it follows that the obligation which this decree imposes extends to the functions of Thursday and Friday as well, since it is unlawful to celebrate the functions of any one of the three days unless they have been preceded or are to be followed by those of the other two. Hence a parish priest who can procure the assistance of three or four altar boys—and every parish priest in Ireland *can*, we maintain, procure such assistance—is bound to carry out the morning services of the Triduum of Holy Week. The ceremonies are simplicity itself;¹ and any intelligent boy can be instructed in his part of each morning's functions in a few minutes.

But if a parish priest neglects his manifest duty, and omits the functions of these days, what is to be said about blessing the font? The font cannot be blessed as a part of the function proper to Holy Saturday, and consequently need not be blessed at all so far as the rubrics of the missal and the decrees of the Congregation of Rites relating to this subject are concerned. But it may be necessary to bless the font on Holy Saturday for another reason. It is unlawful to use the old baptismal water after the holy oils blessed on the preceding Holy Thursday have been distributed to the clergy. Hence, if a parish priest who has omitted the morning functions of the Triduum receives the holy oils on or before Holy Saturday, he should bless the font on that day; but as the ceremony is wholly unconnected with the functions proper to that morning, he may bless the font in the evening as well as in the morning, and *must* bless it according to the form given in the Ritual. There is, therefore, no Paschal candle to be used, and consequently there can be no question of blessing one.

¹ See *The Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions* (Browne & Nolan), in which the fullest instructions are given for the Holy Week Ceremonies in both large and small churches.

THE FUNCTIONS OF HOLY WEEK

REV. DEAR SIR,—Where, in small churches, oratories, &c., there is permission for the ceremonies of Holy Week to be carried out according to the directions of Benedict XIII.—

1. Can there be any justification for carrying them out with only one altar-boy?

2. May the celebrant dispense with canopy, cross-bearer, and acolytes in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament, and in removing the ciborium from the High Altar to the Altar of Repose?

3. May the blessing of the grains of incense and of the Paschal candle be lawfully omitted in any case?

C.C.

1. There can be no necessity, and consequently no justification.

2. He may not dispense with any of these except the canopy.

3. This blessing may be omitted for a sufficient reason; but it is hard to conceive whence a sufficient reason should arise.

WHAT IS MEANT BY A PRIVATE MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—An expression in the January number (p. 83), 'A Private or Low Mass,' suggests some questions to which I have long been seeking an answer:—

1. What is the exact and technical meaning of the term *Missa privata*?

Of the authors within my reach, Martinucci has nothing on the subject, and De Herdt and Wapelhorst do not go into it thoroughly. For either the *Divisio Missae* which they give does not profess to be adequate (and in that case they simply avoid the point of the question), or they lay down that every *Missa lecta* is also a *Missa privata*. But this cannot be admitted; for (amongst other reasons) *Missae privatae* are forbidden on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday. Yet the *Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII., drawn up to regulate the liturgy in the smaller parish churches, clearly assumes that the Mass on these days will not be sung, but read only.

— Since the term 'Low Mass' means simply a Mass *not sung*, it is plain that on the answer to the above question will depend

whether it can be used as exactly synonymous with *Missa privata*.

And that this subject has more than a theoretic interest will be seen by the answer to the

2nd. When the principal Mass in a parish (or, as in England, mission) church on a Sunday, is not sung, but *read* only, should the celebrant add the *Hail Mary*, &c., ordered by Pope Leo. XIII. to be said *post Missam privatam*?

Benedictine communities (I do not know the use with other religious) omit these prayers after their conventual Mass, even when it has been only a *Missa lecta*. I know two such communities where, on semi-doubles, there are two conventual Masses, the second—*de Requiem*—being sung, the first of the feast being only read; yet these prayers are omitted even after the first.

May we not say that the principal Mass in a parish church on Sundays, holidays of obligation, and even feasts of devotion, constitutes a class by itself, analogous to the *Missa conventualis*, and is not, therefore, a *Missa privata*?

AN IRISH PRIEST IN ENGLAND.

The phrase, *Missa privata*, or 'private Mass,' has two significations, one of which is opposed to 'public,' the other to 'solemn' Mass. A public Mass is that which is celebrated in a church or public oratory, and at which the general body of the faithful are invited, or expected, or at least free to attend; while a private, as contradistinguished from a public Mass, is one which is celebrated in a private oratory, or, if celebrated in a public oratory or church, is one at which the general body of the faithful are either not free or not expected, or at least not invited to attend. Of the distinction here given, Le Brun¹ writes:—

Jam inde ab annis 1200 et amplius missa quae in aliqua ecclesia, omnibus tum viris, tum mulieribus convocatis celebrabatur, missa publica dicta fuit, ut a missis secerneretur, quae nonnunquam privatae nuncupabantur, quippe quae in peculiaribus sacellis, aut pro defunctis, propinquis tantum et amicis accitis, aut in monasteriorum ecclesiis celebrarentur.

¹ *Explicatio Missae*, p. 3.

Another description of a private, as distinguished from a public Mass, is given by Merati.¹

Missa privata, prout distinguitur a publica, est illa in qua solus sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat.

Now, manifestly, the ordinary signification of the phrase, *Missa privata*, is neither one nor other of the two here given. For, to mention only one reason, there are evidently many Masses to which the title 'private' may be justly applied; but there are very few Masses at which the faithful are not free to assist, or at which one or another in addition to the celebrant may not communicate. Hence we must accept as the ordinary signification of 'private Mass,' not that which it has when opposed to 'public Mass,' but that which it has when opposed to solemn Mass.

As distinguished from a solemn Mass, then, a private Mass is one in which the celebrant is not assisted by deacon or sub-deacon, in which there is no singing, and but one Mass-server. Thus writes Cardinal Bona²:—

Alii rectius (missa) privatam vocant, quae sine diacono et subdiacono et cantoribus, uno tantum ministrante, celebratur, sive aliqui fideles ei intersint sive nullus adsit, sive solus celebrans, communicet, sive sint aliqui communicantes.

To the same effect are the words of Merati³:—

Missa privata, prout distinguitur a missa solemnī, est illa quae privatim et peculiariter et sine cantu uno duntaxat clerico ministrante, sive in ecclesia sive in oratorio privato celebratur.

Hence, as distinguished from a Solemn Mass, or a *Missa cantata*, every Mass that is simply read—that is, of which no part is sung by the celebrant, is a private Mass. For, by *cantoribus* and *in cantu* of the authors, quoted above, is meant the same thing; namely, that there should be singers or chanters singing alternately with the celebrant, for music and singing in which the celebrant takes no part do not of themselves constitute the solemnity of the Mass. Thus, our

¹ *In Gavantum*, part 1, n. 16.

² *Rerum Liturgicarum*, l.i., c. 13, n. 5.

³ *In Gavantum*, pars. i., no. 46.

parochial Masses on Sundays, at which in many places a choir sings portions of the Mass, still remain private as distinguished from Solemn Masses, unless when the celebrant sings those parts assigned by the rubrics to the celebrant of a Solemn Mass, or of a *Missa cantata*. Hence we conclude that every Mass not sung by the celebrant is a 'private Mass,' in the ordinary signification of that phrase, and, consequently, that the phrases 'private Mass' and 'low Mass' are synonymous. By the former phrase the Mass is distinguished from a 'Solemn Mass,' by the latter from a 'High Mass.'

The objection taken from the *Memoriale Rituum* is of no consequence. Private Masses *were* forbidden on the last three days of Holy Week, until the publication of the *Memoriale Rituum*; but the very object which Benedict XIII. had in view in issuing this addition to the liturgy was to sanction the celebration on these days of Low Masses, or private Masses, instead of the Solemn Masses, which, up to his time, had alone been permitted. The 'private Masses' now forbidden on the Holy Triduum are Masses in addition to those required for the carrying out of the functions proper to each day. Are not Solemn Masses, as well as private Masses, forbidden on these days?

2. We are not certain whether a Conventual Mass, celebrated as a Low Mass, differs from an ordinary Low Mass in any way, or possesses any privilege which an ordinary Low Mass does not possess. We have met phrases like the following: *Non solum in missa stricte privata sed etiam in conventuali*, which would seem to imply a difference. But, however this may be, we are prepared to accept the practice referred to by our correspondent as a proof either that a Conventual Mass, though not sung, is not one of those 'private Masses' after which the Papal prayers are to be said, or that the religious have got a dispensation. *Culpa non praesumitur*.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEW CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Enclosed please find a few suggestions for the consideration of the Committee appointed to draft the New Catechism, which, I think, may prove useful for children if put by the way of question and answer. From my little experience of boys at Catechism, I think it well to have them taught that the church is a holy place, the house of God, and the gate of heaven, and as such should be revered as God's sanctuary. And when entering the church to bend the right knee to the ground, and say some little prayer, or make an act of Faith like the following, which I was taught when going to Catechism : 'I adore Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, in the most holy sacrament of the altar.' And further they should know, that when entering, during the Forty-hours' Adoration, they ought to make a prostration. I think it wise, also to mention at what part of holy Mass they should kneel, stand, or sit. Similar instructions might also be given as regards their attendance at Vespers, because I think it strange to see one here and another there standing during the chanting of the *Magnificat*, or the singing of a hymn, and all the rest of the congregation sitting. Besides they should understand, that they are expected to answer aloud all the prayers said by the priest in English, especially after the Mass.

In the Catechism ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth at page 20, Lesson 10, the following question is asked : 'Are all obliged to be of the true Church?' And the answer given is : 'No one can be saved out of it.' An explanation such as appears in *Catholic Belief* might be useful after this answer.

Lesson 12, on Sin. This chapter would be improved if the following, or something similar were inserted : 'To make sin mortal, there must be a grave matter, or clear knowledge and full and free consent of the will.' Then an explanation of what is a venial sin. This, of course, is better explained by an example given. I would also give the meaning of the seven capital sins which does not appear in this chapter, and I would add how one becomes accessory to the sins of others, which did appear in some of the old catechisms, as follows : By counsel ;

by command; by consent; by provocation; by praise or flattery; by silence, when one ought to speak; by concealment; by aiding; by defending sins of others. Pointing out at the same time, that to be accessory to the sin of another means to be a partner in that sin, and, therefore, the sin of another is imputed to the partner.

Lesson 17, page 33, on the Second Commandment. Besides what is already given, the following might be inserted. That cursing means to wish evil to ourselves or to any of God's creatures. And that the sin of blasphemy is committed by those who speak evil of God, of the saints, or of holy things.

Lesson 18, page 36. The meaning of scandal might be given, when it is direct or indirect. At page 37 the Seventh Commandment is fully explained; but, perhaps, if the following were added it might prove useful: 'That workmen who idle the time for which their employer pays them violate this precept.' I would also add to this chapter, the meaning of the words, 'backbiting, calumny, detraction,' &c., when treating of the Eighth Commandment. The advantage of this will be better understood when we remember that Catechism classes are taught by members of confraternities; and as it is possible a child might ask the teacher the meaning of those words, it would be desirable for one as well as the other, that a proper explanation was given in the Catechism.

Lesson 25, on Confirmation. The following might be added. Wisdom teaches us to direct all our actions to the glory of God, and our last end; Understanding enables us to contemplate and submit to the mysteries of faith; Counsel discovers to us the frauds and deceits of the devil, the better to avoid them; Fortitude strengthens us against the persecutions of the world; Knowledge teaches us to know and understand the will of God; Piety makes us devout and zealous to put it in execution; and Fear makes us cautious not to offend so gracious a Majesty. I would also explain the cardinal virtues, pointing out the difference between Temperance and Total Abstinence; and while doing so would it not be well to exhort all the young to enrol themselves members of the Juvenile Total Abstinence Sodality, now held monthly in many of our churches. This would, I think, be practically carrying out the spirit of the Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Kildare and Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory, in 1890.

In conclusion, what better can I do than ask your Very Rev. Committee to consider the importance, and the advantage of adding as a supplement to the New Catechism, the elementary portion of Father James Cullen's Temperance Catechism, which is comprised of nine pages, a copy of which I have sent you with this letter. Possibly I would not refer to the temperance question, were I not impressed by the following extract of a letter from His late Eminence Cardinal Manning, written a few years before his death:—'Let us not forget that at this moment drunkenness is spreading among our children, and that boys and girls are to be seen drunk in our streets, and that there are drinking-places habitually frequented by boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen years of age.' I would have written before this, but unfortunately I did not read the I. E. RECORD until a few days ago.

I am, Rev. Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN P. JOSEPH.

THE NATIONAL CATECHISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—Taking in its literal sense the invitation given to your readers, to offer suggestions, however unimportant, touching the preparation of the new Catechism, I venture to recommend an improvement in the form of the 'Prayer before teaching the Catechism,' found on one of the first pages of the Catechism now in use: 'O Lord God of infinite beauty and mercy,' &c. The fault of the form in which the prayer now stands, in addition to its being, as it seems to me, an unnecessarily severe handling of the venerable translation to which we were accustomed, of the 'Deus qui Corda Fidelium,' is, that it is impossible of committal to memory.

I feel quite sure of my suggestion having been long since anticipated by the compilers' own intentions, and I feel also sure that any change they contemplate making in the prayer will be a change vastly for the better.—Yours, Very Rev. Dear Sir.

A. K.

DOCUMENTS

THE ACT 9TH OF WILLIAM III.

Two very important papers have appeared in the last two issues of the I. E. RECORD—one of which from the pen of the Most Rev. Dr. Healy—the eminent Author of *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, contains the correspondence of the Bishop of Jaurin [Raab] respecting the remarkable picture of the Infant Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, now known as that of 'Our Lady of Györ'—brought to the city of that name by an exiled Irish bishop, Dr. Lynch—two hundred years ago; and the other by an accomplished writer, the Rev. J. J. Ryan, under the heading 'Our Lady of Györ and Bishop Walter Lynch.' In both of these papers reference is made to the infamous and tyrannical Act 9th of William III. for *banishing* the Irish Clergy; and as the substance of this infamous Act is not generally known, the reproduction of it may be useful to the readers of the I. E. RECORD—and at the present time may have a special interest having regard to current events.

There is one very remarkable clause in this Act that shows to what extent the Reformation Government by which it was passed had studied the machinery for the utter extirpation of the Catholic faith from Ireland. It is well known to the readers of Irish history, that the confiscation of the churches, monasteries, and their properties destroyed all chance of the people coming together in the open, for the purpose of devotion, without incurring the severest penalties of the Reformation Law. They were driven to the morasses, the woods, the rocks, and the caves for the purpose of having the Divine Mysteries celebrated for them; or for the administration of some sacrament, by a banned and proscribed priest, over whose head dangled the rope and the gibbet. But even then there was one place where it was possible to meet and pray—on melancholy occasions—without the rigours of the law pursuing.

The grave-yard was still neutral ground, and the occasion of an interment brought the faithful together, and when they came together they prayed—oft-times their prayers directed by a priest, who suddenly appeared among them, and as suddenly disappeared

when the last offices were over. The grave-yards were always in the vicinities of the churches and monasteries, and when the people would have said their last prayer over the newly-filled grave, it was their usual custom to kneel upon the graves of the deceased members of their respective families, and afterwards assemble and pray before the ruined Altars in their now roofless churches. Such prayer was to them a solace in their affliction; but even that solace was taken away from them by the VI. clause of the infamous '9th of William III.'—except indeed, that they interred in those grounds in the vicinities of places 'made use of for celebrating Divine Mysteries, according to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland, by law established'—a concession that but few, if any, availed of. This infamous clause is unknown to many people at the present time; and, therefore, the reproduction of the Act in its entirety may have more than a passing interest for the many.

C. G. DORAN.

QUEENSTOWN,

Patrick's Day, 1897.

'A.D. 1697.

'THE NINTH YEAR OF WILLIAM III.

'CHAPTER I.

'An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish Clergy out of this Kingdom.

'WHEREAS it is notoriously known, that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish clergy; and for as much as the peace and publick safety of this kingdom is in danger, by the great number of said archbishops, bishops, jesuits, friers, and other regular Romish clergy now residing here, and settling in fraternities and societies, contrary to law and to the great impoverishing of many of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, who are forced to maintain and support them: which said Romish clergy do not only endeavour to withdraw his Majesty's subject from their odedience, but do daily stir up, and move sedition and rebellion, to the great hazard of the ruine and desolation of this kingdom: for the prevention of all which mischiefs, his Majesty is graciously pleased that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most

excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual, and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friers, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart out of this kingdom before the first day of May, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight ; and if any of the said ecclesiastical persons shall be at any time after the first day of May within this kingdom, they, and every of them, shall suffer imprisonment, and remain in prison, without bail or mainprize, till he or they shall be transported beyond seas, out of his Majesty's dominions, wherever his Majesty, his heirs or successors, or the chief governor or governors of this kingdom, for the time being, shall think fit ; and if any person so transported shall return again into this kingdom, they, and every of them, shall be guilty of high treason ; and every person so offending shall for his offence be judged a traytor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit as in case of high treason.

‘II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every such popish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friers, and all other popish regular clergy in this kingdom, shall, before the said first day of May, repair to the city of Dublin, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, Waterford, Wexford, Gallway, or Carrickfergus, and there remain, until there shall be conveniency of shipping for their transportation into some parts beyond seas, and out of his Majesty's dominions ; and every of them, on their first coming into any of the said cities and towns, giving in their names to the mayor, or other chief magistrate, who is hereby required to register the same, and return an account thereof to the Clerk of the Council within ten days ; and that the said mayor, or other chief magistrate of each town, and also the collector and surveyor of the port, shall give their best assistance in transporting every such popish archbishop, bishop, and other popish regular clergyman.

‘III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the 29th day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, no popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, dean, nor any other papist exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not established by the laws of this kingdom, jesuit or frier,

shall come into this kingdom from any parts beyond the seas, on pain of twelve months imprisonment, and then to be transported in manner aforesaid ; and if any such Romish ecclesiastical person, so transported, shall again return into this kingdom, he and they so offending shall be guilty of high treason, and suffer accordingly.

IV. And be it further enacted, that any person, that shall from and after the said first day of May, knowingly harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain any such popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, dean, jesuit, frier, or any other papist exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not established by the laws of this kingdom, or any regular popish clergyman, hereby required to depart out of this kingdom in manner aforesaid, or that from and after the said twenty-ninth day of December, one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, shall come into this kingdom, contrary to the tenor of this act, shall for the first offence forfeit the sum of twenty pounds ; for the second offence double the same sum ; to be levied in manner hereinafter expressed ; and if he shall offend the third time, to forfeit all his lands and tenements of freehold or inheritance, during his life, and also his goods and chattels : one moiety whereof to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the other moiety to such person as shall inform, so that such moiety do not exceed the sum of one hundred pounds, and the surplus of what shall remain, to his Majesty, his heirs and successors ; the said forfeiture for such third offence to be recovered by bill, plaint, information, or action for debt, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Dublin, or at the Assizes in the respective counties.

V. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that upon information on oath to any justice of the peace in his respective county against any person or persons, that shall knowingly entertain, succour, relieve, or conceal any such popish person, contrary to the purport and meaning of this Act, the said justice of the peace shall immediately issue a summons in writing under his hand, thereby requiring the person and persons so informed against, at a certain day and place within the said county where such offence shall be committed, to appear before him and some other justices of the peace of the said county, to answer the said matter laid to his or their charge ; at which time and place the said justices shall, in presence of the person or persons accused, or in case of his or their neglect to appear, being duly summoned,

proceed to examination of the said matter ; and, if it shall appear to them on evidence upon oath, that the person or persons so complained of are guilty, the said justices shall, by warrant under their hands and seals, levy the aforesaid forfeitures of twenty pounds for the first offence, and forty pounds for the second offence, of the goods and chattels of the person or persons offending, by distress, sale, or otherwise, and dispose of one moiety of such forfeitures to the informer or informers, and the other moiety to the treasurer of the county where such offences shall be committed, for the uses of the county ; and for default thereof, to commit the person offending to the county gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize until he or they shall pay the said forfeitures and penalties.

‘VI. And be it further enacted, that no person whatsoever shall, from and after the said twenty-ninth day of December, bury any dead in any suppress monastery, abbey, or convent, that is not made use of for celebrating Divine Service, according to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland by law established, or within the precincts thereof, upon pain of forfeiting the sum of ten pounds ; which said sum of ten pounds shall and may be recovered from any person or persons that shall be present at such burial, and offending contrary to the tenor of this Act ; which said forfeitures all and every justices of the peace, in his and their respective counties, are hereby authorized to hear and determine in manner as hereinbefore is mentioned and declared ; one moiety of which said last forfeiture for burying contrary to this Act shall be by such justice given unto the informer, and the other moiety to the minister and churchwardens of the parish where any such offences shall be committed, to be disposed of for the use of the parish.

‘VII. Provided always, that if any person or persons shall think him or themselves aggrieved, by the judgment and determination of two such justices of the peace, that the person and persons so aggrieved may appeal from their judgment and determination to the next judges of assize, or to the justices of peace at the next general quarter sessions, who are hereby empowered to examine the said matter, and give such relief therein as to them shall seem meet.

‘VIII. And it is further enacted, that all and every justice of the peace shall from time to time issue their warrants for apprehending and committal of all popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits,

friers, and other popish ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, that shall remain and continue in this kingdom, contrary to the tenor and meaning of this Act; and for suppressing all monasteries, frieries, nunneries, or other popish fraternities or societies.

‘IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the justices of the peace in this kingdom shall give an account in writing of their proceedings in execution of this statute, at the next general quarter sessions for the county in which he shall dwell, which shall be at such quarter sessions entered and registered.

‘X. And be it further enacted, that if any justice of the peace, mayor, or other officer, shall neglect doing their duty in execution of this present Act, every such justice of the peace, mayor, and other officer, shall, for every such neglect, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no protection, essoin, or wages of law shall be allowed of, nor but one imparlance, one moiety thereof to the King’s Majesty, his heirs and successors, the other moiety to the informer, or person that shall sue for the same, and be disabled from serving as a justice of the peace during his life.’

P.S.—The picture of ‘Our Lady of Györ,’ an illustration of which accompanies Father Ryan’s paper, is evidently of Spanish origin, and most probably of the school of Spanish painters led by Velazquez and Murillo. So far as can be judged by the illustration, it is severely simple—such as the paintings at that period in Spain, not intended for the *Galeria Reservada of Madrid*, were bound to be. The bare head, sleek hair, elongated features, chaste and simple robe, are all typical of that period of Spanish art, and the pomegranate pattern on the coverlet is also a strong testimony of its Spanish origin—the pomegranate (symbolic of spiritual graces) being frequently used by Spanish artists in the embellishment of their religious pictures and decoration of their churches.

C. G. D.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE AMBASSADOR OF CHRIST. By Cardinal Gibbons.
Baltimore : Murphy & Co.

THE priest is called by God to labour for his own sanctification and for the sanctification of others. His success in the latter will largely depend on the effort he puts forth to acquire the former. He should, therefore, eagerly lay hold of whatever tends to his personal sanctification. The young priest coming forth from his *Alma Mater* may be pious, zealous, and well equipped with theological knowledge, yet in many things regarding the practical ways of men he is 'a stranger in a strange land.' The eyes of the community are fixed on the exalted position in which his sacred office places him, and however things may have been in the past, it is now quite certain that, should occasion arise, he will be subjected to a certain measure of unfavourable criticism. During his college course he had the benefit of the advice of experienced professors. To these he looked up with confidence and reverence. But launched on the perilous sea of life, he is deprived of the supports of college discipline, and he requires a sincere and experienced counsellor to warn him of the shoals and rocks to be avoided. Amongst his clerical brethren it is not always easy to find one who is prepared to act the part of the 'candid friend.' Experience proves that priests are rather shy in telling a brother priest that he is acting imprudently. Perhaps through humility they distrust their own judgment, perhaps they fear that their admonition would be ill-received and do little good. However it may be, it is quite certain that many priests would be better from time to time to have someone to 'lead them aside from the crowd,' and recall to their minds what is expected from the exalted dignity of their sacred profession.

Many very excellent books have been written to attain this end. There are few young priests who have not in their library Cardinal Manning's priceless *Eternal Priesthood*. Many priests on the mission make it a rule to read this excellent treatise once a year to remind them of the dignity and danger of their sacred calling. The late saintly Vincentian, Father M'Namara, has given the benefit of his varied experience in the ministry

in the best and most practical of his works, the *Enchiridion Clericorum*. The *Selva* of St. Ligouri has the recommendation of being written by one not only of immense experience, but by one who was also a master in the spiritual life. One would have imagined that there was little room in the field for a new work of similar character, and this was our opinion till we read the very excellent work of Cardinal Gibbons, *The Ambassador of Christ*. Occupying a position in the Church which gives him a right to speak with authority, in the treatise before us he begins at the beginning 'on the excellence of the Christian priesthood,' and step by step, with master hand, he traces the path of the priest to the end, where he dwells on the 'consolations and rewards of the priest.' Writing for the American Church, where life is more progressive than amongst us, he does not hesitate to speak plainly to the student, the professor, and the priest on the mission. To bring forth his model in bolder relief, he frequently paints an emphatic shading, and, indeed, in this perhaps sometimes goes farther than one less exalted and experienced would care to go. He illustrates his subject with a wealth of quotation sacred and profane, which shows immense research. Besides, he has ever at hand a fund of anecdotes and illustrations which are the result of a long experience of men and things, and are always to the point. This experience he applies well in tracing effects to their cause. Thus in the chapter treating of the 'Divine Vocation to the Sacred Ministry,' he says:—

'Are we not shocked in our own day by the sad spectacle of degraded ministers of the Gospel, who have not only soiled their sacred garments, but unblushingly glory in their shame before the world; who have not only forsaken the mother that reared them, but who insult and villify her, who hire themselves for a price to the enemy? How were these lights extinguished? How did these ambassadors of Christ perish? Very probably their downward course began in the seminary, where they led an indolent and tepid life, without betraying, however, any evidence of glaring delinquencies. The day of ordination was contemplated by them not with salutary dread on account of the new yoke it imposed, but rather with joy as emancipating them from seminary restraints, and inaugurating a reign of mundane freedom. In the ministry they lived without order or method. They prayed without devotion. Their official duties were irksome and oppressive, and were performed in a perfunctory manner. The studies congenial to the ecclesiastical state became an intolerable bore. They lived on the excitement of the hour.

They were at first sustained by amusements which were harmless. When these began to pall, they indulged in more stimulating and dangerous pleasures. Meantime God's grace was less abundantly bestowed on them; their conscience became blunted, their intellect clouded; for "the sensual man perceiveth not these things that are the Spirit of God." These Divine warnings which before had stung the soul were brushed aside as weak-minded scruples. To every fresh attack of temptation they offered a more feeble resistance, till at last they fell easy and willing captives to the tempter.'

In the chapter on 'Marks of a Divine Vocation' we have a rule of life so brief and simple that any priest on the mission may ordinarily carry it out, and so practical that, if carried out, we have no hesitation in saying that the zeal of the pastor would be quickened, and he would speedily become a veritable 'homo Dei.'

The treatment of the 'Duties of Preceptors towards their Scholars' is exceedingly good, spoken in a plain, matter-of-fact style, which no doubt will be read attentively by that learned and responsible body—our college professors. There is a conviction on the mind of many missionary priests that the system in some of our colleges is such as to put a premium on tale-bearing and espionage. It is undoubtedly a fact that very frequently the students who basked during their college days in the sunshine of favour with superiors, became afterwards on the mission not the 'forma gregis' which too confiding professors imagined they would be. Our learned author says:—

'While the vigilance of superiors should be active in observing and prompt in correcting, it should be entirely free from a spirit of espionage and distrust, which is calculated to make hypocrites, and to provoke the clandestine violation of rules. If the students are persuaded that they are habitually suspected and watched, they also will have their eye on their professors. They will take a morbid pleasure in eating the forbidden fruit, in drinking the "stolen waters, which are sweeter, and eating hidden bread, which is more pleasant." I once heard of a professor, who always pre-supposed that the students were untrustworthy until they gave proof of virtue. The opposite rule, which assumes that they are good until their vicious character is made manifest, is certainly to be preferred.'

The Church has always been desirous to have an educated priesthood. Learning is especially necessary for the priest in

these days of free education. There is scarcely a congregation to be found at the present time where a misquoted text or a grammatical error will not be detected by some of the audience. It behoves the priest, therefore, to be a man of education. Cardinal Gibbons is very forcible on this point; he puts learning even before piety.

‘Piety [he says] in a priest, though indispensable, can never be an adequate substitute for learning. He may have zeal, but not the “zeal according to knowledge” which the Apostle commends. Knowledge without piety may, indeed, make a Churchman vain and arrogant, but piety without knowledge renders him an unprofitable servant. The absence of piety makes him hurtful to himself, but the absence of knowledge makes him a stumbling-block to others. “I would prefer [says St. Teresa] to consult a learned confessor who did not practise prayer rather than a man of prayer who was not learned, for the latter could not guide me in the truth.” An ill-instructed priesthood is the scourge of the Church.’

Another point excellently treated by our learned author is the preparation of sermons. A fluent speaker may be tempted to give little or no preparation to his instructions. He is confident that words shall not fail him, and frequent interruptions will often make study irksome. We have it on excellent authority that “sermons do good in proportion to the amount of study that is given to their preparation.” On this subject a very good anecdote is told in the chapter on “The Preparation of Sermons” :—

‘Several years ago a certain clergyman delivered a discourse in the Baltimore Cathedral, in presence of some distinguished prelates, including Archbishop Hughes. At the dinner which followed, the preacher remarked: “Upon my word, until I entered the pulpit I had not determined on the subject of my sermon.” “I thought as much when I heard you,” quietly rejoined the Archbishop of New York.’

From the above quotations, selected almost at random, the thoroughly practical character of *The Ambassador of Christ* may be judged. It is a book which will be a valuable addition to the library of the priest. If studied from time to time it will act the part of a sincere friend, by recalling to mind the exalted dignity of the priestly state, and the serious obligations connected with it.

F. L.

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH AS A WITNESS TO CATHOLIC DOCTRINE. By John Salmon, M.R.S.A.I., 'S. J.' Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Belfast and Glasgow: The Catholic Book Co., &c.

MR. SALMON, the learned author of this work, has been long known to the reading public in Belfast, and in Ulster generally, as 'S. J.,' the doughty champion of Catholic doctrines and Catholic practices against all and sundry who dared assail them. His original and highly interesting work on the Round Towers of Ireland, published a few years ago, and favourably received by all who take an interest in these hoary puzzles of the learned, made his name, or at least his *nom de plume*, known far beyond the confines of the Northern province. The present work is addressed to a still more numerous class, and will, we venture to predict, introduce his name to every student of Irish history, and to every Irishman, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, who glories in the close union that has ever subsisted between the See of St. Peter and the Church of St. Patrick.

Many impudent, unjust, and unfounded claims have Irish Protestants made since Browne (who, like Luther, was an apostate Augustinian monk) was thrust into the see of Dublin. They claimed our cathedrals and our churches; they claimed our abbeys and our abbeylands, and a Protestant Government allowed and defended their claims. They claimed a right to compel Catholics to support their clergy, whose chief occupation consisted in vilifying and calumniating all that Catholics held most sacred; and this claim, too, did the Government allow and enforce, even to the shedding of blood. But undoubtedly the most impudent, the most unjust, and the most unfounded claim they have ever made is the claim to our national apostle as the founder of Protestantism in Ireland. Yes, think of it! 'St. Patrick was an Episcopalian,' say the followers of Cranmer and Ridley; 'a Presbyterian,' shout the disciples of Calvin and Knox; and both in chorus cry out, 'the early Irish Church had no connection with Rome, and her doctrines and practices were not those of the Church of Rome!' It is hard to write temperately of claims like these, which not only have no foundation, but which are rejected, implicitly at least, by every written record of the early Irish Church. But out of evil has come forth good. Just as the doctrinal heresies which have sprung up

in the course of ages compelled the champions of orthodoxy to examine the rejected dogmas more closely, to explain them more fully, and to establish them more firmly; so has this historical heresy compelled Irish Catholic writers to summon from hitherto unexplored regions witnesses to the truth of the Roman mission of St. Patrick, and of the connection of the early Irish Church with the Roman See. This work has been going on, though with interruptions, since the time of Ussher, so that Mr. Salmon has been able to embody in his book not merely the results of his own original researches, but also the results of the labours in the same field of a host of distinguished writers who had gone before him. As a consequence, Mr. Salmon's book is not only the best book on this subject that has yet been written; but it so riddles and ridicules the Protestant pretensions that, in future, no Protestant — unless one who glories in his ignorance — can afford to say, as the late Right Hon. Justice Whiteside said on one occasion, 'I maintain that the Protestant Church in Ireland preserves the old, ancient, true Catholic faith established by St. Patrick.'

The plan of the book is very simple, though at the same time strictly logical. The author says in effect to Irish Protestants: You maintain that the early Irish Church was Protestant. If this were so then we must expect to find that she rejected those doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church which you reject. If, however, we find that she did not reject these doctrines and practices, you are bound to abandon your claim to be regarded as her successor. And if, moreover, we find she not only did not reject the doctrines and practices which you reject, but, on the contrary, held them in the same esteem and reverence in which they were held in Rome itself, and in Churches undoubtedly connected with Rome, then you will be bound to admit that the early Irish Church was a part of the Universal Church in communion with Rome.

To show in a clear and orderly manner that the ancient Irish Church did not reject, but embraced, what Protestants reject of Catholic teaching, the author takes up one by one the dogmas, and the chief points in Catholic discipline which Protestants reject, and with a wealth of apposite quotation from the most varied and most reliable sources, proves conclusively that the dogmas rejected by Protestants, and the disciplinary canons at which they sneer, were received as reverently in the Irish

Church of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries as they are by Irish Catholics in the nineteenth. The fullest references are given by the author to the sources whence his information is derived ; and the character and variety of these sources show the intelligent and painstaking research which he must have made in preparation for his work. The quotations are given in English in the text, but in order to enable the hostile or friendly reader to compare the translation with the original, the latter is given in a footnote.

The author devotes the first chapter to proving that the Canon of Scripture introduced by St. Patrick, and received in the early Irish Church, was the Catholic, not the Protestant Canon. In this he has an easy task, for Protestant and Presbyterian writers while claiming St. Patrick as their own, are forced to admit that 'he cites as divinely inspired Scripture passages from the Apocrypha or deuterocanonical books,' to use the words of Dr. Dowden, Protestant Bishop of Edinburgh, quoted by the author. In the succeeding chapters the author shows that the authority of the Church was recognised in Ireland during the early centuries, as it was in the other Catholic countries of the world ; that the supremacy of the Pope was admitted ; that each of the seven Sacraments was regarded as a divinely-instituted means of conferring grace ; that the doctrines of purgatory and of saint-worship were taught ; that an extraordinary devotion towards the Blessed Virgin characterized the early Christians in Ireland ; that relics and images were venerated ; that fasting and other forms of mortification were practiced ; and finally, that the sign of the Cross, holy water, incense, blessed palm, and several other 'idolatries' and 'superstitions,' and very un-Protestant practices were in use in the Irish Church long before Dane or Norman set hostile foot on our shores, and while Irish schools dispensed without fee both learning and hospitality to crowds of students from England, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and even from Rome itself. It is obviously impossible to enter into detail with regard to the proofs which our author advances : we will, therefore, content ourselves with saying that they are clear, concise, and absolutely convincing, and present no weak point to invite an adversary's attack. But just to illustrate, not so much the kind of arguments which our author uses throughout, as the audacity of Protestants, who, despite the existence of such monuments, dare to claim the early Irish Church as the mother of

Irish Protestantism, we will refer to a very un-Protestant, but nevertheless extremely beautiful Litany of the Blessed Virgin which the author translates from the *Leabhar Breac*, and which O'Curry declares to be as old at least as the middle of the eighth century. When a translation of this Litany was presented to Pius IX. in 1862 he granted 100 days' indulgence to all who should recite it. If a Litany composed of the titles which Irish Protestants, at least of the ignorant class, sometimes apply to our Blessed Lady, were presented to Leo XIII., would he grant an indulgence to induce people to recite it?

As Mr. Salmon's book deals throughout with Catholic teaching and practices, it required and has received due ecclesiastical authorization. It bears the *imprimatur* of the Most. Rev. Dr. Henry, Bishop of Down and Connor, and the *nihil obstat* of the Rev. H. Lavery. We heartily wish it the success it deserves, and we congratulate the erudite author on the completion of his work, which, though small in bulk, is large in merit.

D. O'L.

SERMONS AND LECTURES. By the Rev. Michael B. Buckley, of Cork, Ireland. Edited by his Sister, Kate Buckley. With a Memoir of his Life by the Rev. Charles Davis, Skibbereen, diocese of Ross. Dedicated to the Irish people at home and abroad. Published for the Editress in Great Britain, Ireland, United States, and Canada. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1890.

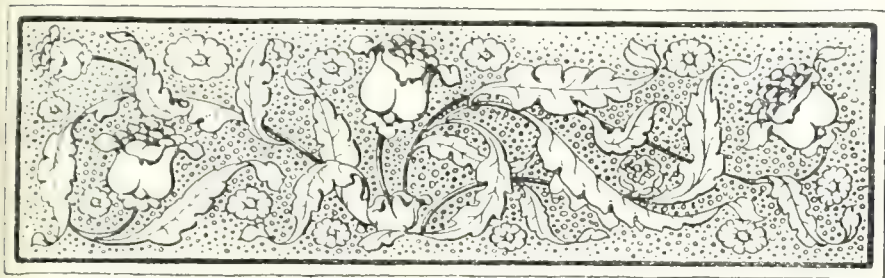
THE labour of transcribing such a title-page would go hard on the temper of most critics; and for ourselves, though we have borne the trial with patience, we think there is room, on other grounds, for finding fault with one of the chief facts which the page records. We do not commend the notion of a lady editing sermons; we object to it on principle; and, while the devotion of a sister to the memory of a reverend and justly revered brother may be a reason for respecting her good faith in assuming the office, we do not think it sufficient to exclude a word of discouragement in deference to the principle.

It is hard to have begun so severely, but in the pages that follow we find cause for relaxing. The volume contains, in all, twenty-eight sermons, and six lectures. They are only the scattered remains of their reverend author, and it is easy to see they were never written with a view to publication. Of the

sermons, which are printed almost entirely as they were preached, some were delivered on special occasions for special objects ; and, though their utility is thus limited, they are nevertheless really useful as successful specimens in their particular lines. More of them, however, are on the staple subjects of all Christian preaching. All exhibit the same characteristics. Their merits are striking thought, clear and cogent argument, eloquent and forcible expression ; in a word, all the ordinary essentials for highly successful preaching, as far as paper and ink can reproduce them ; and we can well understand how, in the mouth of such a preacher as Father Buckley, these sermons must have gone home with telling effect to the minds and hearts of his hearers. Of their faults we abstain from speaking, both because it is ungenerous to seek out petty faults where larger merits overshadow them, and because these sermons were written not to be criticized, but to be preached. Of the lectures we need say little. In genesis they were occasional, but their subjects are of permanent interest, and in style and treatment they exemplify all the chief perfections of the popular lecturer.

The memoir prefixed from the pen of Father Davis is an appreciative tribute to Father Buckley's memory by an old-time friend who was also an affectionate and admiring friend. In the life of Father Buckley there was nothing exceptional more than in the lives of thousands of priests who spend themselves daily in the work of God's ministry, nothing but a superior brilliancy, the outcome of superior gifts carefully cultivated, and usefully applied. To those who may have known him and prized him for his worth, or been edified by his zeal and eloquence, this volume will recommend itself as a memento of the man, and to the general public it ought to prove acceptable for the sole merit of its contents.

P. J. T.



RECENT PROTESTANT HISTORIANS OF IRELAND¹

III.

THE 'Eastern Origin' of the Irish Church is a fundamental article in Mr. Olden's theory; and his aim in propounding this view is to avoid Rome at any cost. He admits that 'all Christianity originated in the East, and gradually reached the West,'² but, whatever may have been the intermediate stations on its westward course to Ireland, according to Mr. Olden, Rome was not one of them. 'Not from Rome, but from the East,' is his axiom.³ But even though all this were as true as it is notoriously untrue, the gain to Mr. Olden's theory would be simply nothing. Rome has been, ever since St. Peter's time, as she is to-day, 'the mother and mistress of all the Churches;' and consequently, it matters absolutely nothing whether Christianity first reached Ireland from Malabar or from Manitoba: it was Roman all the same.

But Mr. Olden's view has, he thinks, one very special recommendation. 'It makes a considerable difference,' he says, 'whether it passed westward through the capital of the Empire, or arrived by way of the remote province of Southern Gaul.' This is most ingenious. Mr. Olden seems

¹ *The Church of Ireland*, by T. Olden, M.A. *The Ancient Church of Ireland*, by John Healy, LL.D. London, 1892.

² *Church of Ireland*, p. 130.

³ Page 130.

to regard Christianity as a bale of goods, certain to be adulterated in the Roman custom house, but likely to fare better if sent by way of Southern Gaul, 'which,' he says, 'would pass it on much as it received it.'¹ Clearly he has taken in fully the spirit of the 19th of his Articles; but in this instance he has carried it to imprudent length. For, if Christianity was thus left by its Divine Founder a prey to circumstances, if it ran such risk of corruption in the first century of its existence, what guarantee has Mr. Olden that he is himself a Christian? What guarantee has he that he holds even one genuine doctrine of Christianity? He is not discreet then in seeking to inflict on Rome a wound which must equally affect the whole body of Christian Revelation. Here, then, we have a gentleman whose own Christianity is on his own principles, extremely doubtful, writing a history of Early Irish Christianity. His theory has, he candidly admits, 'produced a special type of Christianity,'² which has certainly found a 'special type' of historian in Mr. Olden. He tells us that 'it is antecedently probable' that Ireland 'received its Christianity from the East, through Gaul;'—the grounds of this probability being that 'the people of that region (Southern Gaul) were a colony from Asia Minor, and Polycarp, its first Bishop, came directly from thence.'³

Now, what is to be thought of one who undertakes to write an Irish ecclesiastical history, and who exhibits the gross ignorance displayed in this short sentence? St. Polycarp is one of the most celebrated characters in early ecclesiastical history. His extraordinary life, his fearless championship of the faith, his cruel martyrdom, and the heroic constancy displayed by him in his suffering are known to every schoolboy. And yet this would-be historian, who enlightens the 'Dictionary of National Biography' on the most obscure points of Church history, does not know the broad facts of the life of the great Bishop of Smyrna. St. Polycarp, 'first bishop' of Southern Gaul! Indeed! No, St. Polycarp never set foot on Gaul; was never bishop

¹ Page 131.² Page 132.³ Page 131.

there ; did not come there ' directly ' or indirectly. St. Polycarp came *once* to Rome to consult Pope Aniceto on the Paschal question. This *one* visit was the beginning and the ending of his westward journeyings. And this visit of the saint to Rome is in reality a refutation of Mr. Olden's theory. For he would not have come all the way from Asia Minor to Rome to consult the Pope if he did not believe him to be an authority superior to the many holy and learned bishops whom he could have found nearer home. And this is confirmed by the testimony of St. Irenæus, Polycarp's well-known disciple, who, of all the early fathers, is the most pronounced witness to the Roman Primacy. Thus, then, Mr. Olden's first step in tracing the westward march of Christianity is for him an unfortunate step, for his witness against Rome is in reality a witness against himself.

And his second step is equally unfortunate. He says : ' Rev. F. E. Warren gives some of the evidence for the 'Eastern Origin,' and its cumulative force is considerable.'¹ Now, Rev. F. E. Warren rejects Mr. Olden's view, and holds that the arguments in its favour have no 'force,' and he adduces the arguments merely to save that view from the severe criticism of Mr. Haddan, who describes it as "utterly groundless."² And no wonder that Mr. Haddan should speak so strongly seeing that the 'cumulative force' is supplied by 'groups of seven Churches,' by the architectural views of Prof. Fergusson—who did not build the Catholic Church—by the 'ornamentation of Irish manuscripts;' by 'the stamped leather satchels in which the Irish enclosed their books;' and by the 'pegs on which these satchels were hung;'³ All these are, of course, incompatible with the Primacy of the Pope, and establish beyond doubt the genealogy of that 'special type of Christianity,' of which Mr. Olden is so appropriate, so competent a historian.

Another argument of 'cumulative force' is supplied, Mr. Olden tells us, by the ancient Irish liturgies. It is true, he admits, that 'no service book of the period has come

¹ Page 132.

² Haddan's *Remains*, p. 210.

³ Pages 132, 133.

down to us ;'¹ but this somewhat inconvenient circumstance only gives freer scope to Mr. Olden's imagination. For men of his class, it is much more safe to appeal to a 'lost book,' which can be misrepresented, than to an existing book which can speak for itself. He says : ' Mr. Warren traces the Irish liturgies to an Ephesine source in accordance with the Eastern Origin of the Church.'²

Now, Mr. Warren sums up ' the scattered traces of Oriental influence in the remains of Celtic liturgy and ritual ;' and adds in a note, ' very early western authority can be found for most of these ritual Orientalisms, in the representations in the Catacombs, or in early Italian mosaics. All that they prove, therefore, is the Oriental origin of the Celtic Church *in common with the rest of Western Christianity*.³ The force of this argument for Mr. Olden's theory is not very considerable. And, in reality, if Mr. Olden had known anything of Oriental Liturgies he would have been carefully silent as to the 'Eastern Origin' of the 'Irish Church.' Is he prepared for the logical consequences of his theory? If so, he must be prepared to accept doctrines and practices that have been long repudiated by the Church to which he is supposed to belong. He will not find the Oriental Churches so pliable as his own. One of the most extraordinary phenomena in ecclesiastical history is the tenacity with which those Eastern Churches have clung to the doctrines held by them at the time of their separation from communion with the West. Where they were fourteen hundred years ago there they are to-day: heretical on the point which is known to be the original cause of their separation; in almost all other doctrines unchanged through every phase of their history. And their liturgies afford the best evidence as to their doctrines. The "lex supplicandi" is the "lex credendi," with these, as with all religious bodies. The liturgy is, of course, concerned with the Eucharistic celebration, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Communion. The subdivision of what is popularly, though incorrectly, called the

¹ Page 139

² Page 139.

³ *Celtic Liturgy*, p. 55.

Eastern Church, into several independent religious bodies, has given rise to several forms of liturgy, all, however, or nearly all, substantially agreeing in essentials, but with considerable variation in detail, as to prayers and the arrangement of the various parts. This agreement in the essentials of *Consecration* and *Communion* suggests a unity of origin. The several liturgies must have come from a few original forms—most probably from some one common form. The Apostles who witnessed the first consecration by our Lord, and who heard His command, “Do this in commemoration of Me,” would, naturally, adhere as closely as circumstances permitted to the words and actions of their Divine Master, when offering the Holy Sacrifice. Developments in liturgy, as in doctrine, would, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, no doubt occur, but our Lord’s words and action would be the groundwork. And so we find it, on examining the ancient liturgies. In all (with one unimportant exception), we find, after some preparatory prayers, our Lord’s words of *Institution* repeated in the solemn act of Consecration; a prayer to the Holy Ghost that the sacred words may be verified; a form of Holy Communion that leaves no room for doubt as to the faith of the receiver in our Lord’s real presence; and a prayer of thanksgiving, that is equally decisive as a confirmation of that faith.

In connection with the ‘words of institution,’ sometimes words are added or interpolated, which, however unwarranted, do not alter the sense of our Lord’s own words. The one example alluded to above is an early Nestorian liturgy from which the *words of institution* are omitted. But Renaudot maintains that the omission is the fault of transcribers, and the other portions of the liturgy show that the Real Presence is believed.

The Ephesine liturgy, to which Mr. Olden appeals, cannot now be called as a witness, for it does not exist. There is really no proof that it ever existed; but if it did, at any time, exist as a separate liturgy, it must have embodied those elements above named that are common to all the other liturgies of the East. The earliest trace of a formal liturgy

is that contained in St. Justin's apology, which, however, is necessarily obscure, from the circumstances in which he wrote; and it may be also safely asserted that the Christian liturgy is alluded to in Pliny's letter to Trajan. The earliest Eastern liturgies are those of St. James, of St. Mark, of St. Clement, of St. Basil, and of St. John Chrysostom. The first three named are certainly the earliest, but it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine which is the most ancient. Mr. Neale's observation seems to be reasonable. He says:—

I shall content myself with assuming—(1) that these liturgies, though not composed by the Apostles whose names they bear, were the legitimate development of their unwritten tradition respecting the Christian sacrifice; the words probably in the most important parts, the general tenour in all portions, descending unchanged from the Apostolic authors. (2) That the liturgy of St. James is of earlier date, as to its main fabric, than A.D. 200; that the Clementine is at least not later than A.D. 260; that the liturgy of St. Mark is nearly coeval with that of St. James; while those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are to be referred respectively to the saints by whom they purport to be composed.¹

Some eminent writers maintain that the Clementine liturgy is as early as the close of the second century. But whatever be the relative ages of the liturgies referred to, they are all sufficiently old to test Mr. Olden's theory, and sufficiently explicit to condemn it.

The liturgy of St. James, so venerable for its antiquity, exists now in a Greek and Syriac version. The Greek form is used at Jerusalem only on the feast of St. James, and is used also in some of the islands of the Grecian Archipelago. The Syriac form is used still by the Monophysites of the Patriarchate of Antioch. In the form of Consecration in this Liturgy the Words of Institution are embodied as follows:—

Taking bread in His holy and spotless and pure hands, and looking up to heaven, and showing it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave Thee thanks, and blessed, and brake, and gave to us, His apostles and disciples, saying:—*'Take eat; this is My*

¹ *Holy Eastern Church*, vol. i., p. 319.

body which is broken for you, and is given for the remission of sins.' Likewise, also, the chalice, after supper, having taken and mixed it with wine and water, and having looked up to heaven and showed it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks, and blessed, and gave it to us, His disciples, saying:—'*Drink ye all of this, this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, and distributed for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of Me.'*

And at the Elevation, the priest says, *aloud*, words that are common to nearly all the Eastern liturgies, '*Holy for the Holy;*' and the people answer, '*One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ,*' thus specifying their belief in the words of the priest, '*Holy for the Holy.*' The priest then breaks part of the Host into the chalice, and says:—'*The union of the Most Holy Body and Precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*' And then, making a cross over the Host, he says, '*Behold! the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, who taketh away the sins of the world, sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world. He that is broken, and not divided, given to the faithful and not consumed. . . . Lord, our God, the Heavenly Bread.*' And, after the Communion, the following prayer is said:—'*We give Thee thanks, O Christ, our God, that Thou hast deigned to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood.*' Surely no language could more clearly express belief in the real presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament than the language of this most ancient Liturgy.

The liturgy of St. Mark, now disused in its original form, was formerly used throughout the whole Patriarchate of Alexandria. At the Consecration, the *words of institution* are used, with additional words, nearly the same as those added in the liturgy of St. James. An invocation of the Holy Ghost follows, praying that the words of institution may be verified. The Elevation takes place with the usual words, '*Holy for the Holy.*' At the Communion the words, '*Holy Body,*' &c., and '*the Precious Blood of our Lord God and Saviour,*' are said by the priest, and the communicant assents by the usual word, '*Amen.*' The prayer of thanksgiving follows, in which the communicant returns thanks for the '*participation of Thy spotless Body and Precious*

Blood,' &c. There is no mistaking the faith in the Blessed Sacrament that finds such emphatic expression in this venerable liturgy.

Many high authorities hold, that the liturgy contained in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, and attributed to St. Clement, is even more ancient than the liturgies already quoted. There are many who say that there is no evidence of its actual use *as a liturgy*; but, even though this were true, it is still a most ancient and reliable witness as to the character of the great liturgical Act of the Christian Church. The words of consecration are given nearly the same as in the liturgy of St. James; then follows the 'Invocation,' and the 'Holy for the Holy.' At the Communion the Bishop says: 'The Body of Christ,' 'The Blood of Christ,' and the people assent by saying 'Amen.' A prayer of thanksgiving follows thus: 'Having received the precious Body and precious Blood of Christ, let us return thanks to Him who has vouchsafed that we should receive His holy mysteries,' &c. These extracts are all taken from the Greek text of the *Eastern Liturgies* edited by Brightman, a writer as little liable to any prejudice in favour of Catholic doctrine as even Mr. Olden himself; and as the book has been published within the past year, and at the Clarendon Press, it may be fairly presumed to contain a good text, and to embody the latest results of criticism. And this circumstance gives additional weight to the evidence supplied by these liturgies in favour of Catholic doctrines.

It is quite unnecessary to quote the liturgies of St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. They are still living witnesses to the faith which inspired their composition. Both liturgies are, in reality, modifications of that of St. James, and they may be said to prevail almost exclusively in the East. That of St. Chrysostom is used in Russia and its dependencies; not in Greek, however, but in Slavonic, also by the Ruthenians, and in other parts of South Eastern Europe. It is used in the Kingdom of Greece, and in its dependencies; and in all those places that are subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople by schis-

matics as well as Catholics. It is also used by the Melchites in the Patriarchate of Antioch, and by the united Greeks in Northern Africa, and in Southern Italy. The liturgy of St. Basil is used in nearly the same places, but on certain exceptional days. And as these rites are used by Catholics in full communion with Rome, no question need be asked as to the doctrine to which they bear witness.

The Nestorian liturgies, derived from that of St. James, and the Coptic liturgies, derived from St. Mark's, all agree in the general characteristics of the other Eastern liturgies already referred to. Rev. M. Badger in his *History of the Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 169, after quoting very fully from the text of the liturgy, says: 'The above extracts most unequivocally prove, that the Nestorians believe the *Supper* of the Lord to be a *real* partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, and not a bare sign of Christian discipleship. According to them, the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is the sign *not of an absent thing, but of the real presence* of the Saviour.' And Butler in his *Ancient Coptic Churches*, vol. ii., p. 296, says: 'The doctrine of the Real Presence, of the change of the bread and wine into the very Body and Blood of our Lord, is held by the Copts in its most physical literalness.' Some Protestant writers quote against the Real Presence and transubstantiation a Jacobite liturgy, *The Ethiopic Canon* (of which probably Mr. Olden knows nothing), on the ground, that at the Consecration the words are: *This bread is My Body, this cup is My Blood*. But the very liturgy which seems to supply the argument most effectually disproves it; for at the Communion, the priest says: 'This is the Body, holy, true, of our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ,' and 'This is the Blood, precious, true, of our Lord, our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ;' and the people answer: 'Amen.' The priest then continues: 'Amen, for this is the Body and Blood of Emmanuel, our very God. Amen, I believe, I believe, I believe, and confess unto the last breath, that this is the Body and Blood of our Lord our God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, which He took of our Lady, the holy and pure

Virgin Mary.’¹ This liturgy is clearly a two-edged sword in the hands of a Protestant.

Now all these venerable liturgies teach the Catholic doctrine on the Real Presence, and on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass as clearly, as unmistakably as it is contained in the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. Our Lord’s own words are used at Consecration; the adoration by the people shows that they believed in His *Real Presence* after Consecration: the words used in giving and receiving, Holy Communion express the same faith, and it is still further confirmed by the prayers of thanksgiving. There is therefore, no room left for doubt or equivocation as to the faith which these venerable liturgies teach. Is Mr. Olden prepared to accept that teaching as the logical consequence of his appeal to them? Does his ‘Church of Ireland’ accept that teaching? The Articles of that Church, which Mr. Olden is bound to teach, and is supposed to believe, supply the answer: a most emphatic *No*. She does not, and never did teach it; and she will not allow Mr. Olden to teach it, in the very improbable supposition of his attempting to do so. No doubt the ‘Words of Institution’ are used in the Communion Service; but besides the fact, that the words are used by one who has no power to consecrate, an explanation is added which robs them of their proper meaning. The communicant is reminded that he is ‘receiving *these* thy creatures of *bread and wine*.’ He is invited to ‘take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died’ for him; to ‘drink in remembrance,’ &c. And the Twenty-eighth Article tells him, that ‘Transubstantiation . . . is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions . . . the body of Christ is given, eaten, and taken in the Supper *only* after an heavenly and *spiritual manner* ;’ not therefore *really* taken at all. And the Thirty-first Article further informs him that ‘the Sacrifices of Masses were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.’ And lest the communicant may, after all this precaution, be

¹ Brighman, *Easter Liturgies*, p. 235.

unduly reverent, he is reminded by a declaration that reads like a police magistrate's warrant, that though he receives kneeling, 'it is hereby declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental *bread* or *wine* there *bodily received*, or unto any *corporal presence* of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' Nothing therefore can be more clear than, that Mr. Olden's Church of Ireland has apostatized from the faith of the Eastern Churches regarding the great central act of Christian worship. Those Eastern Churches, schismatic as well as orthodox, have always believed in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and in our Lord's Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist. Mr. Olden's Church of Ireland, inconsistent in almost everything, has been consistent and persistent in her rejection, in her hatred of this doctrine. Again, then, Mr. Olden's own witnesses bear testimony against him, and condemn him.

The Oriental liturgies and rituals also, supply abundant proof of the antiquity of many other Catholic doctrines, such as *devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, *prayers for the dead*, *the number and nature of the sacraments*, all which Mr. Olden's Church rejects and condemns. And yet this upstart of yesterday, with a false crest and a forged pedigree, claims direct descent from that venerable early Church whose doctrines she has abandoned, whose devotional practices she has libelled and ridiculed, and whenever she had the power, sternly and cruelly suppressed. But in thus appealing to St. Polycarp and to the early liturgies Mr. Olden seems to forget that it was not in St. Polycarp's time, but two hundred years later that St. Patrick came to Ireland. And, therefore, the proper course for one like him who admits the baneful effect of time on theology—one who is fallible in theory as well as in practice—is to determine what was the faith in Gaul when St. Patrick came thence to Ireland. St. Martin, St. German, St. Hilary, St. Lupus, are competent, reliable witnesses, on this point. They were the great teachers of St. Patrick's time, and they remain amongst the foremost champions of Roman primacy.

Mr. Olden's appeal, then, to Eastern liturgies refutes

his theory of 'Eastern origin.' He is a stranger to the faith which those liturgies teach. He wants the key to their interpretation. He accordingly misunderstands them, misrepresents them. What can he know of Jerusalem, being a Samaritan? But in treating of the Reformation he ought to be more at home. In it he lives, and moves, and has his being. He ought to know its history, its spirit, its literature. And yet his views on it are but the old, old story, awkwardly told. The Church in Ireland had been completely 'Romanized,' that is, corrupted. Henry VIII., in the discharge of his mission as head of the Church in *spirituals* as well as in temporals, undertook to reform us. He sent some zealous missionaries, clerical and lay, amongst us. Nearly all the bishops, and most of the better class of Irishmen, gladly received the New Gospel and submitted to the new head of the Church in Parliament and out of it; and our reformation would have been whole and perfect had not Henry fallen a victim, too early, to his zeal and apostolic labours. Edward VI., a sickly boy, was unable to do much for our spiritual wants, but Elizabeth completed the good work of her saintly father, and when by her and by her godly agents all Roman accretions were swept away, Mr. Olden's 'Church' stood forth in all its glory and beauty, the legitimate heir of the Early Irish Church, her continuity unbroken, her doctrine and discipline the same as St. Patrick himself had left us. This would be a consoling theory for Mr. Olden if it had even a semblance of truth. It is, however, a forlorn hope now for this writer, or for any writer to attempt to white-wash the so-called Reformation and its agents in Ireland. And it is difficult to comprehend the audacity of those who call the outburst of bad passions in the sixteenth century by the name of Reformation, and who, while professing to write its history, pass over all the crimes and scandals that mark every step of its progress amongst us. Reformation, indeed! What bitter memories start up to the Irish Catholic on the mere mention of that much perverted word?

Their plundered homes, their ruined shrines . . .

Their priesthood hunted down like wolves, their country
overthrown.

This is the Reformation which Mr. Olden cautiously ignores—very unwisely, however, for the State Papers are there, now accessible to all, to give their cruel, merciless, and damning evidence against Mr. Olden's apostles. The word Reformation implies improvement. And in what department, religious, moral, or material, were the people improved by the spiritual agents of Henry and Elizabeth? Truths revealed by God were repealed by a Parliament venal, corrupt, and cowardly; priests and bishops who had broken their vows were sent to sow the seeds of scandal amongst our people, and our people were plundered to support and pamper the evil-doers. If this be Reformation, no doubt we have had over-doses of it in Ireland. Browne, Staples, Bale, Curwen, and Loftus, are the spiritual fathers of Mr. Olden's Church, and the original sin of her descent from them is indelible on her brow. The whole history of these men shows how little the souls of Irishmen concerned them. To secure and amass property was their sole aim. To gratify their unholy ambition whole provinces were made desolate; blood flowed in torrents, and famine stalked through the land, and still the apostolic cry was for fresh measures of repression, additional penal laws. So grossly indifferent were they to clerical duties that Henry VIII., bad as he was, had to censure Browne and Staples for their misconduct, and like charges were brought against their spiritual guides by Elizabeth's ministers, Sydney, Spenser, and Mountjoy. And Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland' is just what these men made her—a creature of the State, a time-server, without mission, jurisdiction or orders, with no more a Divine authority than an Insurance Company or a Poor Law Board.

When Henry VIII. sought to get the Irish to acknowledge him as Pope, Mr. Olden tells us that 'it was important that such a proposal should be made by one of high position and character.'¹ In almost consecutive lines he tells us that George Browne, the new Apostle, was a 'Dominican monk' and a 'Provincial of the Augustinian Order.' This,

¹ Page 295.

however, is only a specimen of Mr. Olden's predominant passion for misquotation. Browne was an Augustinian, and no credit to that body; but there was a Judas among the Apostles. Browne's mission was to get the Irish to renounce Papal Supremacy, and to accept in its stead the divine headship of Henry VIII.; also to confiscate the property of the Religious Orders, to fill the King's exchequer, and to glut the greed of his agents, lay and clerical, in Ireland. He soon found that his mission was not an easy one. Dr. Cromer, the Primate, would not listen to any change, Browne says in a letter to Cromwell, and nearly all the bishops were of the same view. The priests, regular and secular, were equally obstinate, and 'the common people,' he says, 'of this Island are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in the truth in the beginning of the Gospel.'¹ He then suggests the holding of a Parliament, in order that his own zeal and eloquence may be rendered more persuasive by the gentle stimulant of penal laws. The Parliament was called; it was completely packed. No member was summoned from an Irish district, and no one of Irish blood and birth would be allowed to sit in it, even if elected. The clerical proctors, from whom opposition was anticipated, were carefully excluded. Even Mr. Olden admits the character of this 'reforming' Parliament. 'The Parliament was essentially English, for no native Irish layman could sit in it.'² This Parliament would have repealed the 'Ten Commandments' had Henry so ordered. Of course, Papal Supremacy was set aside, and an Act passed declaring that 'the King, his heirs, and successors, should be supreme head on earth, of the Church of Ireland.'³ Mr. Olden's 'Church' has reason to be proud of its first *Head* and of its first founders. No one knew better than Dr. Browne that Henry would never have figured as *Head* of any Church if the Pope would only consent to his divorce. The motive, therefore, was not very exalted, and Browne's argument in the Parliament was worthy of this motive. 'He that will not pass this Act, as

¹ Sept. 6, A.D. 1535.² Page 297.³ Page 292.

I do, is no true subject of his Highness,' said the new reformer. And so too said the Jewish rabble on a more memorable occasion. And this conduct is in strict accordance with Browne's character as drawn by his own colleagues, who knew him best. He was a priest, vowed to celibacy, and yet he lived in concubinage, as did also his brother-reformers, Staples, Bale, and Lancaster. And it must be borne in mind that in thus giving loose reins to their passions the clerical reformers in Henry's time ran serious risks of incurring the displeasure of the 'Supreme Head,' who though not over rigid in his own case, would tolerate no departure from celibacy in his priests and bishops. This is clear from a letter of Henry to the Lord Deputy on October 8th, A.D. 1542. The devices by which their Lordships evaded Henry's law are more ingenious than creditable, if we are to believe Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who wrote at the time. He says:—

Against these kind of marriages, and maintenance of the same, King Henry in his later days made very sharp laws, whereupon many so married put over their women to servants, and other friends, who kept them as to bed and board, as their own wives. And after the death of King Henry they received them again with usury; that is, the children in the mean season begotten by the said friends, whom they took, called, and brought up as their own, as it was well known, as well in others, as in Browne, Archbishop of Dublin.²

Whether it was for his incontinence, or for neglect of duty, it is clear that Mr. Olden's 'eminent divine of character and position' did not come up to the expectations of the Supreme Head. Henry wrote to him, July 31st, 1537:—

The good opinion that we had conceived of you is in manner utterly frustrated, . . . all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself therefore with this gentle advertisement, and do your duty towards God . . . and let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able for the not doing thereof to remove you again . . . as we were at the beginning to prefer you.

A document of like character was sent to Staples on the same day.

¹ *Harpsfield on Marriages.*

Browne's reply is an admirable illustration of his 'position and character.' He tells Henry, in all humility, that he has got his letter, 'which perused did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body, for fear of incurring your Majesty's displeasure.' And he assures Henry that he has done all in his power to promote the views of the Supreme Head,' and he wishes that 'the ground should open and swallow him' if he were remiss in carrying out Henry's intentions. What a precious specimen of a religious reformer is the contemptible creature who could write thus? And in his other letters to Henry and to Cromwell we have the same servile duplicity exhibited. While practically admitting his failure to make any but a bad impression on Irish Catholics, he seeks to lay the blame for his failure on others. Sometimes on the Lord Deputy Grey, sometimes on his colleague and countryman Staples, and sometimes on the obstinate superstition of the Irish. Lord Leonard Grey, in turn, calls Browne a 'pole-shorn knave,' whom he has frequently convicted of malicious falsehoods. But Staples is more explicit, and less flattering, in his estimate of his episcopal brother. In a letter to St. Leger, of June 17th, 1538, he says of Browne: 'That every honest man is not only weary thereof, but reckoneth that pride and arrogance hath ravished him from the right remembrance of himself . . . The common voice goeth that he doth abhor the Mass,' &c. Against one who said Mass, at least occasionally, this is a charge of gross hypocrisy and sacrilege, and there is no denying its truth. And the weight of the charge is not lessened by the well-known fact, that Staples himself was just as guilty as Browne in the matter. Staples suggests that an inquiry should be made into the Archbishop's conduct, and he suggests also some very inconvenient questions to be put to him, as to the alienating of the revenues, and lands of his see to his own children, &c. And in Browne's own hearing Staples denounced him from the pulpit, called him 'a heretic and a beggar,' and 'exhorted his hearers, and so much as in him lay he adjured them, to give no credence unto whatsoever

I [Browne] said, for afore God, he would not.'¹ This is an edifying specimen of brotherly love among Mr. Olden's spiritual fathers.

But let us hear another of those apostolic men on the character of 'the first Protestant Bishop.' Bale of Ossory attributes the 'wickedness' of his own clergy to the 'lewed example of the Archbishop of Dublin, who is always slack in things pertaining to God's glory.' But he was worse than slack:—'An epicurious archbishop, a dissembling proselyte, a brockish swine, a glutton, a drunkard, a hypocrite, a frequent supporter of bawds.'²

We have not Dr. Browne's estimate of Bale, nor indeed is it necessary. Out of his own mouth he can be judged. He was an ex-Carmelite, and he imitated Browne in breaking his vows, and thus qualified himself to be a pillar of the Irish Reformation. No respectable historian defends him. It would be hopeless to attempt it. His clergy need not come to Dublin for bad example. That, he himself abundantly supplied. Wharton says of him: 'I know Bale to be so great a liar that I am not willing to take his judgment against any man to whom he is opposed.' Even Dr. Mant is unable to defend him. In fact, the common estimate of him amongst respectable Protestants is that so tersely and so forcibly expressed by Froude, that he is a 'foul-mouthed ruffian,' 'the most profane and indecent of the Reformation party.' Dr. Christmas, who edited Bale's works for the Parker Society, admits in his preface that much of his writing is unfit for publication. A hopeful specimen of the Protestant apostolate!

We have Browne's estimate of Staples, whom he charges in his letter to Allen with 'divers irregularities;' and, referring to Staples' denunciation of himself, he says, 'he made a comment without all honest shame even before mine own eyes, present at his sermon, with such a stomach, that I think the three-mouthed Cerberus of Hell could not have uttered it more viperously.'³ Like Browne, Staples was an

¹ Browne to Allen, April 15th, 1538.

² *Bale's Vocacyon*.

³ April 15th, 1538.

English priest who had broken his vows, and lived in public sin; who squandered the property of his see to support his many children; who pretended to say Mass piously under Henry VIII. and ridiculed the Mass under Edward VI. Such are Mr. Olden's spiritual fathers on their own testimony. Such being the first builders of his 'Church of Ireland,' it is no wonder that the work was slow and the edifice unsightly. The touch of such men would blight the best cause. Mr. Olden admits that little progress was made under Henry, and none under Edward. On the accession of Mary a Commission was appointed to investigate the conduct of Mr. Olden's apostles. Browne, Bale, Staples, and Lancaster, were deprived of their sees for having married in violation of their vows of celibacy, and in defiance of the Church's law, and the entire fraternity 'left the country for the country's good.'

It is to Elizabeth's reign, and to her Irish Parliament of A.D. 1560, that Mr. Olden and his friends must look for the founding of their 'Church of Ireland.' A Parliament, he says, was summoned 'to set up the worship of God, as it is in England.'¹ The Reformation was adopted by the lay and clerical members. Two bishops who refused to conform were deprived of their sees. The Church thus reformed itself, and the reformed bishops transmitted their succession unbroken, though the livings somewhat impaired, to the next generation of bishops. And thus we have in Mr. Olden's convenient theory, the Protestant Church of to-day coming down in unbroken succession from the ancient Church of St. Patrick. The only change he admits is one of recent date, and of decided advantage—*Disestablishment*—by which he says 'she has regained her original freedom,' and many other blessings besides. Mr. Olden has 'vested rights,' and may on that account be able to take a more dispassionate view of the advantages of 'disestablishment;' but it is not so clear that his less fortunate brethren take precisely the same view.

He admits that his views regarding the Parliament of

A.D. 1560 have been 'recently denied,' but he holds that the verdict of history for three centuries is on his side; in fact, that from Bramhall's 'day to the present no doubt has ever been expressed as to the action' of the bishops in the Parliament of A.D. 1560. Mr. Olden's appeal is to history like his own, written in ignorance or in defiance of facts. Mr. Olden's theory of that Parliament has been during the period he refers to, repeatedly denied, and frequently refuted. And in our times Mr. Froude, a Low-Church layman, and Dr. Brady, a High-Church clergyman, have examined his theory, and his statement is pronounced by Froude to be 'the most impudent falsehood in all history;' and in this verdict Dr. Brady fully concurs. Cardinal Moran, whose extensive knowledge, great industry, and unrivalled opportunities, give special weight to his judgment, has examined Mr. Olden's theory and demolished it. And Dr. M'Carthy, the late learned Bishop of Kerry, examined that theory, with that accuracy and logical precision for which he was remarkable, and his verdict is this:—

Of the canonically elected Irish bishops from 1536 to 1600, it has not been proved for certain that any one apostatized but Curwen of Dublin and Staples of Meath. Of the seventeen archbishops, during the same period, two, and at most four (including Browne), favoured the Reformation by word or deed. Of contemporary bishops, who at the lowest calculation could have been little less than fifty in number, three (including Devereux) abandoned the faith, and five or six wavered, or shrunk from the pressure of merciless persecution. Through these ten unfaithful servants the Establishment derives its descent from the ancient Church of Ireland. Had their conformity been as free, dispassionate, and disinterested, as we know it to have been forced, uncanonical, and corrupt; had it been the result of honest conviction, the fruit of zeal in the service of God, and not the effect of lawless tyranny, bribes, threats, avarice, and lust; had the chief agents to the change been as distinguished for piety as they were for profligacy, their adhesion to the reformed creed could be no more regarded as the act of the Catholic bishops of their time than that sect which boasts of being blessed by them can now be regarded as the Church of the Irish people.

Whether the bishops then in Ireland did or did not accept Elizabeth's creed, is a matter of merely historical

interest. In reality it concerns only the individuals themselves. If all the bishops of 1560 had apostatized, would the apostasy of the many reflect greater credit on the Church they are said to have founded than the apostasy of the few? If Mr. Olden's spiritual fathers be apostates, who through fear of punishment abandoned their faith, is his position made better because the apostates numbered thirty rather than three? Suppose (what is improbable in the extreme) that a number of Mr. Olden's bishops should join the Catholic Church, and having made due provision for their wives and children, and in other ways satisfied the requirements of Canon Law, had been raised through the various orders up to and including the Episcopate, would those neophytes bring with them into the Catholic Church all the temporal rights and privileges of the Church they had left; and would the Catholic Church to which they had submitted be the legitimate heir, in all things, of the Protestant Church which they had abandoned? Mr. Olden, no doubt, will answer *No*. And if he answer *No* in this case, why does he answer *Yes* when there is question of the apostasy of Catholic bishops? And if the bishop had apostatized, Pius IV., in 1560, held the divine commission to teach and rule as fully as it was held by Pope Celestine in 432. He therefore, or any of his successors, could repair the evils done by schism or heresy. A Commission that is proof against the 'Gates of Hell,' could not lose its efficacy through Elizabeth's tyranny, or through the cruelty and treachery of her officials.

But in Mr. Olden's theory the apostasy of the bishops is a matter of vital importance in order that the apostolic succession may be transmitted and preserved in his 'Church of Ireland.' 'It is important,' he says, 'to vindicate the regularity of Loftus' consecration,¹ and there is no reason to doubt that the consecration of Loftus was duly performed, and by the proper number of bishops.'² It may, indeed, be '*important*,' but it is *impossible* to 'vindicate' the consecration of Loftus. Curwen, his consecrator, was a bishop,

¹ Page 326.

² Page 329.

and he may or may not have had assistant bishops on the occasion ; but a bishop does not consecrate by an act of his will. Valid *matter* and *form* are by divine appointment necessary, and at the consecration of Loftus the Ordinal of Edward VI. was used. That Ordinal was insufficient, *invalid*, and therefore the consecration of Loftus was invalid, null, and void, and Loftus was not a bishop, no matter what the number of bishops present on the occasion. The same is true, and for the same cause, of Bale and Goodacre in A.D. 1552. An *ordination* or *consecration* by Loftus, or by anyone whose so-called orders are traceable to him, is simply an empty-handed proceeding which can convey no priestly character, no spiritual gifts. And when in A.D. 1662, controversy had shown the worthlessness of the Anglican Ordinal, and thus led to its amendment, there was then no bishop in the establishment who had himself been validly *ordained* or *consecrated* ; and therefore no one that could validly ordain or consecrate. This is the inheritance that has come down to Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland : ' no orders, no mission, no jurisdiction, except such as an Act of Parliament can give. It is a 'Church' without a sacrifice, without a priesthood, without an episcopate ; an impossibility, according to St. Jerome. No one, Mr. Olden fancies, questioned the orders of Irish Protestant bishops ! Evidently he knows nothing of the literature on the subject. Had he consulted *Arsdekin's Theologia Tripartita*, or the *Cursus Theologicus* of Poncius, or Dr. Talbot's *De Nullitate Ecclesiae Protestanticae ejusque Cleri*, he would feel by no means flattered by their estimate of his *orders*. Moreover, Irish Protestantism was regarded as a small and insignificant offshoot of the English Establishment. And the assailants of Protestant orders directed their attacks against the more important branch of the sect, and such writers regarded, and rightly regarded, the orders of Irish Protestants as involved in the condemnation of Anglican orders.

Mr. Olden's case for his bishops is certainly an extraordinary one. 'The question,' he says, with regard to the Marian bishops is not whether they accepted the reformed

doctrines, but whether they complied with the law by taking the oath of supremacy . . . This was what she required, and she was not concerned with their private opinions.’¹ This is ‘the unkindest cut of all’ for his spiritual fathers! A certain number of bishops who did not believe in Protestant doctrines swore they did believe, in order to retain their livings; and by their false swearing they transmitted to Mr. Olden’s ‘Church of Ireland’ all the powers and privileges of orthodoxy; by the very act of perjury they purified and reformed the Church! He is not flattering in his estimate of them; but, in reality, his character is the only one merited by those whom he can justly claim as Reformers, as their own words prove. Hugh Curwen was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in A.D. 1555, by Queen Mary. How she could have selected him, considering his action on the divorce question, is surprising. But though he was prepared to denounce Papal supremacy under Henry, he was equally ready to enforce it under Mary. At Mary’s death the real character of this theological weather-cock became known. He took a wife in violation of his vows, and openly renounced the Catholic faith. He does not appear to have ever felt at home in Dublin. He was anxious for a better living and less work. Brady, of Meath, calls him ‘an unprofitable servant;’ and Loftus repeats the charge, and adds worse charges still. Loftus, though Archbishop of Armagh, lived in Dublin, enjoying there the rich deanery of St. Patrick’s.

He probably never visited Armagh, being unwilling to risk his life among the followers of Shane O’Neill. From the very date of his appointment he was seeking the removal of Curwen that he might himself secure the see of Dublin. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking the influence of that functionary for Curwen’s removal, Loftus describes his brother of Dublin as a ‘known enemy, and laboured under many crimes, which although he shamed not to do, I am almost ashamed to speak.’² And in a letter to Cecil, Oct. 5, 1556, he says of Curwen: ‘I say in open judgment he

¹ Page 327.

² Strype’s *Life of Parkes*, vol. i., p. 221.

swears terribly, and it not once or twice. I beseech your honour is it not *time that such a one be removed*; and with dove-like simplicity he adds: '*I beseech your honour, for Jesus Christ, His sake, that my suit for the . . . Bishopric of Dublin be furthered by your honour.*' Curwen was removed to Oxford, in 1567, and Loftus gained his coveted prize—the see of Dublin. Irish Catholics remember Loftus as the man who tortured Archbishop Hurley—who, in a State letter to Walsingham recommended that Dr. Hurley should be sent to the Tower of London, and for two reasons—(1st) lest he may be rescued in Dublin; and (2nd) because the instruments of torture in Dublin were not sufficient to terrify him: and who, though the Dublin crown lawyers held that Dr. Hurley could not be tried by common law, put him to torture and to death without any trial by any law. But if Loftus was a persecutor of the Catholic Church he was a scandal to his own. Avarice appears to have been his predominant passion. Harris Ware says of him, 'Besides his promotions in the Church, and his public employment in the State, he grasped at everything that became void.' And he opposed the conversion of St. Patrick's Church with its revenues into an endowed University; on this ground Harris says: 'For being greatly interested in the livings of that Church by long leases and other estates thereof to himself, his children or kinsmen.' From a letter of February 5, 1587, in vol. 128 of the State papers, we learn that Loftus had a very large family; and from a letter in vol. 85, dated September 12, 1581, we learn how his Grace made ample provision for this numerous progeny of five sons and seven daughters. Loftus managed to secure for himself a large share in the profits of the notorious *Court of Faculties*—a court which, according to Primate Long, was sending 'young and old, clergy and laity, in a wild gallop to the devil.'¹

Andrew Trallope, who was sent by Walsingham as a court spy on the Irish officials, complains of the avarice of Loftus, and of his malpractices in connection with the Court of

¹ Long to Walsingham, Jan. 20, 1535. *State Papers*, vol. 114.

Faculties, and he says of Brady of Meath that though 'married to a very honest woman he is nevertheless a man of so loose life that he kept a harlot in his house.'¹

It is painful to have to wade through so much mire to unearth the real character of the men whom Mr. Olden holds up as models of virtue and instruments in God's hands for the reformation of our people. Their own words prove them to be one and all hypocrites steeped in nameless crimes, lying, avaricious, cruel, immoral, cringing creatures of the State ;—their sole aim being to amass money by the plunder of Irish Catholics.

And the clergy of the lower orders were worthy disciples of their spiritual superiors. Spenser, who knew them well, says : 'The clergy there, excepting those grave fathers which are in high places about the State, and some few others which are lately planted in the New College, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.' And of the English contingent he says, specially : 'They are either unlearned or men of bad note, for which they have forsaken England. Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England you may find there, and many more—namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshy incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen.'² And Andrew Trallope whose character of Loftus and Brady has been already given, gives his experience of inferior ministers as follows : 'He had lately arrived in Ireland and in his first communication to Walsingham he says : 'I know but few ministers in Ireland, yet one of them a common table player and ale-house hunter—which can scarce read the service—had three benefices. How he serveth them I know not. I have been credibly told there hath been Mass said in one of these since he had them.'³ And after five years' experience of them, he says : 'With long experience and some extraordinary trial of these fellows, I cannot find whether the most of them loved lewed women, cards, dice, or drink best.'⁴

Such, on the testimony of their own friends, were the

¹ Letter Sept. 12, 1581. *State Papers*, vol. 85.

² *View of Ireland*, pp. 142-3 ; Dublin Ed., 1809.

³ Sept. 12, 1581.

⁴ Dec. 5, 1586.

builders of Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland;' and their work was worthy of them. By their fruits they can be judged. They plundered Irish Catholics, certainly, but they did not pervert them. All the resources of a powerful nation, and of a cruel unscrupulous Government, were at the command of the preachers. Persecution and bribery were alternately tried to force or seduce Irish Catholics into apostasy. But all to no purpose. They would not listen to Elizabeth's immoral preachers; and so at the close of her reign, after forty years devoted to 'reforming' us, her own lieutenants sum up the result thus. Spenser says in A.D. 1596—'They be all Papists by their profession.' And Trallope had said of them a few years earlier, writing from Dublin: 'All judges of the law, Her Majesty's Chancellor (John Bathe), and barons of the Exchequer, and counsels learned, and such as execute inferior offices (with few exceptions) were Irishmen, and *Papists as all Irishmen be.*'¹ And if such was the success of the 'Reformation' in Dublin, what are we to expect in those remote districts where 'the Queen's writ did not run'? Sir Henry Sydney told Elizabeth, in 1576, 'that upon the face of the earth where Christ is preached, there is not a church in so miserable a case.' Sir W. Drury, Lord President of Munster, writing from Waterford (April 16, 1577), says: 'Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning. I have spied them as I chanced to arrive last Sunday at 5 in the clock in the morning, and saw them resort out of the churches by heaps. *This is shameful in a reformed city.*' Nothing, therefore is more clear than that the efforts made so persistently in Elizabeth's reign to force Protestantism upon Ireland ended in miserable failure. The agents in this unholy work themselves proclaim their failure. In language often coarse, profane, and indecent, they reveal their apostolic spirit. Day after day, and year after year, their constant cry was for fresh means of coercion, fresh engines of oppression: and such was their practical zeal, the cry was always accompanied by a reminder that the labourer was worthy of his hire. And not content with plundering

¹ Letter to Walsingham, Sept. 12, 1581.

Irish Catholics, they sought to rob them of their fair fame by representing them as a nation of apostates, and all this that the missionaries may be duly rewarded. But the curse of sterility was upon them, and in spite of repeated 'Acts of Conformity; in spite of persecution, coercion and confiscation; 'in spite of dungeon, fire and sword,' our people were as Catholic on the day when Elizabeth was called to her judgment as on the day when she was called to the throne. This was the result of what Froude calls an 'attempt to force a religion upon them [the Irish] which had not a single honest advocate in the whole nation.'¹ 'The Mass,' says Lecky, 'was made illegal; the churches and church revenues were taken from the priests, but the benefices were filled with adventurers without religious zeal and sometimes without common morality.'² Yes, all this happened, but the people of Ireland continued 'unchanged and unchangeable' in their attachment to their faith, and their spiritual wants were supplied by priests, to whom one of their deadliest enemies is forced to pay the following tribute:—

Whereas it is a great wonder to see the odds which are between the zeal of Popish priests and the ministers of the Gospel. For they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches are to be found, only to draw the people into the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them without pains and without peril, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn from their warm nests to look out into God's harvest.³

And the same curse of sterility has ever since pursued Mr. Olden's 'Church of Ireland.' Jones and Ussher, and Bramhall and King, and Mant and Plunket and Whately have each in their day made an involuntary confession of their failure to detach Irish Catholics from their faith and bring them to the tenets of Protestantism. And the spirit of hostility to Ireland which that Church imbibed from Loftus, and Bale, and Curwen, animates it still. With a

¹ *History of England*, vol. x., p. 298. ² *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 100.

³ *Spenser's View of Ireland*, p. 254; Dublin Ed., 1810.

few honourable exceptions amongst its clergy and lay members, the whole weight and influence of that Church has been on the side of the oppressor. It has been pampered to paralysis. Catholic charities have been perverted from their original purposes; the soil of Ireland has been repeatedly confiscated; penal laws, as bad as those of Diocletian, have disgraced England's statute book; Irish Catholics have been, in their poverty, compelled to support the ministers of a religion which they loathed, and have been shot down for refusing to pay the hateful impost;—and all this has been done to create amongst us, and to maintain a Protestant ascendancy, which has always been the ascendancy of the few;—the ascendancy of a mere faction over the great mass of the people of Ireland. To this wretched ascendancy Mr. Olden gives the nice name of 'Church of Ireland,' and he professes to write its history. But it is history made to order: not taken from authentic, reliable sources, or founded on facts. He does not tell the real character of the 'Reformers,' or of their work. To do so would only spoil his picture, and would, moreover, shock those pious Protestant ladies who do the greater part of the missionary work in Mr. Olden's 'Church' in our time.

But the picture has been drawn by others who hated the Catholic Church quite as much as Mr. Olden does. Some of them—and the number could be multiplied a hundred-fold—have been quoted in this paper, and the outlines drawn by them of Mr. Olden's 'Church' are, to-day, as indelible upon it as the spots on the leopard. Anti-Irish, servile, avaricious, cruel, barren, it has always been. It has thriven on the miseries of the Irish people. It has for three hundred years made peace and prosperity impossible in Ireland. It has neither edified the living, consoled the dying, nor succoured the dead. It was created for political ends, was maintained as a political engine, and political expediency doomed it to destruction. The power that had pampered it cast it aside as worse than useless; and the head of England's Protestant Parliament sealed its fate by the memorable words, 'Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?'

J. MURPHY.

THE BULL 'APOSTOLICAE CURAE:' REPLY OF THE ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOPS

I.

THE Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and of York have made their reply to the Pope. It is well to have a statement of their own case from such eminent authorities, and it may fairly be taken for granted that it has not lost for want of advocacy. There does not, however, appear to be any new argument advanced, nor has anything material escaped the attention of the Roman Court. The Pope has delivered his solemn judgment on a matter clearly within the scope of his authority. 'Ordinations carried on according to the Anglican rite have been, and are, absolutely null and utterly void.' To this judgment every member of the Catholic Church gives a loyal assent. The reasons for the decision are set forth in clear and simple language, and, apart from the authority which the judgment itself carries, a calm examination of the reasons cannot fail to bring conviction to an unprejudiced mind. It is an agreeable duty to consider the theological arguments of the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, and it is a decided advantage to read side by side with it the elaborate reply of the heads of the Anglican Communion. For Catholics, it is only a theological exercise; to Anglicans, it is a matter of their existence as a Church. The presence, no doubt, of valid orders in any community is not a sufficient guarantee that it belongs to the Church founded by Christ. The Nestorians and other heretical sects of the East, as the Donatists of old, have valid orders. They are not, however, of the true Church. But the absence of valid orders demonstrates the want of title to be regarded as the true Church, or even belonging to it. For Anglicans, then, this is a serious question, and it is fully recognised to be such by the two Archbishops, when they state that 'the duty of reply cannot be discharged without a certain deep and strong emotion.'

Nor did Leo XIII. undertake to examine the question of Anglican Orders without deep feelings of sympathy and consideration for those most intimately concerned. The Encyclical *Satis cognitum*, and the Bull itself are evidences of his apostolic care and anxiety, and even tenderness of feeling. In a recent Allocution to the Cardinals he says:—

No other motive than that of removing one of the obstacles to the desired unity induced us to give a decision recently on the theological value of Anglican ordination, . . . If our words could reach the ears of those sons of the British Empire who do not share our faith, we would wish to conjure them by the infinite compassion of Jesus Christ not to entertain false apprehensions and suspicions, and to believe that the inflexibility of duty alone dictated our decision, which is merely the enunciation of a sincere and definite truth.¹

The reply of the Archbishops reciprocates the feelings of the Pope. It is courteous and respectful, and from this point of view does credit to its authors, and is likely to have a good effect in smoothing the roughness of some controversial methods. There is no doubt a decided difference between Catholicism and Anglicanism. Yet it is undeniable that, as the Reply states, the difference arises from a diverse interpretation of the selfsame Gospel; and is it not a gain on this ground—namely, in defence of the selfsame Gospel—that a united stand can be made against the inroads of modern paganism? The differences of Faith, of Government, and of Worship still remain. Notwithstanding those differences, there can be reasonable and calm discussion of them, and in this respect it is pleasing, indeed, to turn from the many unbecoming replies which the papal pronouncement evoked to this one which speaks so reverently of Leo XIII., whom so many millions of Christians regard as Christ's Vicar on earth, and whose voice from his prison in the Vatican cannot be seriously disregarded, even by those who do not own his sway. He is not here designated by opprobrious names borrowed from the Apocalypse: he is styled 'our most venerable brother.' There is a kindly

¹ *The Catholic Times*, March 12, 1897.

acknowledgment that the things he has written are sometimes very true, and always written in good will. 'We also gladly declare,' it is said, 'that there is much in his own person that is worthy of love and reverence.'

But in the Reply there are many things which are unique, and there are several inaccuracies. It is addressed 'to the whole body of the bishops of the Catholic Church;' that is to say, not only to the Catholic Bishops properly so called, but also to all those of the dissenting Churches, whether in the East or in the West. This is a sufficiently wide constituency, and a large court of appeal. The address may sound well, and to some may be evidence of breadth of view, but why should an appeal be made to those who have already tried the case? There is a new meaning put on the phrase 'Catholic Church' to suit a visionary idea. The bishops of the Russian Church cannot with any propriety be called bishops of the Catholic Church, nor do they so call themselves; neither is it a proper designation of the Greek Church. The language is not recognised. Why, then, have recourse to it? The Pope has declared Anglican Orders null and void, and all the bishops owning his jurisdiction re-echo his declaration with a universal affirmative. The Churches of the East reject Anglican pretensions to a valid priesthood. The Jansenists have been already appealed to, and after due inquiry, as late as 1894, pronounced that 'their [Anglican] Church is a congregation of laymen without either deacons, priests, or bishops.'¹ What, therefore, is the meaning of this cosmopolitan appeal? It only adds emphasis to Anglican isolation.

But have we in the reply an authentic statement of Anglicanism? *The Guardian* and *Church Times* regard it as such: *The Rock*, and it has a right to speak, calls the letter an 'astounding' one: it is 'unhistorical and ridiculous;' and it is clear that 'the bishops, with few exceptions, intend deliberately to undo the doctrinal Reformation in its most essential aspects.' The language is strong. Dr. Ryle, Anglican Bishop of Liverpool, must be one of the

¹ *De la Validité des ordinations Anglicanes.* Rotterdam, 1885.

few exceptions referred to, for he is sufficiently Low-church and anti-Sacerdotalist for *The Rock*.

Our manner of conceiving the office of a minister of Christ [says Dr Ryle] is very different from that of the Pope. On the one hand, the ecclesiastic of the Roman Church is a true priest, whose principal office is to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. On the other hand, the ecclesiastic of the Anglican Church is in no wise a priest, although we call him such; he is only an elder whose principal office is not to offer a material sacrifice, but rather to preach the Word of God, and to administer the sacraments.¹

This is the Protestantism of the good old sort with its Bible, its Thirty-nine Articles, its Book of Common Prayer, its hatred of the Mass and the Altar; it is the Protestantism of Cranmer and the framers of the Ordinal; and unless one is willing to ignore contemporary facts, and to become a visionary, one cannot regard the views set out by the two Archbishops as authorized by the beliefs and worship of the Anglican communion, such as it is known to be, much less as representing the mind and intention of the framers of the Ordinal of Edward VI. In this respect the point of the Reply is blunted. Besides it argues on the basis that Holy Orders is a sacrament, and it takes for granted that Confirmation is likewise a sacrament; but the Thirty-nine Articles and the Church Catechism speak of only two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It is stated in the Reply that its object is 'to make plain for all time our doctrine about Holy Orders, and other matters appertaining to them.' The phrase, 'our doctrine,' is vague. It cannot mean, as has been shown, the doctrine of the Anglican Church. Is it, then, only the doctrine which the two Archbishops agree in holding? What is its doctrinal authority? If one consults Dr. Salmon, it is only to be measured by the capability of the teachers; and it carries the same authority as if the two Archbishops were only teachers in some College or University.² There is no special guidance, nor is there any obligation to obey on

¹ *The Guardian*, Nov. 4, 1896; p. 1766.

² *Infallibility of the Church*. Lecture VII. By George Salmon, D.D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. London: John Murray.

the part of the members of the Anglican Church. Still, it looks like a definition of doctrine, especially when it is said that not only is the doctrine to be made plain, but to be made so 'for all time.' But have not Dr. Ryle, of Liverpool, and the Anglican Bishop of Sodor and Man, authority to state their doctrine on Holy Orders; and if some future Prime Minister, not in sympathy with sacerdotal tendencies in the Anglican Church, would nominate some one of the same views as these two to either York or Canterbury, would not they be within their right in making plain their doctrine regarding Holy Orders, and with the same propriety 'for all time'? But which should be regarded as the teaching of the Anglican Church?

There is, then, no authentic statement of the Anglican position. The Reply carries with it such weight as the personal authority of the Anglican Archbishops can give it—not that of the Anglican Church; and this is an important point in considering the force of the Archbishops' argument; for if the Anglican Church even still rejects every idea of a sacrificing priesthood, then it cannot have valid orders: it may have a ministry validly delegated by the civil authority; but there is no *Priesthood*.

It is a matter of some surprise to see the name of Dr. Temple attached to the Reply; for he has never been suspected of sacerdotalist tendencies, and one should not think of finding the author of the first essay in the famous 'Essays and Reviews' the joint author of so High Church a document. But the treatment of the question was bequeathed to him by his predecessor, Dr. Benson, who, we are told, had selected experts in theology and Church history to draw up the Reply.¹ It may be, then, that Dr. Temple had little to do with its composition. Some suggest that more idiomatic and elegant Latinity—for the reply is written in Latin as well as English—might be expected from a scholar like Dr. Temple, who is also an ex-headmaster.

¹ *The Guardian*, April 7, 1897. Letter of the Archbishop of York.

Anyhow, the inheritance was bequeathed to him, and it may not be in accordance with his tastes, though he had an obvious duty to discharge. The circumstances in which Dr. Benson handed down his wishes are pathetic, and even tragic, and throw considerable light on the obligation imposed on his successor. The late Archbishop of Canterbury had been in Ireland at the re-opening of the Protestant Cathedral of Kildare. There was much talk and considerable boasting at the gathering on that occasion of the ancient Church of Ireland, the Church of St. Patrick and St. Brigid, and of the Protestant claim to be regarded as the legitimate heir of the Church of St. Brigid at Kildare, and of the ancient Church of St. Patrick. The Papal Bull had just been issued, which practically stated that the Protestant hierarchy was only a body of laymen, and it gave its reasons. On the return of Dr. Benson to England, in the train between Carlisle and Chester, the first draft of a statement was made. It contained the promise of an early reply to the Pope's pronouncement. 'I write these,' says Dr. Benson, 'to say that a statement will shortly appear, which may, I hope, comfort any who think it is required. Infallibility has happily this time ventured on reasons.' Then he goes on to say what is his thesis:—'They [Anglican orders] are in origin, continuity, matter, form, intention, and all that belongs to them, identical with those of the Church of Rome.'¹

This is a sufficiently comprehensive statement; but it requires to be proved. It may suit very well to declaim about the ancient Church of Ireland, and to claim a distant lineage before an admiring and sympathetic audience, such as, no doubt, was assembled at Kildare on the occasion to which I refer; but here is a deliberate statement of doctrine, which, if false, completely overthrows the Anglican Church, and, of course, the so-called Church of Ireland, as by law established.

Dr. Benson, however, did not live to fulfil his promise. He died suddenly in Hawarden Church a short time after putting his last corrections to this statement, and it is a

¹ *Church Times*, Oct. 23, 1896.

matter of regret that he did not live to do as he had intended. The burden placed on his successor was a heavy one. There is no closing one's eyes to the points to be established. Dr. Benson has clearly marked them out. 'Anglican Orders are identical with those of the Church of Rome,' and they are identical 'in origin, continuity, matter, form, intention, and all that belongs to them.' This is the high-water mark of orthodoxy; yet Rome declares them null and void; and in this she is at one with both East and West; nor do the members of the Low Church and Broad Church in the Anglican communion hold in reality different views.

The Reply is an elaborate statement. It contains twenty sections, and it might have been considerably shortened, had irrelevant matter and some inaccuracies been omitted. The Latinity compares unfavourably with the graceful and idiomatic Latinity of the Letters of Leo XIII. It is overburdened with references and foot-notes, which, no doubt, show some research, but which tend to obscure the main point. In the Papal Bull, side issues are scrupulously avoided, and there is no evidence of effort, nor is there any display of erudition. It is the 'Anglican rite' which is defective. The defect is pointed out. The sacred order of the priesthood, or its grace and power, is not expressed: it is, on the contrary, deliberately cut out. Have Anglicans erased from their ordinal every vestige of a *sacrificing* priesthood? Do they believe in a Real objective Presence? Do they hold that what is offered is not bread and wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ really, truly, and substantially present under the appearances of bread and wine? There are vague references, no doubt, to a Eucharistic Sacrifice; but the simple question, which is all important,¹ is not definitely answered.

It may be well to point out what is irrelevant and inaccurate in the Anglican Reply, so that attention may then be more easily centred on the principal argument.

The first inaccuracy it is necessary to call attention to is the assertion that the Pope regards imposition of hands

¹ See I.E. RECORD, Dec., 1896.

as the matter of the Sacrament of Orders (Section VIII.). It is thus implied that the Pope has set his *imprimatur* on a special theological opinion. A little acquaintance with the procedure of the Roman Court would have caused this inaccuracy to be avoided. The opinion which regards imposition of hands as the matter of Holy Orders appears, no doubt, to be the common one; but there is another opinion. This state of theological opinion remains in the same position now as it was before the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, and the discipline of the Church, which ensures against risk, is unchanged. The safe course, when there is question of the validity of Holy Orders, is to be followed. But the Pope's statement is clear :—'The matter of which [Holy Orders] in so far as we have to consider it in this place, is the imposition of hands.'¹ It was desirable not to overload the Papal Letter with unnecessary considerations, so that the issue might be kept clear. Accordingly, it was sufficient to consider the imposition of hands alone, abstracting from any further question, as to the matter of Holy Orders.

A second inaccuracy which is made the subject matter of Section IV., is like the one already pointed :—

Nor do we desire to deny that in entering upon this controversy he [the Pope] has consulted the interests of the Church and of truth in throwing over the very vain opinion about the necessity of the delivery of the instruments, which was nevertheless widely accepted by scholastic theologians from the time of St. Thomas Aquinas up to that of Benedict XIV., and even up to the present day.

The object of this paragraph is evident : it is an effort to prejudice the case ; but the statement contained in it is not in accordance with facts. The Pope has not thrown over the opinion of St. Thomas : it simply does not enter into the consideration of the case ; it is the form which makes the difference, and which determines the Papal judgment.²

¹ Idque in Sacramento ordinis manifestius apparet, ejus conferendi materia, quatenus hoc loco se dat considerandum est impositio manuum.

² It is strange that Dr. Stokes of Trinity College, Dublin, says, and even persists in saying, not that the Pope has thrown over the question of the delivery of the instruments, but that 'the Bull proceeds on the assumption that the essential point of ordination is the delivery of the vessels.' What a curious difference of interpretation ! (*The Pope on Anglican Orders*, by George T. Stokes, D.D., Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin ; pp. 37-46.)

In the same section it is stated that the Pope 'has done well in neglecting other errors and fallacies.' The reference is, no doubt, to the question of Parker's and Barlow's consecrations, and the insinuation is that the Pope in neglecting those matters, thereby tacitly makes a decision. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Pope simply passes over these questions, and takes the evidence which was clear and unmistakable, namely, the insufficiency of the Anglican rite. This whole section might, therefore, with advantage, have been omitted.

Referring to the form of Holy Orders, the Reply says :—

Its [the Council of Trent] passing remark about the laying on of hands [Section XIV. on Extreme Unction], and its more decided utterance on the force of the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' which it seems to consider the form of order [Section XXIII. on the Sacraments of Order, Canon IV.] are satisfactory enough to us, and certainly are in no way repugnant to our feelings. (Sect. III.)

But the Council of Trent does not state that the form of Holy Orders is contained in the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost;' nor can that be inferred. The Canon of the Council of Trent is meant to show that the priesthood is not a mere delegation of the laity, but that something is conveyed from Christ and the Apostles which the people cannot give. Hence the ceremonial of ordination is not an empty one, and the rite is not performed vainly. It is one thing to say that by the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' the grace of the priesthood is conferred, which the Council of Trent does not say: it is quite another thing to state that by sacred ordination, in which the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' occur, the order of priesthood is given. No doubt there were some theologians who held as a speculative opinion that those words contained the form of ordination; but when asked how they could have a definite signification of the order of priesthood, or its grace and power, they answered that it was determined by the whole rite, which was intended to ordain a sacrificing priesthood. But this does not hold in the case of the Anglican Ordinal, for every vestige of a sacrificing priesthood has been cut out of it. There will be a question later on as to whether words

which occur in the form can be determined by anything outside the essential rite. It is clear that words which cannot bear the necessary meaning cannot be so determined. The question arises in regard only to words which may have that meaning.

It is difficult to understand why the subject of confirmation was introduced and treated throughout Section X. Everyone knows there is a speculative discussion concerning what is the matter, and, consequently, the form of confirmation; but practically there is no controversy, for the safer view is always followed in order to secure with certainty the effects of the sacrament. This section might, accordingly, have been omitted. It was introduced for the purpose of showing that in the question of the sacraments there is no fixed matter and form except in the case of baptism, and, therefore, it cannot be said when anything essential is omitted. It is true, there is no stereotyped form of words; but there is a fixed type, from which if one departs there is no sacrament. There may be differences of opinion as to whether chrism is part of the matter of confirmation, but if chrism be omitted, then the validity of the sacrament remains doubtful; if both chrism and imposition of hands be omitted the sacrament is invalid: so if the expression of the sacred order of priesthood, or the power and grace of it be omitted, the sacrament of orders is invalid. This leads us again to the fundamental question, Has every vestige of a sacrificing priesthood been cut out of the Anglican Ordinal?

But, although the Anglican Archbishops assume sacred orders to be a sacrament, they can scarcely be said to have a clear conception of what a sacrament of the New Law is, or of its elements. The matter of a sacrament is something indeterminate; the form determines it to something definite. What is the conception of the Anglican archbishops? 'Baptism alone,' they say, 'is certain as to its matter and form' (Sect. IX.). 'The form of Confirmation is uncertain and quite general, prayer, that is to say, or benediction, more or less suitable' (IX.). 'Whatever, therefore, the Pope may answer, it is clear enough that we cannot everywhere insist very strictly on that doctrine about a

fixed matter and form' (IX.). As already stated, there is no fixed set of words, but there is a fixed type arising from the nature of the sacramental sign, and the reply of the Anglican Archbishops, if it means anything, must mean that there is neither a fixed set of words nor a fixed type determined by the sacrament, which is essentially a sign; and accordingly it is left to the will of churches and individuals to set apart any form of words as a sign of the sacrament of orders. From principles so vague and general, it is no wonder that there should be loose reasoning regarding the requirements for a valid rite of priestly ordination.

The fact is lost sight of that the external rite is a *sign*, and the signification must be definite. In the case of the rite for priestly ordination the thing which requires to be definitely set out is the Sacred Order of the Priesthood, or its grace and power. This point is missed in the Reply.

In this connection a grave inaccuracy occurs. The Papal Bull says the rite must mention 'the Sacred Order of the Priesthood, *or* its grace and power, which is chiefly the power of consecrating and of offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord.' If the Sacred Order of the Priesthood be mentioned, then there is implicit mention of its chief grace and power; for by priest is meant *sacrificing* priest. In this case it is not at all necessary to mention explicitly the power of sacrifice. But the two Archbishops strangely assume that the Pope has written *and*, not *or*, and then proceed quite irrelevantly to argue, in Sections XII., XIII., and XIV., that in several of the ancient rites there is no mention of sacrifice. It would have been much to the point if they could produce any ancient rite in which there was not mention *either* of the Sacred Order of Priesthood *or* of its chief grace and power. Their arguments in those sections are, therefore, quite beside the question.

With regard to the doctrine of intention, it is satisfactory to find that the Reply has nothing to find fault with in the Papal Bull. 'Nor do we part company with the Pope,' it says, 'when he suggests that it is right to investigate the intention of the Church in conferring Holy Orders, in so far as it is manifested externally.' (VIII.)

This is a considerable advance towards a due appreciation of the Catholic doctrine of intention. It is on this head chiefly Anglicans¹ found fault with the requirements of Catholic theology for a valid sacrament, and assumed that we should constantly search into the recesses of the mind of the minister of a sacrament. But in applying this doctrine the Archbishops gravely err.

'But the intention of the Church,' they go on to say, 'must be ascertained, *'in so far as it is manifested externally,* that is to say from its public formularies and definite pronouncements, which directly touch the main point of the question, not from its omissions and reforms made as opportunity occurs, in accordance with the liberty which belongs to every province and nation, unless it may be something is omitted which has been ordered in the Word of God, or the known and certain statutes of the Universal Church' (VIII).

There may be, indeed, omissions and additions, and certain reforms without interfering with the validity of the rite; but there may be also omissions which deprive the rite of its efficacy as a sacramental sign. This is precisely what has been done in the case of the Anglican rite. For from it has been deliberately removed whatever expresses the sacred order of the Priesthood, or its grace and power. Accordingly, the intention, 'in so far as it is manifestly externally,' is not to do as the Church does: it does the contrary, and does it deliberately.

J. CROWE.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1895, p. 17; Nov., 1896, pp. 969-970.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

V.

LET us now consider the claims of John Charlier de Gerson in reference to the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*.

If, for a few hours, we imagine ourselves transported back amidst the turbulent scenes which convulsed Central Europe in the early part of the fifteenth century, it will not be difficult to understand how John Charlier de Gerson, the mighty Chancellor of the University of Paris, came to be looked upon as a possible author of *The Imitation of Christ*. He lived near the time when the book appeared; he was a prominent figure in the great religious upheaval of that dark epoch; he was greatly revered—aye, venerated—despite some errors of judgment; and, in addition, he was a versatile and copious writer on spiritual subjects.

While the saintly Canon of Agnetenberg was scarcely known beyond the limits of his own congregation, the world rang with the praise and renown of the 'Doctor Christianissimus,' who was, in turn, the favourite and the persecuted of princes, the dauntless enemy of heresy and corruption, the guiding spirit of councils—nay, even the deposer of the very Pope himself. Withal, the more deeply we search into his character, history, and writings, the more evident it becomes that *The Imitation* never emanated from his gifted and prolific pen. This great man's life is too well known to need reproduction here—at all events, in any extended form. A page or two will suffice to recapitulate the main features of his magnificent, though sad and troubled career.

John Charlier, otherwise known as John Charlier de Gerson, Johannes Gersonus, Gersone, Jarson, Jarstone, Gersem, or Gersen, was born, on the 14th of December, 1363, at the village of Gerson, near Rheims, from whence

he takes his surname. His parents, Arnulph Charlier and Elizabeth de la Chardenière, belonged to a humble class, were eminently pious, and had the consolation of seeing seven of their twelve children devoting themselves to the service of God in religious life. John, the eldest of the family, was sent to Paris when about fourteen years old. After five years' study in the historic College of Navarre, he obtained the degree of Licentiate in Arts, and then began his theological studies under the direction of Giles des Champs, and Peter D'Ailly, then Chancellor of the University of Paris, and afterwards Bishop of Puy, Archbishop of Cambrai, and Cardinal.

Gerson seems at a very early period to have attracted the notice of the authorities of the University. In 1383 he was elected procurator, and re-elected the following year. In 1384 he took his degree as Bachelor, and in 1392 as Doctor of Theology. In 1395, when Peter D'Ailly was appointed Bishop of Puy, Gerson, at the early age of thirty-two, was elected Chancellor of the University of Paris, and made Canon of Notre Dame.

This famous University was then in the zenith of its glory, and its Chancellor was of necessity one of the foremost men in Europe, bearing in his hands the destinies of the vast crowd of students from all parts of the world who flocked to its halls and sought its distinctions. Gerson's writings feelingly portray his deep sense of the responsibilities, anxieties, and troubles of his exalted position. Oftentimes he seems to have been weary of the burden. It involved him in perpetual strife, and being a purely honorary post, in monetary difficulties, and forced him into public life, while he yearned for leisure to pursue his studies. Accordingly, we find him, in 1400, accepting from the Duke of Burgundy, to whom he was almoner, and whose friendship and protection he then enjoyed, the Deanery of the Cathedral of Bruges. This position, with its prospects of comparative independence, does not appear to have suited his aspirations, and within a couple of years he returned to Paris and the Chancellorship of the University. From the time when Gerson left Bruges we find him continuously

occupied in strife and contention, endeavouring to promote reformation amongst the clergy and laity, to remodel the course of studies in the University, and absorbed in the struggle to terminate the appalling scandal of his time—the papal schism—the great schism of the West. He appears as the delegate to popes and anti-popes, the leader amongst leaders at Pisa and Constance, swaying the destinies of councils, pontiffs, and of the Church itself.

At last we come to his downfall, wherein his true nobility shines forth. When John Petit essayed to defend the murder of the Duke of Orleans, of which foul deed the reckless Duke of Burgundy, ‘Jean sans Peur,’ was avowedly guilty, Gerson, with all the grandeur of his lofty character, sacrificed the favour of his patron, and denounced the false plea set forth to shield him. Again at Constance he returned to the charge, and proved the indefensibility of the murder.

From that hour, through terror of his former potent ally, he became an exile from France, and, donning a pilgrim’s habit and grasping a staff, he wandered through Lower Germany and Austria, until the tragic death of the Duke of Burgundy permitted his return home.

Disgusted with public life, and unwilling to re-enter its arena, Gerson sought an asylum with his brother, who was then Prior of the Celestinians at Lyons. There, in peaceful retirement, he spent the remaining years of his life, praying, writing, and teaching little children, asking only from his pupils ‘a prayer for poor Gerson.’ He died in 1429, and was buried in the Church of St. Laurence, at Lyons. On his tomb were inscribed the words, ‘*Poenitemini et credite Evangelio.*’

Such in a few sentences was the history of the mighty Chancellor Gerson, who, despite his errors of judgment, and the terrible vicissitudes of his chequered career, was undoubtedly one of the grandest characters of the Middle Ages. I am aware that many judge him more unfavourably than I can, but the circumstances in which he was placed must be remembered, and due allowance made. It is needless, however, to observe how utterly incompatible the life I have sketched, spent in ceaseless political and polemical

warfare is, with the authorship of such a book as *The Imitation*, which throughout exhibits tranquillity, contemplation, and absorption in God—attributes only possible for the work of one who had passed a lifetime in the cloister in meditation and prayer. The bare idea seems absurd, but still it is beyond question that Gerson has been accredited with its paternity, and has found advocates of learning and earnestness.

How came this to pass? As we know, *The Imitation* appeared anonymously in the first third of the fifteenth century. Immediately before that period Gerson was one of the most prominent figures in Europe, and his spiritual writings were spread broadcast and highly appreciated. It so happened, moreover, that in more than one instance his essay, *De Meditatione Cordis*, was bound up in the same volume with the *Imitatio Christi*.

Herein seems to lie the whole explanation. The obscurity of Thomas à Kempis, the prominence of Gerson, and the ignorance of transcribers, led to *The Imitation*, whose author was little known, being attributed to the Chancellor, whose *Meditatio Cordis* was familiar to many. The error, once promulgated, grew apace as manuscripts were reproduced, and doubtless the exalted reputation of the supposed author caused the book to be read and valued more, and consequently a better investment for the labour of copyists, and later on of printers and publishers. We shall now examine Gerson's claims, show how baseless they are, and contrast them with those of à Kempis. It will be most convenient to discuss them in the order in which we have studied those of the holy Canon of Mount St. Agnes.

I.—*Contemporary Witnesses.*

I have quoted fourteen, out of many more I might have cited, who bear testimony in favour of à Kempis. For Gerson there is *not a single one*. Nay, more, my reader will recollect that Mauburn, Schott, Lambert, Danhausser, and Simus, while testifying in favour of Thomas, state positively *that Gerson was not the author of The Imitation of Christ*.

More crushing even than their statements is the negative

evidence of Gerson's brother, and of Jaques de Ciresio, the Chancellor's secretary and intimate friend. John Gerson, the brother and namesake of the Chancellor, with whom the latter spent the closing years of his life, was Prior of the Celestinians at Lyons. In 1423, six years before the death of his illustrious guest, he was requested by a member of his Order, Brother Anselm, to draw up a correct list of Gerson's works. He did so with the utmost precision, but in that catalogue *we do not find 'The Imitation' mentioned*. Later on, in 1429, about the time of the Chancellor's death, Ciresio added a note to the catalogue, pointing out the treatises which he admired most, with other details, but of '*The Imitation*' *he says not one word*.

It is not within the range of possibility that these two men, one the brother, and the other the secretary and devoted friend of the Chancellor, both of whom were responsible for the list of his works, would have omitted to mention *The Imitation* if he were its author. *Their silence is, beyond evasion, a crushing blow to Gerson's pretensions*.

Withal, Gerson has found from time to time, principally amongst his compatriots, learned and brilliant advocates. The most important are Camus, Dupin, Gence, Tourlet, Onésime Leroy, Corneille, Monfalcon, Carton, Thomassy, Vert, and Darche. Of all, Gence is the most erudite and philosophical, and yet the perusal of his remarkable essay leaves the reader under the conviction that this learned writer pleads for an impossible theory.

The most recent champions of the great Chancellor are Vert and Darche. Certainly they have availed themselves to the utmost of the researches of their predecessors, so we need not travel beyond their writings. If deficient in solid argument, unquestionably they are not wanting in vivacity of imagination or boldness of assertion. As a specimen of M. Vert's method of reasoning, let us see what he says of 'contemporary witnesses' for the claims of Gerson. He tells us that numbers are forthcoming. As a matter of fact, what do his 'contemporary witnesses' amount to?

First. Louis Gonzales (who lived about a century and

a half after the death of Gerson) says that St. Ignatius of Loyola always carried with him his 'Gerson,' or *Imitation of Christ*.

Secondly. A Memoir, edited by the Jesuits about 1570 (one hundred and forty years after Gerson's death), points out as a work greatly prized by the Society of Jesus, *The Imitation of Christ*, attributing it to Gerson.

Thirdly. He quotes Luca Pinelli, an Italian Jesuit whose works appeared about the year 1600—that is, one hundred and seventy years after Gerson's death—who also attributes *The Imitation* to Gerson.

Such are Vert's *numerous contemporary witnesses!*

I think it would scarcely repay the reader were I to carry him in detail through the mazes of M. Vert's arguments, the cogency of which may be fairly gauged by the foregoing specimens.

Respecting M. Darche's strange essay, I find it difficult to offer an opinion. It appears to be the rhapsody of an enthusiast, and his contentions, reduced to a point, amount to this, that Gerson was a great and good man, an eminent spiritual writer, and therefore must have been the author of *The Imitation!*

II.—*External Evidence of Manuscripts.*

The earliest dated manuscript of *The Imitation* which attributes it to Gerson is the Sangermanensis. It is signed 1460, thirty-one years after the death of the supposed author. The Florentine manuscripts of 1464 and 1466 give his name as John Gersen, Parisian Chancellor. So also do the Verona and the Wolfenbuttel. The Padolironensis codex also gives his name as Gersen, and his epitaph.

This fact should be carefully borne in mind, as we shall see its importance later on—viz., that the name of the Parisian Chancellor is frequently written Gersen. As to the undated manuscripts bearing Gerson's name (howsoever spelt), there is not one which shows evidence of being written earlier than the fifteenth century, and not the earliest portion of it. I need not dilate upon this topic. We have already discussed the value of the undated

manuscripts. Adding together the various codices which give the name of Gerson, Gersem, Gersen, Gers, &c.—all of which evidently point to the Chancellor of Paris—we find that they amount to about thirty.

When we call to mind these facts, we are in a position to estimate the vast preponderating external evidence of manuscripts in favour of à Kempis and against Gerson. While the great Chancellor was one of the most prominent characters of his day, and a well-known and prolific spiritual writer, we find some thirty manuscripts giving his name, but not one during his life, or for over thirty years after his death. On the other hand, in favour of the obscure Monk of Agnetenberg, who was scarcely known outside of his Congregation, we find some sixty manuscripts pointing to him, a considerable proportion written during his life, including one in his own handwriting, placed at the head of a series of spiritual treatises, which we have no reason to doubt were of his own composition.

Furthermore, as we have seen in my last article, the larger portion of the three hundred and sixty-one manuscripts appertaining to Germany and the Low Countries exhibit contact and amity with the School of Windesheim, of which à Kempis was the great literary exponent.

Before leaving the subject of the manuscripts advanced in favour of Gerson, I must allude to the theory raised by the Abbé Dufresnoy, and defended by Onésime Leroy, and later by Vert.

There exists in the library of Valenciennes a manuscript, in French, containing some works of Gerson, to which his name is appended, and also the three first books of *The Imitation of Christ* under the title of *L'Internelle Consolation*, to which no name is attached. Some partizans of Gerson, including several of those named above, argue that the book of *L'Internelle Consolation* is by Gerson, and that he wrote it in French. Their contention does not bear examination. The Valenciennes manuscript is dated 1462, and is almost identical with another manuscript existing in the library of Amiens, dated 1447, which the transcriber avows to be a translation from Latin into French. There is good evidence,

moreover, to show that both manuscripts are attributable to the same individual—namely, David Aubert, a native of Hesdin.

Now, as the earliest of these manuscripts dates eighteen years subsequent to the death of Gerson, and the other no less than thirty-three years after that event, it seems futile to contend that they assist his candidature. Monseigneur Malou discusses this subject with great care, and demonstrates satisfactorily that the manuscripts in question are a very clumsy translation of *The Imitation*, which, as we know, was extant in Latin thirty-six years before the date of the earliest of them.

III.—*Internal Evidence.*

When we examine *The Imitation of Christ* and the works of John Gerson, with a view to discovering a similarity between the two, we find instead a diametrical opposition. We have already seen the remarkable parallelism which exists between *The Imitation* and the works of Thomas à Kempis—in style, peculiarities of language, including unusual words, Dutch idioms, unique punctuation, derivation from the Scriptures, St. Bernard, and the writers of the School of Windesheim. When, on the other hand, we study the works of the great Chancellor, we are struck by a manifest contrast in every particular. In vain do we seek for the peculiarities of language and train of thought which characterize *The Imitation* and à Kempis' other compositions. They are nowhere to be found. Gerson is decidedly scholastic—*The Imitation* is the very reverse. Gerson is diffuse, verbose, involved—*The Imitation* is terse, epigrammatic, and transparently clear. Gerson is grandiloquent, didactic, arid, and but rarely devotional—*The Imitation* is homely, sympathetic, and full of unction at every page. Gerson deals mostly with theory and reason—*The Imitation* is always practical, and appeals to the heart.

If we take the *Meditatio Cordis* as a specimen of Gerson's spiritual teaching, and read it side by side with *The Imitation*, it becomes evident that the two never emanated from the same source. I quote this particular essay because

its subject is somewhat congenial, and thus it affords a fair ground for comparison.

This striking diversity of style constitutes an argument against the great Chancellor which is *per se* conclusive and unanswerable. Authors vary in the power and merit of their compositions, but style is an individuality and unalterable. Gerson's style asserts itself throughout his works as consistently as à Kempis' pervades *The Imitation* and his other writings, and no wider contrast could be imagined than what we find between the productions of these two great teachers. It would seem to me as reasonable to attribute *The Pilgrim's Progress* to Gibbon, or the *Dialogues of Lucian* to Xenophon, as to affirm that *The Imitation* was the work of the Chancellor of Paris.

Cardinal Newman touches this subject with his well-known perspicuity and force. Speaking of the individuality with which every man of genius expresses his ideas and feelings in language, he says :—‘ . . . he gives utterance to them all,—in a corresponding language, which is as multi-form as this inward mental action itself, and analogous to it, the faithful expression of his intense personality, attending on his own inward world of thought as its very shadow ; so that we might as well say that one man's shadow was another's, as that the style of a really gifted mind can belong to any but himself. It follows him about *as* a shadow. His thought and feeling are personal, and so his language is personal. Thought and speech are inseparable from each other. Matter and expression are parts of one : style is a thinking out into language.’

After studying the works of Gerson it appears to me that his partizans have quite overlooked the philological aspect of the question. The supposition that he was the author of *The Imitation* must include a belief that he had learned a *new language* in which to write it, *totally different* from what we find in his voluminous and admirable works !

It seems needless to discuss further the idea that the great Chancellor Gerson could have written *The Imitation* ; however, before dismissing the subject, I would refer all interested in it to the remarkably clear and solid refutation

of his pretensions which we find in the essays of two recent French writers—namely, M. Arthur Loth and Monseigneur Peuyol.

In conclusion, let me quote a remark lately made to me by one of the most erudite Frenchmen of our time, M. Leopold Delisle, Director of the National Library in Paris, viz. :—‘ For the learned, who have studied and understand this subject, the controversy is at an end, and in favour of Thomas à Kempis.’

In my next communication I intend to discuss the candidature of that literary phantom, the imaginary Benedictine Abbot, John Gersen, of Vercelli. I shall endeavour to do so with becoming gravity.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D

A LIST OF CHURCH MUSIC

‘**F**IDES EX AUDITU,’ says the Apostle; and his word has been appropriately applied to the case of Church music. For it is only by hearing proper Church music well performed, that one can get the right idea of what it ought to be. Theoretical reflections and studies are very useful to prepare the ground ; but in order fully to appreciate that which is suitable for divine service, the ear requires training, and especially when by long practice our judgment has been misled and falsified, only continued listening to good Church music will overcome our prejudices, and enable us to form a just estimate of what is really becoming to the house of God.

But the text quoted holds also in the opposite direction. One does not know what bad Church music means, until he has heard it. We may be convinced, from printed and oral information, that a great deal of unsuitable music is performed in our churches. But we are not fully alive to the fact, we do not fully realize the harm that is done, until we get some practical experience for ourselves. It is experience

of this kind that has prompted me to write the following lines. I have heard, within recent times, Church music that is an outrage and a scandal; I might almost say, a blasphemy; for the character of that music would seem to presuppose qualities in God that are derogatory to His sanctity. I have heard such music even in convents of nuns. I have heard those sacred virgins defile their lips with strains suitable only for the expression of sentiments that they would utterly abhor, the mere suggestions of which, in spoken language, would make them blush and fly away. Is it the utter absence of an appreciation of the fitness of things or the overpowering influence of early associations and continued habitude that make these things possible? I do not know. But to do away, to some extent, with one of the excuses given—namely, want of knowledge of suitable compositions, I propose to give a list of such pieces as I think are most practical for our present wants.

Not, indeed, as if no such list had been published before. Not to speak of the catalogue of the German Cecilian Society, with its upwards of two thousand numbers, there are two such publications in English. First, Singenberger's *Guide*.¹ This magnificent work, the fruit of immense labour of the President of the American Cecilian Society, gives, not only a very large number of Masses for various combinations of voices, as well as collections of motets, benediction pieces, hymns, organ compositions, &c., but mentions for every liturgical text, from one end of the ecclesiastical year to the other, all the musical settings to be found in any of those collections. Then there is within easy reach of anyone the 'List of Music' published by order of the Dublin Diocesan Commission on Ecclesiastical Music, and issued by Gill and Son at the price of sixpence. Since the publication of the last (second) edition of this list (in 1883), a good many useful compositions have appeared; and it is principally these I shall mention in the following, including from the Dublin list those that I consider most practical.

¹ *Guide in Catholic Church Music*. Published by order of the First Provincial Council of Milwaukee and St. Paul: with a Preface by Rt. Rev. Bishop M. Marty, D.D., St. Francis, Wis. J. Singenberger. Price, 1 dol.

As a preliminary note, it might be useful to explain a few technical terms referring to different classes of voices, as very hazy ideas are entertained about these things in certain circles. We usually distinguish four classes of the human voice, generally called—Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. For the explanation of these names we have to go back to the earliest times of part-singing, when the Plain-chant melody was the principal part, to which other melodies were added. The voice that sang the Plain Chant, or *Cantus Firmus*, was called *Tenor*, from *tenere*, to hold. A part added to this, usually above it, was called *Discantus*, from the fact that it had a different melody. Another part, added below the Tenor, was called *Bassus*, from *βαθύς*, low. Later on, a fourth part, added between *Tenor* and *Discantus*, was called *Altus*, because with reference to the *Tenor* it was 'high.' The *Discantus* is also called shortly *Cantus*, or *Soprano*, because it is the highest part, or, in English, *Treble*, probably as the 'third' of the parts added to the Plain Chant. In the Middle Age, as even at the present day in the Anglican Church choirs, the Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts were sung by men, the Soprano part by boys. Hence a composition for Alto, Tenor, and Bass was called *ad aequales*, for equal voices. But also the combination Soprano, Alto, and Tenor was designated by the same name. In modern times the Alto part is usually sung by female or boys' voices. These low female or boys' voices are known in England by the name of Counter-Alto, or Contralto, because their part is 'against' or 'next to' the Alto part, their compass being somewhat higher than that of the male Alto. For the same reason, the Alto is also sometimes called Counter-Tenor. The term 'equal voices,' then, in modern times is restricted to combinations either of Soprano and Alto, or of Tenor and Bass. To complete these short remarks, I should mention further that both in the female and the male voice an intermediate class is distinguished. Thus between the high female voice, the Soprano, and the low female voice, the Alto, we have a voice of middle range, the Mezzo-Soprano. And similarly, between, the high male voice, the Tenor, and the low

male voice, the Bass, we have the middle voice, called Barytone.

I now proceed to give my list, confining myself on the present occasion to *Masses with organ accompaniment*. I do hold indeed, and very decidedly hold, that vocal music without accompaniment is the more ideal style of Church music. But having regard to the actual condition of choirs in this country, I should consider it lost labour to recommend such music.

In proceeding from the simple to the complicated, the first thing we should treat of would be *Unison Masses with organ accompaniment*. There are a considerable number of such Masses by composers of the Cecilian school. But though I should not be prepared to say that there is no artistic justification for compositions of this class, I cannot induce myself to recommend any of them. I think that where Unison Masses are desired, Gregorian Chant ought to be used. Gregorian Chant, as nearly everybody now admits, in theory at least, is the ideal of Church music. Nobody can be considered a competent judge of Church music who has not familiarized himself with this branch of it, and no choir can be called a true church choir that does not appreciate or cannot perform satisfactorily the Plain Chant. I feel a certain reluctance, therefore, to recommend in its place compositions that are in the same line with it, in so far as they are unisonous.

The Ordinary of the Mass, of which we are speaking primarily, is issued in various editions, in folio, from 12s. to 6s. ; in 8vo. at 7d. or 5d. ; and in 16mo., in modern notation, at 3d. All these editions contain the *Asperges, Vide aquam*, thirteen 'Masses' for the various festivals, four chants for the *Credo*, the *Requiem* Mass, and the Responses at Mass. The smaller editions contain also the *Pange Lingua, Veni Creator*, and *Te Deum*, chants that are often desired.

Various organ accompaniments have been published for these chants. Pustet has no less than three, by Witt, Hanisch, and Mohr. Schwann of Düsseldorf published one by Piel and Schmetz. On the ground of facility of execution, we should recommend the one edited by Mohr, which, we understand, was written by Piel.

We may mention in this connection, two other useful little publications of Pustet's—namely, first, the *Manuale Chorale* (Price 1s.), containing, in modern notation, the *Ordinarium Missae*, the Sequences and the more popular chants of Holy Week, the Office of the Dead and the Burial Service, Processional Chants, Litanies, the Vesper Hymns, the Chants of Compline, and several other useful melodies and liturgical prayers; secondly, the *Graduale Parvum*, which was reviewed in the December Number of the I. E. RECORD, 1896.

MASSSES FOR TWO EQUAL VOICES

A distinction is made between compositions for female (or boys') and for male voices, and while some works will suit both classes, others will not. I shall give only those written for Soprano and Alto, the others not being much required, as far as I know, in this country. The easiest of these Masses are:—

Haller, op. 53,	Missa Quintadecima	(Pustet).
Jaspers, op. 9,	„ S. Caeciliae	(Münster i.W. Schöningh).
Singenberger,	„ 'Adoro te'	(Pustet).
„	„ S. Galli	„

Of more artistic value, and not difficult are:—

Griesbacher,	Mass of our Lady of Lourdes	(Ratisbon, Coppenrath).
Haller, op. 7a,	Missa Tertia	(Pustet).
„ op. 23,	„ Decima	„
Koenen, op. 43,	„ S. Ursulae	(Coppenrath).
Mittererer	„ 'Veni Sponsa Christi'	„
Piel, op. 46,	Easy Mass	(Schwann).
Seymour,	Mass of St. Brigid	(Cary).
Stein, Br. op. 7,	Missa Brevis	(Coppenrath).
Weber, G.,	Easy Mass	„

A little more difficult are:—

Ebner,	Missa Ss. Cordis	(Pustet).
Griesbacher,	op. 11, Missa S. Caeciliae	(Schwann).
Habert,	op. 14,	„ 'Exultet (Breitkopf and Härtel)
„	op. 39,	„ 'Veni Sponsa Christi' „

Haller,	op. 8,	Missa Quarto (Pustet)	
Piel,	op. 67,	„ ‘Alma Redemptoris Mater’	(Schwann).
„	op. 68,	„ ‘Ave Regina Coelorum’	„

MASSES FOR THREE EQUAL VOICES

Griesbacher,	Missa	Ss. Cordis (Coppenrath)	
Haller,	op. 13,	„ Sexta (Pustet)	
Koenen,	op. 57,	„ S. Scholasticae (Schwann).	
Piel,	op. 25,	„ Ss. Cordis	„
„	op. 63,	„ B.M.V.	„
„		S. Caeciliae (Ratisbon, Feuchtinger and Gleichauf).	
Van Schaik,	op. 3,	„ Gaudeamus (Utrecht, Van Rossum).	

MASSES FOR FOUR EQUAL VOICES

Griesbacher,	op. 17b,	Missa Angelica (Schwann).	
Piel,	op. 81,	„ S. Annae	„
Witt,	op. 19b,	„ Concilii Vaticani (Pustet).	

MASSES FOR TWO MIXED VOICES

This class of Masses is not so frequently used as it deserves. The effect of all the female and all the male voices combining, is very good, giving considerable fulness even with small choirs. The difficulties of performance, at the same time, are considerably reduced on account of the small number of parts to be learnt.

I recommend the following :—

Ebner,	op. 7,	Missa	‘Laudate Dominum’ (Schwann).
„	op. 14,	„	S. Josephi (Pustet).
„	op. 28,	„	‘Regina Angelorum’ „
Griesbacher,	op. 16,	„	‘Salus Infirmorum’ (Schwann).
Haller,	op. 62a,	„	S. Antonii (Coppenrath).
Jansen,	op. 21,	„	„ (Van Rossum).
Könen,	op. 11,	Mass in A	(Coppenrath).
„	op. 39,	Missa	S. Heriberti „
Mitterer,	op. 66,	„	Dominicalis Quarta „
Piel,	op. 22,	„	S. Josephi (Schwann).
Plag,	op. 15,	„	S. Francisci Xav. „
Quadflieg,	op. 3,	„	Immac. Conceptionis (Feuchtinger and Gleichauf).

MASSES FOR THREE MIXED VOICES

These Masses are usually either for Soprano, Alto, and Bass or Barytone, or for Alto, Tenor, and Bass. I mention here only those of the first-class.

Koenen,	Missa	' Panis Angelicus ' (Schwann).
Mitterer, op. 25,	„	Dominicalis Prima (Pustet).
„ op. 47,	„	„ Tertia (Coppenrath).
Singenberger,	„	Pur. Cordis B.M.V. (Pustet)
„	„	S. Galli „
„	„	S. Joannis B. „
„	„	S. Aloisii „

In Singenberger's Masses the Bass part is *ad libitum*, so that they can be used also for two equal voices.

MASSES FOR FOUR MIXED VOICES

Under this heading I mention first some Masses in which the Tenor and Bass parts may be omitted.

Diebold, op. 18,	Missa	' Adoro Te ' (Freiburg, Herder).
„ op. 38,	„	' O sacrum Convivium ' (Schwann).
Quadlieg, op. 8,	„	S. Caeciliae (Feuchtinger & Gleichauf).
Tappert	„	S. Rosae (St. Francis, Wis., Singenberger).

In the following Masses the Tenor is *ad libitum* :—

Koenig, op. 10,	Mass in C	(Traunstein, Koenig),
„ op. 14,	Missa ' Salve Regina ' „	„
Singenberger,	Missa Ss. Angelorum Custodum	(Pustet).

Of the Masses requiring all the four parts the easiest are these :—

Ebner, op. 6,	Missa	S. Mariae (Schwann).
Haller, op. 7b,	„	Tertia (Pustet).
„ op. 13b,	„	Sexta (Coppenrath).
„ op. 62b,	„	S. Antonii „
Mitterer, op. 67,	„	Dominicalis Quinta „
„ op. 71,	„	„ Sexta „
Stein, J. op. 76,	„	S. Gregorii (Schwann).

The following are more difficult :—

Diebold,	op. 29, Missa	Jubilaei Papalis (Herder).
Gruber,	op. 83b, „	S. Thomae (Pustet).
Habert,	Mass in G	(Breitkopf and Haertel).
Haller,	op. 8b, Missa	Quarta (Pustet).
Koenen,	op. 19, „	S. Joannis Chrys. (Schwann).
Mitterer,	„	St. Thomae (Coppenrath).
„	„	S. Caeciliae „
„	op. 70, „	Ss. Cordis (Innsbruck, Gross).
Oberhoffer,	„	S. Wilfridi (Cary).
Piel,	op. 78, „	S. Antonii (Schwann).
Quadflieg	op. 4, „	S. Jacobi (Pustet).
Schildknecht,	op. 21, „	‘Sub tuum Praesidium’ „
Seymour,	Mass in A flat	(Cary)
Smith,	Missa Solemnis	(Pohlmann).
Singenberger	„	S. Caeciliae (Pustet).
Stehle,	op. 33, „	‘Jesu Rex Admirabilis’ „
„	„	‘Salve Regina’ „
„	op. 51, „	‘Alma Redemptoris’ „
Stein, J.	op. 43, „	Ss. Petri et Pauli (Schwann).
Witt,	op. 8b, „	S. Francisci Xav. (Pustet).
„	op. 12,	(Einsiedeln, Benziger).
Zoller,	op. 12, „	De Spiritu Sancto (Schwann).

H. BEWERUNGE.

THE ALLELUIAT ☞ HYMN OF ST. CUMMAIN FOTA

TO an Irish student of Alleluia's course through Christian literature as evidence of its traditional import, I know of no document more interesting than this hymn of St. Cummain Fota, Bishop and Abbot of Clonfert during much of the first half of the seventh century: that crowning age of our country's past literary and apostolic glory. He was called Fota or 'the Tall,' not, it would appear, so much for his exceptionally high stature as to distinguish him from a writer of the same name who flourished a little later; was Abbot of Hy; wrote the life of St. Columba, and is commonly known as Cummain Finn or 'the Fair.' For all known details touching his life and writings, the reader is referred to the Most Rev. Dr. Healy's *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*—that delightful survey of the lives of Ireland's saints and scholars, which ought to be found in the library and in the parish library of every priest with a drop of Celtic blood in his veins wherever on earth his mission lies. I notice, by the way, our saint's name is there invariably written *Cummian* (not Cummain) and *Fada* (not Fota). In the *Annals of the Four Masters* it is written *Cummine Foda*, and in a Rann or short poem, which they quote as composed on his death by Colman O'Clusaigh, his old tutor when a student in (the original) St. Finbarr's Seminary, Cork, his name is written *Cummine Foto*. But in the *Liber Hymnorum*, where I read his hymn, the name is written as I have given it. The ancient scholiast's preface thus commences:—'Cummain Fota Mac Fiachna Ri Iarmuman (King of West Munster), *ille fecit hunc ymnium*.'

From the start it would, of course, be well to have before the mind some general idea of his character. For that it will suffice to note that he was admittedly one of the most learned and cultured, as well as saintly, personages of the glorious period in which he lived. Indeed, in the commemoration poem, to which reference has been made, as found in the

Annals of the Four Masters, he is declared to have been the only Irishman of the day qualified to 'sit in the Chair of Gregory' (that is, St. Gregory the Great), who died during his lifetime. Remembering what St. Gregory was, and who were the Irish Churchmen of that day, we can appreciate the testimony thus offered at once to his personal sanctity, talent, learning, culture, and administrative ability—'qualifications,' it must be admitted, to any great extent very rarely found in one person, but which we gratefully acknowledge are found in the person of him who to-day sits in the Chair of Gregory the Great.

In our ecclesiastical history St. Cummain's memory is principally associated with that of the famous controversy regarding the proper time for celebrating Easter, when it was the burning question of the day in Ireland. Having accepted the Roman custom at or after the Synod of Campus Lene, while so many of his Order throughout the land yet stoutly, if not stubbornly, maintained the other, he wrote Segienus, the then Abbot of Hy, a long letter by way of *apologia*, which is, in many respects, the most important historic document we have on the question. Its Latin is neither classical nor scholastic; it is, in fact, *sui generis*; but apart from its linguistic form, which naturally we are now incapable of appreciating, its varied learning, sound sense, logical sequence and sustained vigour of expression, with occasional bursts of real eloquence, make it one of the finest pieces of polemic writing of the period. The whole may be read in Migne's *Patrologia Cursus Completus*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 969. There also may be seen a work on moral theology entitled *Liber de Mensura Poenitentiarum*, which is attributed to our saint: though some think it is by an Irish writer of the same or a similar name.

There is no doubt as to St. Cummain being the Author of the hymn which is the subject of the present article. Still it is not found, as far as I know, anywhere outside the collection known to Irish archæologists as *Liber Hymnorum*, of which one MS. copy is preserved in Trinity College Library, and another in the Franciscan Library of this City: both copies being said as MSS. to belong to the ninth

or tenth century. In his published edition of the Trinity College *Codex*, Dr. Todd says: 'This beautiful MS., which cannot be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe.' Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, assumes the MS. belongs to the eleventh century, and that is also the opinion of Dr. Whitley Stokes. But, in face of such assumption, we should not fail to remember that O'Donovan, our highest authority on such subjects, agreed with Dr. Todd.

In the preface from which I have just quoted the latter continues:—'It was ascertained that an ancient copy of it [the *Lib. Hymn.*] which had formerly belonged to the Franciscan monastery, at Donegal, is preserved in the Library of St. Isidore's College, at Rome.' The *Codex* to which he there alludes, and which is clearly no copy of the Trinity College one, is that now to be found in the Franciscan Library of this City. I see it stated in Julian's *Dictionary* (p. 570), that besides these two, there is a third in the Royal Irish Academy. There is not. There is no other known to exist anywhere. Some hymns from the collection were published by Colgan, and have been frequently printed; but, in the Preface to his edition of Trinity College *Codex*, Dr. Todd states—and, naturally, he ought to know—that this hymn of St. Cummain is there 'printed for the first time.'

Of the two *Codices*, the Franciscan seems to be the older. But the Trinity College copy is abundantly annotated, seemingly by the original copyist: the Franciscan one, not at all. Both collections differ considerably as to their contents. The difference of reading, however, in regard to this hymn—the only one for which I have collated the two copies—is very slight. In the Index, as in the scholiast's Preface, it is named from the first two words, *Celebra Juda*. It is, in reality, a sequence of twenty-two verses, in praise of the Apostles, the Evangelists, St. Patrick, and St. Stephen Protomartyr. To each is given a lauding stanza of two lines; every stanza or distich having Alleluia for refrain, like *O filii et filiae*, our prayer-book hymn for Easter. Every

line consists of twelve syllables, the last syllable of each one presenting a more or less perfect rhyme or assonance with the last of the other line of the stanza. The assonance, however, is rarely confined to the last syllable; it usually runs through the line, sometimes through the stanza. In this way, the versification is very interesting as a sample, and, it seems to me, an advanced sample of that period of transition from the old style's simply measured feet, to the regulated accent and rhyming cadence of the new. The language it must be admitted, even for northern Latin of the seventh century, is curiously unclassical; yet with a peculiar music of its own, as might have the Latin verse of one used to write in Irish. A reader wholly ignorant of the technique of its versification may catch a true verbal music of some kind running through the lines; notably in the regulated play of consonants and vowels. The writer had evidently a lyrist's ear for the melody and harmony of words, in particular for what the French so aptly term *le cliquetis des mots*. But what most arrests the reader's attention is the lyric unity of the whole: first, the writer's self-restrained expression through each part, the manifestly compressed thought and feeling of its two line stanzas so as to produce a real sequence, not a mere musical enumeration of perfections; then, the way the old Hebrew refrain, both as to thought and sound, fits in with the last line of each saint's eulogium.¹

Was this hymn of St. Cummain ever used for liturgical purposes? It seems to have been, as it is given in the two extant MS. copies of our *Liber Hymnorum* which is clearly an ecclesiastical *Hymnarium* or Hymnal, not a mere literary

¹ In Julian's *Dictionary*, p. 570, under the heading 'Irish Hymnody,' when noticing the Hymns of *Liber Hymnorum*, St. Cummain's is as incorrectly as it is briefly noticed thus: 'a Hymn of St. Cummin *Lange*, A.D. 661, in *rhyme*, in praise of the *Apostles*, who are named successively, *four* lines being devoted to each.' Whereupon the first verse (observe, like all the others, having only two lines) is given, and that without Alleluia. More, neither there nor elsewhere is any indication afforded as to its being in any way Alleluiatic, though the Dictionary's account of Alleluiatic Hymns is otherwise fairly complete. Then, among its numerous biographical notices of all sorts of hymn writers, ancient and modern, there is not a line given to the life or character of St. Cummain Fota. So much for that voluminous Hymnological Dictionary's treatment of 'Irish Hymnody.'

anthology. Its extra-stanzal Alleluia for refrain confirms this opinion ; as does the carefully-worded, almost dogmatic language of each verse. It derives moreover particular support from a versicle, response, antiphon and collect added to the text in the Trinity College Codex, and it is further borne out by the non-subjective—wholly objective, solemn, acclamatory character of the piece from the opening to the end : just such as would be that of a festive paeon. Finally its scriptural language and structure apparently proclaim it intended for such public service of song. Thus, from the first, the *motif* is revealed as being that of the Prophet Nahum's Messianic appeal : '*Ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis, et anuntiantis pacem : celebra Juda, festivitates tuas, et redde vota tua !*'¹ In the spirit of that prophetic utterance, realizing its glorious accomplishment, and calling on 'Juda' through the mystic acclamation of her ancient liturgy to join in proclaiming the Messiah's glory, while singing forth the praises of His saints, the hymn thus finely opens:—

Celebra, Juda, festa Christi gaudia,²
Apostolorum exultans memoria : Alleluia !³

Then commence the lauds of the Apostles named in the order in which they occur in the 10th chapter of

¹ *Ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis, &c.* The Prophet's apparent allusion is to the custom of sending explorers to the heights in front of an advancing army. The ideal *rapprochement* between these 'Pioneers' and the Apostles of Christendom is highly effective. Compare St. Paul to the Romans (x. 15), '*Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem*,' &c. It will thus be seen that St. Cummain chose a decidedly strong text for inspiring motive of his 'Hallel' in praise of the Apostles. The text is found at the end of the first chapter of Nahum (i. 15), according to the actual arrangement of the Vulgate's text ; but at the beginning of the next chapter, according to that of our printed Hebrew Bible. The English Protestant version, contrary to its custom, here follows the textual arrangement of the Vulgate.

² '*Celebra Juda festa, &c.*'—Seemingly a lyric echo of the Hebrew, of Nahum's fine rhythmic utterance : *Haggai Jehoudáh haggaidé, &c.*

In his letter on the Paschal controversy, St. Cummain writes as one to some extent acquainted with the Hebrew tongue ; hence, having taken the tone-thought of his hymn from the text of Nahum, the rhythm of his own would naturally be influenced by the eminently tuneful language of that perhaps most melodious of the sacred writers.

³ 'Alleluia' is not annexed to this first verse in Dr. Todd's edition of the Trinity College Codex. I have put it there, as it is there in the Franciscan Codex and there evidently ought to be. Its omission from the Trinity College Codex, is among the proofs that the Franciscan one is no copy of that.

St. Matthew, except that Madianus (old Irish way of writing Matthias) is put in place of the traitor Judas, and the laud of St. Paul comes immediately after that of St. Peter :—

Claviculari¹ Petri primi pastoris,
Piscium rete evangelii captoris : Alleluia !

Decidedly Roman Catholic that is. But as decidedly Irish Catholic is the laud immediately following that of Luke the Evangelist :—

Patricii Patris obsecramus merita,
Ut Deo digna perpetremus opera : Alleluia !²

The concluding stanza is singularly archaic, and, as a distich, notable for its compact lyrical homage to the 'Three in One,' which, be their subject what it may, the old hymn-writers of our shamrock-taught Church so rarely omitted :—

Gloria Patri atque unigenito
Simul regnanti Spiritu cum agio :³ Alleluia !

The way the Hebrew word thus comes in for acclaiming refrain throughout the piece shows how thoroughly the Irish Catholic mind of that age had assimilated the thought of its being pre-eminently the Christian's paschal acclamation. Here recalling the historic stand St. Cummain made for the Roman, the Catholic, the Apostolic, as distinct from the partial, sectarian, mere national side of the paschal controversy, which was the burning question of his time and country, we cannot deem it only a literary coincidence that his life's hymn was in honour of the Apostles and

¹ 'Claviculari' for Clavicularii. Clavicularius, literally meaning 'he who holds the little-key,' is not precisely classical, yet appears to have been generally used in the fourth century to denote a turnkey, one whose province it is to let the condemned remain locked up or let them go free. Firmicus Maternus so used it (340). Its special Christian application to St. Peter is not, as some have thought, peculiar to St. Cummain. St. Clemens is called *Cœlestis Clavicularii* successor by St. Aldhom, *De laude Virginitatis*, n. 25.

² In a versicle following the text of the Hymn on the Trinity College Codex St. Patrick's position is still higher. It is among the Apostles and immediately after St. Paul. The words are :—'*Per merita et orationem intercessionemque Sancti Petri et Pauli et Patricii cæterorumque apostolorum.*' &c.

³ 'Agio.' This Greek word in place of *Sancto* is not unusual in utterances of Celtic and Gallic origin. Indeed, in letters as well as words, our ancient literature for a long time bore the impress of its connection with the early Church of Gaul, which, in language and liturgy it is said, was originally Greek, and never wholly lost the Grecian *forma verborum*.

St. Patrick, and had Easter's triumphant acclamation for refrain. This I hold to be all the more noteworthy, that, in Christian literature, as far as I am aware, no hymn had that acclamation for refrain before. Indeed, as far as I know, St. Cummain's is every way the oldest Alleluiatic hymn in existence, taking the term 'hymn' in its actually received liturgical sense as distinct from ancient 'psalm,' on the one hand, or Christian 'antiphon' on the other, and taking 'Alleluiatic' as meaning either one having the sacred acclamation for subject matter, as *Alleluia dulce carmen!* or only employing it for refrains, like *O filii et filia*.

For some, the oldest in existence (by which, of course, is meant the oldest now known to hymnologists) is the tenth century 'Alleluiatic Sequence' of Gotteschalchus, or, as many say, of Notker, commencing, *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia!* Generally, however, I find the oldest is assumed to be the anonymous hymn of the ancient Mozarabic liturgy of Spain: *Alleluia piis edite laudabus!* with its solemn refrain, *Alleluia perenne!* This eminently spiritual lyric of the ages of faith is now extremely popular with Protestants of every denomination in its English version: "Sing Alleluia forth in duteous praise!" No doubt that version is well done, fairly literal, tuneful, and, as verse, artistic. Moreover, the general Christian character of the whole harmonizes well with the prevailing popular mode of religious thought in English-speaking countries at present. Still its popularity there, in some quarters at least, seems greatly due to the belief that the original is the oldest of the Alleluiatic hymns. It is certainly as old as the 'Alleluiatic Sequence' above mentioned. In his *Dictionary*, Dr. Julian says that in the *Hymnarium Sarisburgense* various readings of it are given 'from three old MSS. of the tenth or eleventh century;' and Mone, in his *Hymni Medii ævi*, states that the text of it there given is copied from 'a Munich MS. of the tenth century.' There is no proof of its being older than that. Yet, some assign to it a much earlier date, grounded on more or less likely hymnological assumptions of their own. Of these the only plausible one I can find at all to the point is that 'it was included in

the Mozarabic Breviary, in which no hymns were admitted which are of *later date than the eighth century.*' Even so, my position in regard to St. Cummain's hymn remains untouched. Then, instead of such more or less debatable personal speculations, we have the undeniable facts that *Celebra Juda* is at present to be seen in Dublin MSS. of the ninth or tenth, or, at latest, eleventh century, and is there given, not as an anonymous production, or one of uncertain age, but is distinctly ascribed to an author known to have been born towards the end of the sixth century, an ascription that independent data of traditional and documentary evidence fully confirm. I venture, therefore, to assert that the oldest Alleluiatic hymn in existence is not Germany's, or Spain's, but Ireland's. It is that of St. Cummain Fota.

T. J. O'MAHONY, D.D.

SERMON OR HOMILY

WHEN preaching the Word of God is spoken of, we hear 'sermon' most frequently mentioned. Yet it does not suggest itself to most persons that the Word of God was preached and spread throughout the world, much more by the 'homily' and 'prone' than by the 'sermon.' As we shall see in this article, the explanation of the Scriptures has been given to the people by the great expounders of Catholic doctrine, according to the method of the 'homily,' and that what we mean by the 'sermon,' is of more modern introduction and use. By *sermon*, I mean a solemn religious instruction, in which one endeavours to follow the rules which rhetoric gives for oratorical discourses; by the *homily*, a simple and pious explanation, a sort of paraphrase of the Gospel or Epistle from which one draws moral reflections for the edification of the audience.

The fathers of the Church in their homilies or instructions had solely in view the explication of the Scriptures. These men of God were impressed with the fundamental truth,

that the Christian doctor's duty was to preach the Gospel, and that the sacred writings are explained by themselves, far better than by mere human reasonings. This maxim brought the fathers of the Church into the method of instruction which we call 'homily.' As the 'homily' explains the Scripture, verse for verse, following the order of an entire book, or at least of a chapter or sufficiently long passage, the teacher of the Gospel from the frequent repetition of the sacred text, which he compared and illustrated by other parts of the Bible, finally appropriated, not only the spirit, but also the style and figures of our Holy Books. That happy mingling of Divine Wisdom and human eloquence which we find in the sacred orators, and which St. Augustine regards as the ideal of preaching, gives to the ancient homilies both grace of diction, and justness of thought. Nature alone seems to speak in them, while art is carefully concealed.

In latter ages, what we call the *discourse* seems to stifle the principles of faith in an ocean of opinions of men ; and hence preachers began to sacrifice Divine Wisdom to rhetoric. The consequence of this change in the manner of instructing the faithful, is that men of ordinary talent, not being aided by the grandeur of the Scriptures, fall into a simplicity of language that savours of ignorance and grossness, while gifted minds employing the resources of rhetoric, compose discourses such as awake the suspicions of the audience that it is themselves rather than their Divine Master who is preached.

Let us trace the method of preaching employed by the fathers of the Church, contrasting it with the modern style. In ancient times when the faithful were assembled, the Lector ascending the "ambo," read a lesson from the Old Testament, then one from the New, *i.e.*, from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles ; but the reading of the Gospel was reserved to the priests or deacons. In Rome, and in most of the Oriental churches, the Scripture was read in two languages, in other places in the vernacular. The reading was followed by the instruction. The Prelate explained either the Gospel or some other part of Scripture, using a

book for that purpose. If the explication was verse for verse, he selected the most important parts. We have examples of continued explications in most of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom. The treatises of St. Augustine on St. John and on the Psalms, may be considered as good specimens of this method of preaching of the fathers. In St. Ambrose, we have examples of principal subjects chosen and treated continuously; such are his works on the Six Days, his treatises on Noe and Abraham and the other illustrious saints of the ancient Testament, all which are treated *scripturally*. And by these homilies of the fathers we can see that the order in which the lessons from Scripture was read, was then much the same as it is now disposed in the ecclesiastical year. Then, as now, it was so arranged as to honour by the successive festivals the several mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ. The greater part of such treatises, and the commentaries of the fathers on the Sacred Scriptures, are nothing else than discourses delivered to the people, and afterwards written down.

Thus we see the homily in its origin was a dogmatic and moral explication of the readings of the Scripture before the assembled faithful. This method has left profound traces in the Roman liturgy, and in sacred eloquence.

After eighteen centuries, modern preachers commenced their sermons by the reading and translation of a passage of the Bible. Now, this text was a shred of the ancient homily. 'You see clearly,' Fenelon says in his dialogues of eloquence, that the "texts" come from this, that pastors in ancient times never spoke to the people on their own authority; they only explained to the people the words of Scripture. Insensibly the custom was introduced of not following the words of the Gospel, when only one part was explained which was called the "text" of the sermon.' Although the Archbishop of Cambray permitted the use of the sermon, he regretted the neglect of the ancient homily.

You can make sermons [he remarks] on the Holy Scriptures, without explaining the Scripture; but it would be quite another thing if the pastors, following the ancient usage,

explained in a succinct manner the Holy Books to the people. Consider what great authority would that man have, who saying nothing of his own invention, should but follow and explain the words of God Himself. Moreover, he would do two things at once ; in explaining the truths of Scripture, he would explain the text, and accustom the faithful always to join the meaning with the letter. What an advantage to accustom them to nourish themselves with this sacred food !

Thus the great Archbishop counsels us when about to compose a sermon, to take the most important words and those most adapted to our audience ; to give a clear explanation of them ; to show their connection with those that precede and those that follow : in a word, to imitate in the sermon what is most characteristic of the homily. It would seem to be desired that now-a-days Christian preachers should resume the ancient method of the fathers of the Church, being persuaded that they will find nothing better, and it is scarcely permitted the Christian doctor to forget the first mode of teaching which the interpreters of the Gospel employed. The law of prayer is a law of belief. But it is more ; it is an historical monument. Now, the Roman Breviary, in the offices of nine lessons, puts before us in the first nocturn a lesson taken from the different books of the Bible except the Gospels. The following nocturn always contains the instruction or commentary of the Scriptures which was read to the assembled people. Finally, the last nocturn gives the Gospel of the day, and is followed by the *homily*.

We may read in St. John Chrysostom the order which the first fathers of the Church adopted in the composition and delivery of their homilies to the people. St. John Chrysostom, whom Fenelon names a great orator, and who is, according to Bossuet, the most eloquent father of the Church, owed in part to the sublimity of his genius his oratorical triumphs, as well as to the teaching of his master and the sanctity of his life ; but, also, we cannot deny that his method contributed in a large measure to the beauty of his instructions. The following is the way the illustrious orator of Constantinople proceeded. He read, or caused to be read, before his audience the passage of Scripture which

was to be the object of his discourse. After the reading, the Bishop delivered a simple and literal commentary of the Word of God. When he perceived that his hearers had seized the meaning of the words, he gave free range to his oratorical gifts, employing all his wisdom and learning to persuade the people to quit some vice or practise some virtue.

St. John Chrysostom appears [says Fleury] to be the most accomplished model of a preacher. He ordinarily began by explaining the Scripture, verse after verse, as the lector read it, always choosing the most literal sense, and that most useful for the people. He finished by a moral exhortation which often has not a very intimate connection with the preceding instruction, but which is always adapted to the most pressing needs of his hearers, according to the knowledge which this wise and vigilant pastor had of them. He attacked the vices one after another, and did not cease combatting one until he had vanquished or notably weakened it.

Remark that St. John Chrysostom imitates in his method the example given by Jesus Christ Himself. Let us read the fourth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, vv. 16-20. There we see that in the synagogue of the Jews, as in the Christian Church, under the Old as well as under the New Law, from the time of Jesus Christ, as from the time of the Apostles and their successors, the text of the Word of God was read while standing, and that it is the unique theme of religious instruction. When the passage proposed for commentary was sufficiently understood by the hearers, the book was closed and returned to its place. Then the Divine Master gave the literal sense of the text of Isaiah, and showed that the promise of the prophecy was realized in the person of Him who spoke to them at that moment in the name of God. His teaching, though of a simple kind, excited the admiration of the assembly, for truth pleases of itself; it shines before the eyes of our minds. But after the literal commentary, he delivered a moral exhortation to the inhabitants of Nazareth.

As long as our Saviour confined Himself to the simple exposition of the text of Isaiah, the words full of grace which came from His mouth agreeably astonished His fellow-citizens

of Nazareth; but when he came to the practical exhortation, then these men, who knew of the miracles at Capharnaum, were irritated by the word and doctrine of the Preacher, and rushed to cast Him from the summit of the mountain. We see hereby that Jesus Christ, in the synagogue of His native place, traced the programme followed later on by St. John Chrysostom and the other fathers of the Church.

This rapid glance at the history of the homily inspires a great confidence in the primitive mode of preaching. Can we treat with levity a method of instruction which the synagogue respected even before the coming of Jesus Christ, which our Divine Master consecrated by the authority of His word, which the Apostles and fathers, and those immediately following them, cultivated into vigour, which the Church honours in the sacred monument of her liturgy, which modern preachers recall but only to condemn themselves from their own mouths by the frequent employment of the *text* of their sermon? Should the usage of the homily be entirely lost, would it not rightly be accounted a great fault and omission; and if our century has specious motives for preferring the sermon, is it necessary that the actual method should break completely with venerable and authentic traditions?

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

APPLICATION OF A REQUIEM MASS FOR WHICH NO HONORARIUM IS RECEIVED

REV. DEAR SIR,—It sometimes happens that I have to say a *Requiem* Mass, for which I receive no honorarium. May I apply such a Mass—(1) *pro defuncto ex devotione*; (2) *pro defuncto ob stipendium*; and (3) *pro vivo et ob stipendium*. . . . An answer at your convenience in the I. E. RECORD will oblige.

A SUBSCRIBER.

Assuming, as you convey, that you are not otherwise bound, either in obedience or in justice, to apply this Mass for a specific purpose, you are free to apply it, at your discretion, and you may even satisfy by this *Requiem* Mass an obligation *ex stipendio aut pro vivo aut pro defuncto*.

The following reply was given by the Sacred Congregation of the Council, 27th April, 1895 :—

An sacerdos in exequiis persolvendis missam celebrans, non recepto stipendio, debeat pro ipso defuncto, vel potius pro aliis petentibus et eleemosynam offerentibus sacrificium applicare queat? Negative ad primum, affirmative ad secundum.

The Congregation of Rites had given the following response, 13th October, 1856 :—

An liceat Sacerdotibus uti paramentis nigris et celebrare Missam de Requie ut satisfaciant obligationi quam susceperunt celebrandi pro vivis? Affirmative, modo non diverse præscripserit qui dedit eleemosynam.

According to these replies, our correspondent is perfectly free to apply the *Requiem* Mass in question in discharge of *any* obligation *ex stipendio*, unless there be some special condition to the contrary imposed by the person offering the stipend.

RESERVED SIN OF A 'PEREGRINUS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A *peregrinus* confesses to me a sin which is not reserved in his, a neighbouring, diocese, but is reserved in this diocese, where the confession is heard. Can I absolve? Lehmkuhl says:—

Practice sic statui potest, ut peregrinum absolvere liceat, nisi aut—1, peccatum reservatum sit in utrobique, *i.e.*, in loco confessionis et in loco domicilii poenitentis aut—2, poenitens in fraudem legis *i.e.*, ut sese judicio sui Superioris subducat, in alienam dioecesim se transtulerit.¹

If my penitent does not come in *fraudem legis*, it would appear that I have jurisdiction.

VICARIUS.

Our correspondent's question touches an old controversy. Whence does a confessor derive the jurisdiction in virtue of which he absolves a *peregrinus*? Does the jurisdiction come through the bishop of the penitent, or through the bishop of the place in which the Confession is heard? There are, of course, patrons of each opinion. And there are many, Lehmkuhl among them, who contend that both opinions are probable; and that, consequently, apart from the case in which the penitent comes in *fraudem legis*, a confessor will have, at least, *probable* jurisdiction over a reserved sin of a *peregrinus*, unless the sin be reserved in *both* dioceses. A confessor who exercises such probable jurisdiction will certainly absolve *validly*, and, according to Lehmkuhl and others, *lawfully* as well.

From the point of view of the general law of the Church, we do not see any reason to find fault with the practical conclusion quoted from Lehmkuhl. A confessor could, we think, validly absolve a *peregrinus* who has not come in *fraudem legis* unless his sin be reserved in *patria et in loco confessionis*.

But, with us in Ireland, this conclusion must be modified on one point—that raised by our correspondent. In this country, a *peregrinus* cannot be absolved in a place where

¹ Vol. ii., n. 403.

his sin is reserved, on the plea that the sin is not reserved in his own diocese. For, in the Synod of Maynooth it was enacted--'Casus reservatus in diocesi confessarii non subtrahitur reservationi ea de causa quod non reservetur in diocesi poenitentis.'¹

With us, in this country, then, as long as the rule of the Synod has not been changed, the practical rule is '*peregrinus judicandus est secundum legem loci confessionis*;' a confessor treats *peregrini* like the penitents of his own diocese, unless the *peregrini* come *in fraudem legis*. Hence, he cannot absolve a *peregrinus*—(1) from a sin reserved in both dioceses; or (2) from a sin reserved *in loco confessionis* only; or (3) when the penitent comes *in fraudem legis*.

THE COLLATION ON FASTING DAYS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on the following practical point in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, and oblige.

A SUBSCRIBER.

You are aware that our poor people generally cannot take advantage of the privilege granted them by Rome of using butter at the collation, for the all-sufficient reason that they can't get it at the season. They often use instead *one egg*, about which they afterwards have troubles of conscience, and make it a matter of confession. It has often struck me that it may be *objectively* only a small sin, even for those strictly bound to fast. I know that *unum ovum gallinaceum* is considered a *gravis materia*; but if the quantity of butter which people are allowed to use with bread at the collation were deducted from this amount, it would certainly reduce the *unum ovum gallinaceum*, or *gravis materia*, within the limits of *parvitas materiæ*, and so constitute it only a venial sin.

What say you to this reasoning?

It may be that many of the persons concerned are altogether excused from fast and abstinence. But, one who is bound to fast and abstain cannot lawfully use at the collation the substitution theory put forward in this question.

Nothing is permitted at the collation except what custom allows. Anything in regard to quantity or quality beyond

¹ *De Poenitentia*, p. 84.

what custom sanctions is a violation of the fast, and may be a violation of the abstinence. Moreover, grave matter is to be estimated without reference to what one voluntarily or involuntarily foregoes.

Our correspondent's argument would equally warrant two or more eggs, if only a person were to diminish the quantity of bread taken; or some ounces of meat, on the morning of a fast day, if one chose to make his collation consist solely of meat.

ABSOLUTION OF A PERSON ABOUT TO CONTRACT A MIXED MARRIAGE

DEAR REV. SIR,—Can a priest absolve a man or a woman who is intending to marry a Protestant, which Protestant does not intend to become a Catholic? Dr. Feye says he cannot; but not having Dr. Feye's *Treatise on Matrimony* at hand, I cannot verify this statement. An answer in your next will oblige.

W. S.

It is gravely unlawful for a Catholic to marry a heretic, and that usually for two reasons: 1. There is grave danger to the faith of the Catholic party and to the faith of the offspring of the marriage. This danger, however, may, in certain cases, wholly (?) or partially cease. 2. These marriages are strictly forbidden by the Church. Where the danger to the faith of the Catholic party and the offspring is removed, or made remote, the Church, for grave cause, may dispense in the *ecclesiastical* law:—

1. The confessor, therefore, is, in the first place, bound to dissuade a Catholic from a mixed marriage.

2. If, however, he does not succeed in preventing the marriage, he is *not* bound to treat his penitent as indisposed, where—(1) the danger of perversion can and will be made remote; (2) where there is a just cause for dispensation; and (3) the penitent is prepared to seek a dispensation, and is determined not to marry in case it be refused.

3. The confessor must, of course, treat his penitent as indisposed—(1) if the danger of perversion cannot be made remote, or will not; (2) if there be no sufficient cause for a

dispensation ; (3) if the penitent will not seek a dispensation ; or (4) if the penitent is prepared to go on with the marriage even though the dispensation be refused.

D. MANNIX.

[NOTE.—We find it quite impossible to deal with the number of questions sent in. We are reluctantly compelled to hold over to the next or future numbers several important questions.

The misprint of 'desires' for 'defines,' in the last number, on page 350, three lines from foot of page, made the sentence in which it occurs almost unintelligible.]

LITURGY

A BLASPHEMOUS LEAFLET

SEVERAL times within the past few years have copies of a so-called prayer been sent to us, with a request that we would give our opinion of it in these pages. But the 'prayer' itself, its history, the promises made to those who believe in it and use it, and the threats pronounced against those who dare to doubt, are such a compound of ignorance or diabolical malice and blasphemy, that we hesitated to sully our pages by even referring to it. Moreover, we did not believe that any Catholic able to read could be so ignorant or so credulous as to be deceived for a moment by such a blasphemous jumble. Quite recently, however, we have obtained reliable evidence that this outrage on religion and common sense is actually printed in Dublin, and in more than one place in this Catholic city. One printer has been rash enough or ignorant enough to print his name and address in the usual way on the leaflet. Others, however, more cunning, issue the leaflet anonymously, but at the same time sell it to the very ignorant and very credulous for the sum of a halfpenny per copy. Inquiries have convinced us that this production has a large circulation not only in Dublin, but in many towns, villages, and parishes in Ireland and elsewhere. And we have even been told that nuns have been known to send copies of it to their relatives and friends, and, worse still, to recommend it to their pupils. We have too much respect,

however, for the intelligence, not to speak of the education, of our nuns to believe this charge. It is a calumny we are certain, and we mention it merely for the purpose of putting nuns on their guard against circulating or encouraging any prayer or other form of devotion which has not the requisite approval of the Church. This leaflet, we need hardly remark, bears no trace of ecclesiastical approval of any kind. Subjoined will be found two versions of this 'prayer' which have been sent to us within the past few weeks. They are here printed, so far as grammar, punctuation, and spelling are concerned precisely as they are found in the leaflets. It will be seen that those who are responsible for the issue of these leaflets are as ignorant of the elementary rules of English composition as they are of theology and history. How anyone able to read it, could be deceived by such a farrago of blasphemous nonsense and bad grammar is utterly incomprehensible. But what is to be said of the publishers? Do they deserve the support of Catholics, or of Christians? We think not; and if we find that the circulation of this disgraceful leaflet has not completely ceased we will give to the public in these pages and elsewhere the names, now in our possession, of those who have lent themselves to its publication and dissemination.

THIS PRAYER WAS FOUND ON THE GRAVE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND SENT FROM THE POPE TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES AS HE WAS GOING TO BATTLE FOR HIS SAFETY

They who shall repeat this Prayer, or be present when it is repeated, or keep it about them, shall never die a sudden death, nor be drowned in water, nor shall they fall into the hands of their enemies, nor be burned in any fire, nor shall be overpowered in battle, nor shall poison take any effect on them; and it being read over a woman in labour, she shall be safely delivered, and be a glad mother, and when the child is born, lay this Prayer on his or her right side, and he or she will not be troubled with thirty-two misfortunes, and if you see anyone in the fits, lay this Prayer on his or her right side, and he or she shall stand up and thank you; and he that shall write this from house to house shall be blessed from the Lord: and they who laugh at it shall suffer:—

THE PRAYER

O Adorable Lord and Saviour of Christ, lying on the gallows tree for our sins! O holy Cross of Christ, steer me in all truth,

protect me from my enemies ! O holy Cross of Christ, protect me in my right road to happiness ! O holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all dangerous deaths and give me life always ! O crucified Jesus of Nazareth, have mercy on me, that the bad enemy may keep off from me now and for ever.—Amen. In honour of Jesus Christ, and in honour of His blessed death and sacred passion, and in honour of His resurrection and Godlike ascension, to which He like to bring us to the way to heaven. True as Jesus was born on Christmas Day in the stall. True as Jesus was crucified on Good Friday. True as the three wise kings brought their offerings to Jesus on the thirteenth day. True as He ascended into heaven, so the honour of Jesus will keep me from my enemies, visible and invisible now and for ever. Amen. To the Lord Jesus I offer my spirit. Jesus have mercy on me. Mary and Joseph, pray for me, through Nicodemus and Joseph, who took our Lord from the cross and buried Him. O Lord Jesus, stay my bitter anguish ! Through the sufferings on the cross, for truly then your soul was parting from this world, have mercy on my poor soul when parting from its mortal flesh from this sinful world. O Jesus, give me peace.—END.

Believe this for certain, which is written here, it is as true as the Holy Evangelists. They who keep it about them shall not fear lightning or thunder, and they that repeat it every day shall have three days warning before death.

A PRAYER

The following prayer was found in the grave of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year 1003, and was sent from the Pope to the Emperor Charles, as he was going into battle, for safety. Whoever shall repeat it every day, or hear it read, or keep it about them, shall never die a sudden death, nor be drowned, nor shall fall into the hands of their enemies in battle—nor shall poison take effect on them, and it being read to anyone in great pain, shall get instant relief—and if you see anyone in fits lay this on his or her right side, and they shall stand up and be blessed, and they who shall repeat it in any house shall be blessed by the Lord—and he that will laugh at it will suffer—believe this to be certain—it is true as the Holy Evangelist has written it. They who keep it always with them shall not fear thunder nor lightening—and they who shall repeat it every day shall receive three days warning before their death.

THE PRAYER

Oh ! adorable Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, dying on the gallows tree, save me—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ see me safe through—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all weapons of danger—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all sharp

repeating words—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all things that are evil—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, protect me from my enemies—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, guide the right way to happiness—Oh ! Holy Cross of Christ, ward off from me all dangerous deaths, and give me life always—Oh ! Crucified Jesus of Nazareth have mercy on me now and for evermore. Oh ! Blessed Mother of God, intercede for us poor sinners. Amen.

In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honour of His Sacred Passion, and in honour of His Glorious Resurrection and God-like Ascension, to which he wished to bring me the right way to Heaven—True as Jesus was born on Christmas Day—True as Jesus died to save sinners—True as the three Wise Kings brought to Jesus on the 13th day—True as he ascended into Heaven—So the honour of Jesus will keep me from my enemies, visible and invisible, now and for evermore. Amen.

Oh ! Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on me—Mary and Joseph pray for me, through Nicodemus, who took our Lord down from the Cross. Oh ! Lord Jesus Christ, through Thy sufferings on the Cross this soul was flitting out of this world, give me grace that I may carry the Cross and keep from suffering and that without complaining, and keep me from all dangerous deaths now and for evermore. Amen.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

THE BICENTENARY CELEBRATION AT GYÖR

[THE following official account of the bicentenary celebration, held at Györ, in Hungary, in commemoration of the bloody sweat of the miraculous picture of our Lady preserved in the Cathedral, will, no doubt, be interesting to many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Clonfert.*]

REVERENDISSIME AC AMPLISSIME DOMINE EPISCOPE !

FRATER IN CHRISTO COLENDISSIME !

Festivitas, qua bisaecularis memoria prodigiosi sudoris in imagine B. Mariae Virginis observati apud nos recolebatur, feliciter terminata est. De hac festivitate jubilari, quo desiderio Amplitudinis Tuae respondeam promissique mei debitum exsolvam, aliqua connotare delectat.

Festivitas a 16^a usque 25^{am} Martii extensa erat.

Die 16^a Martii festo initium datum est cum solemnibus Lytaniis coram gratiosa imagine ; has excepit sacer sermo, habitus ab uno canonicorum ; dein recitatum S. Rosarium. Post salutationem angelicam vespertinam, interiecta modica mora, concentus campanarum totius urbis uno horae quadrante annuntiavit fidelibus solemnitates insequentis diei.

Die 17^a ipsa nempe die anniversari prodigiosi eventus, festo S. Patritii, a hora media sexta sacra celebrata sunt ad aram B. M. Virginis ; hora nona festum sermonem sacrum habuit Revssmus. ac Amplissimus Dominus Philippus Heiner, origine Dioecesis Faurinensis filius, nunc Episcopus Albaregalensis ; finito sermone ad aram gratiosam Virginis ipse ego Sacrum Pontificale habui. Post salutationem anglicam meridianam, aliqua mora interposita, in turri Residentiae Episcopalis resonabant sacrae cantilenae de B. M. Virgine, comitantibus cantum tubis aliisque instrumentis musicis ; a meridie Lytaniae solennes. Aduit autem fidelis populus maximo numero singulis devotionis partibus.

Sequentibus diebus tum ipsi Faurinenses, tum populus e circumiacente regione, alii sub vexillis in forma processionis, alii

in minores turmas collecti venerunt B. M. Virginem, afflictorum Consolatricem filiali pietate salutaturi.

Diebus 22^a, 23^a, et 24^a, Martii erat triduum, quotidie cum Sacro et a meridie cum sacro sermone, quorum duos parochi urbis, tertium Canonicus Cathedralis Ecclesiae habuit. Argumenta sermonum ordine desumpta sunt ex mysteriis SS. Rosarii gaudiosi, dolorosi et gloriosi.

Denique in Octava, seu 25^a Martii ingenti numero advenit e circumiacentibus regionibus fidelis populus, alii sub vexillis, alii beneficio viae ferreae in quinque directionibus urbi nostra appropinquantis. Hora nona unus canonicorum habuit sermonem, Sacrum autem Pontificale ipse ego habui. Post salutationem angelicam in turri Residentiae Episcopalis pari modo, sicut die 17^a notatum, s. hymni cum musica reficiebant animos fidelium. A meridie Lytaniae solemnes, post has Te Deum.

Numerus sacram confessionem peragentium et communicantium in Ecclesia Cathedrali et Conventus Carmelitarum insimul quinque millia superabat.

Atque haec erat series festivitatum causa nostrae laetitiae. Utinam Jesus Christus hanc nostrae filialis in Matrem Suam pietatis manifestationem sereno vultu accipere Consolatrix autem Afflictorum tum nobis, tum vobis afflictis, saepe et tribulatis benigna et praepotenti intercessionem adesse dignetur!

Te, mei memorem, Deus tueatur omnipotens! Jaurini in Hungaria, die 29^a Martii, 1897.

Amplitudinis Vestrae Reverendissimae,

Frater in Christo,

✠ JOANNES ZALKA,

Episcopus Jaurinensis.

**DECREE REGARDING THE CANONIZATION OF THE
VENERABLE JOHN NEPOMUCENE NEUMANN, C.S.S.R.,
BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA**

[THE introduction of the cause of any servant of God is of much interest to us. We may go the length of saying that the introduction of the cause of Venerable John Nep. Neumann has a most special claim on our interest. As he died only in 1860, and at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, we can say that he has been an ecclesiastical student, a secular priest, a missionary and a bishop in our own days. His whole life as a minister of Christ was spent in the United

States, a country typically modern. Within the bosom of the Church, and among non-Catholics, he laboured for men of every tongue. He had in his zeal for souls acquired a perfect knowledge not only of his maternal tongue, German, and the languages of the learned, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also of English, French, Italian, Spanish, and Bohemian. That which is yet more astonishing, and which may make the blush of shame to rise on some of our cheeks, is that he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of Irish to enable him to hear confessions in this language. We have then in this venerable servant of God a working ecclesiastic of our own times, the greater part of whose life was spent in circumstances far more difficult than those in which we find ourselves. Cooperating from his childhood with divine grace God has formed in him a perfect model for students and for priests. With age he grew in the perfection proper to his state and in zeal for the salvation of souls, until those with whom he lived and for whom he worked saw in him a living saint. But there is one phase in his life especially worthy of note, and that is his unceasing labours to put truly Catholic schools within the reach of every Catholic child. The picture painted on this occasion of the introduction of his cause points to him as the Patron of Schools. He is represented in a school distributing prizes to the children. His first work in America was the instruction of children. When received as bishop in Philadelphia, he begged the people who wished to make him a presentation to do that which would give him most pleasure, namely, to build a Catholic school. His first favour granted after his death was to a teaching nun. She had become quite deaf, and, she felt the privation because she could no longer teach. She addressed herself to her venerable bishop and begged him to obtain her the favour to be able to hear during class hours in school. Her prayer was heard, and as long as she was able to go to the school she heard during class hours: she was quite deaf during the rest of the day. The Bishop of Cleveland, who knew the servant of God personally, in his letter to the Holy Father asking for the introduction of the cause, writes: 'Zelus ejus erga pueros christiane educandos et instituendos, sollicitudoque de condendis scholis parochialibus tanta fuerunt, ut jure meritoque appelletur *Fundator* ejus generis Scholarum in civitate Philadelphiensi' (Processus Num. xvii.). In a like letter, the Bishop of Green Bay does not hesitate to

assert: 'Fuit inter antistites Novi Orbi primus et accerrimus propugnator scholae parochialis et illius catholicae educationis . . . Inter media quibus plebem suam prudentissimus ille Praesul sanctificavit, maximum censuit esse erectionem scholarum parochialium . . . et aperte decebat, non aliter juventutem catholicam in fide firmari et servari posse quam catholica educatione in scholis omnino catholicis et religiosis.' (Processus Num. xviii.). In effect, as we learn from the same witness: 'In fine vitae [venerabilis episcopus] dicere posset vix esse in sua diocese paroeciam cui schola non esset annexa. Millia puerorum ejus hortatu publicas scholas derelinquerunt ita ut toti urbi res innotesceret' (ib.). It is then no wonder that the bishops of the United States should have sent to the Holy See letters such as we read in the Process from the pen of the Card. Archbishop of Baltimore, the Archbishop of New York, and the Archbishop of Philadelphia, in whose dioceses he worked. Neither should we wonder that from Austria petitions for the introduction of the cause came not only from the bishops in whose dioceses the venerable servant of God was born and studied, but also from other bishops, and from the Emperor of Austria himself. Thus does God honour one who had the most lowly opinion of himself, and who was familiarly known as the 'Little Priest.'

We have the answer to all these petitions in the decree. It only remains that we pray God to put His own divine seal on the sanctity of His servant by working miracles through his intercession.]

DECRETUM PHILADELPHIEN. SEU BUDVICEN. BEATIFICATIONIS ET
CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI IOANNIS NEPOMUCENI NEUMANN
E CONGREGATIONE SANCTISSIMI REDEMPTORIS EPISCOPI PHILA-
DELPHIENSIS

SUPER DUBIO

*An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae, in casu et ad
effectum de quo agitur?*

Angelici spiritus Dei ministri atque hominum custodes peculiari quadam protectione sustinent Ecclesiarum Angelos Episcopos, qui cum ipsis et muneris dignitate et gratiae auxilio consociantur. Inter hos recensendus est Servus Dei Ioannes Nepomucenus Neumann, Episcopus Philadelphiensis, e Congregatione SSimi Redemptoris, Sancti Patris Fundatoris M. de Ligorio verus discipulus ac spiritualis filius. Prachaticii in Bohemia

eadem die 28 martii anno 1811 natus et baptizatus est, eique a piis probisque parentibus Philippo et Agnete Lebischnomen impositum Ioannes Nepomucenus. Puer, diligens, modestus ac devotus scholas primarias in patria frequentabat, et sacro chrismate linitus ecclesiasticis functionibus libentissime inserviebat. Annum agens duodecimum Budovisiam missus, prius humanioribus literis, dein tum in Seminario dioecesano in Universitate Pragensi theologicis, disciplinis sedulo incubuit. A suo Episcopo, die 21 iulii 1832, clericalem tonsuram minoresque ordines recepit, ac plura Sanctuaria, more peregrini poenitentis, invisens et Sanctum Franciscum Xaverium suum patronum imitari cupiens, se ad exterarum missionum vocatum ostendit. Studiorum curriculo summa cum laude expleto, atque in domum parentum reversus, quum magis in dies desiderio missionum incensus esset, a proprio Episcopo Budvicensi rite dimissus, die 20 aprilis 1836 in Americam Septentrionalem profectus est; eumque Episcopus Neo-Eboracensis humanissime recepit, probavit et ad sacros ordines promovit. Novus in vinea Dei operarius ac sacris expeditionibus addictus Servus Dei cum zelo et patientia populos evangelizavit regionis prope Niagaram, quae tunc ad dioecesim Neo-Eboracensem pertinebat. Verum perfectioris vitae capessendae consilium, quod Roffae cum Patribus Alphonsianis sancte conversando conceperat atque alibi foverat, ad rem, Deo adiuvante, perduxit. Namque die 30 novembris anno 1840 Congregationis SSiini Redemptoris habitum induit atque, tyrocinio per biennium peracto, die 16 ianuarii 1842, in Ecclesia S. Alphonsi Collegio Baltimorensi adnexa, religiosa vota emisit. Sororibus, Carmelitanis, atque a nostra Domina nuncupatis, necnon Hospitio Pittsburgensi S. Philuminae operam valde utilem praebuit. Religiosus observantissimus, missionarius fervidus, Superiori Provinciali adiutor, etiam praefato Collegio Baltimorensi praepositus fuit usque ad annum 1852, quo Episcopus Philadelphiensis, praeter suam expectationem, ab Apostolica Sede electus et die 28 martii in memorata Ecclesia S. Alphonsi consecratus, ad suam dioecesim illico se contulit. Pastoralis officio pro Christo fungens, quolibet biennio integram dioecesim perlustrabat, et verbi Dei praedicatione, sacramentorum administratione atque sacrorum rituum observantia sacerdotibus suis prae lucebat. Cathedralis Ecclesiam, Seminarium clericorum, Asylum infantum erexit aut perfecit; atque insimul scholas parochiales et sodalitates instituit, accitis quoque in dioecesim Fratibus et Sororibus

Religiosarum Congregationum. Anno 1854 a Pio Papa IX fel. rec. vocatus Romam venit, definitioni dogmaticae de Immaculata B. M. V. Conceptione interfuit, septem Basilicas Urbis pedester et ieiunus quinquies visitavit, et, patria ac genitore revisis, Philadelphiam rediens, non modo triduana solemnia in honorem Immaculatae Conceptionis celebrari iussit, sed etiam publicam Augustissimi Sacamenti expositionem in forma XL Horarum, prout eam Romae peragi viderat, in suam dioecesim introduxit. Quasi angelus in terram missus, improvise, dum per viam deambularet, a Deo revocatus in caelestem patriam evolavit die 5 ianuarii anno 1860, clero et populo ad eius funus et sepulcrum penes Ecclesiam Redemptoristarum ad S. Petrum confluyente. Sanctimoniae fama quam Ioannes Nepomucenus, dum vitam ageret, sibi comparaverat, post obitum in dies clarior ac diffusior praesertim in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis ac in dioecesi Budovicensi, Inquisitioni Ordinariae instituendae causa fuit. Itaque Ordinariis Processibus, qui supra recensita testantur, rite peractis et ad S. Rituum Congregationem delatis una cum scriptis Servi Dei, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII per Decretum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis datum die 10 iunii 1895, haec scripta probavit. Quum vero per alia anteriora Decreta edita diebus 14 et 19 decembris 1892 idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster facultatem tribuisset, ut Dubium de signanda Commissione Introductionis Causae ipsius Servi Dei agi posset ante lapsum decennii in Ordinariis praedictae Sacrae Congregationis Comitibus absque interventu et voto Consultorum, ideo instante Rmo P. Claudio Benedetti, sacerdote professo et postulatore generali Congregationis SSni Redemptoris, attentisque Postulatoriis Litteris nonnullorum Eminorum ac Rmorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, plurium Sacrorum Antistitum aliorumque virorum ecclesiasticae aut civili dignitate illustrium, inter quas mentione dignae sunt Litterae Serenissimi Imperatoris Austriae Francisci Iosephi I aliorumque ex eadem Imperiali Familia, infrascriptus Cardinalis S. Rituum Congregationis Praefectus, huiusce Causae Ponens ac Relator, in Ordinario Sacrae ipsius Congregationis Coetu sub-signata die, ad Vaticanum habito, sequens Dubium discutiendum proposuit, nimirum: *An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?* Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, post relationem ipsius infrascripti Cardinalis Ponentis, omnibus mature perpensis et audito R. P. D. Gustavo Persiani S. Romanae Rotae Auditore et Sanctae Fidei Promotoris

munus gerente, rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative, seu signandam esse Commissionem, si Sanctissimo placuerit.* Die 15 decembris 1896.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per meipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei Ioannis Nepomuceni Neumann, Episcopi Philadelphiensis, iisdem die, mense et anno.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C. Praefectus.*

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CARMINA SACRA S. ALPHONSI MARIAE DE LIGUORIO.
 Latini versa a P. Francisco Xaverio Reuss, C.SS.R.
 Romae, Ex Typographia a pace. Philippi Cuggiani.

THIS work gives us all the Sacred Poetry of the Holy doctor, including what was written in the Neapolitan dialect. Some pieces are now published for the first time. On one page Father Reuss gives the original Italian text; on the opposite, his own Latin translation. In Italy his rendering of the poetry of his father, St. Alphonsus, is highly praised; but high above these praises stands the Brief which his Holiness Leo XIII. has been pleased to send to the translator:—

DILECTO FILIO FRANCISCO XAVERIO REUSS SAC.
 E CONGREGATIONE SS. REDEMPTORIS
 LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Rem tu exegisti sane dignam alumno Alfonsi Patris, edito nuper volumine quod humaniter a te oblatum accepimus. In eo libentes vidimus quam felici industria latine reddideris carmina, quae pleno Ille sacri aestus pectore multa et suavia fudit, pietatis sanctae optima alimenta. De confecto labore crede quidem fore non paucos qui gratiam habeant tibi: sic enim conversis carminibus non minus iucunde pieque afficientur animi quam natis. Certe autem beatus idem Pater, hoc per te decore auctus, benigniore te vultu respiciet, atque ea potiora munera quae tibi ipse tamquam operae tuae praemium exoptas, abunde impetrabit. Quorum munerum auspex accedat Apostolica benedictio, quam tibi paterno animo impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VIII decembris an MDCCCXCVI, Pontificatus Nostri decimo nono.

LEO PP. XIII.

In his Introduction, the translator reminds us of the marvellous gifts which St. Alphonsus possessed and which fitted him for a first place amongst poets: 'Nec dubitandum,' he writes, 'quin S. Doctor, si totum se ad colendam musam voluisset convertere, evasurus fuisset insignis poeta, celebrioribus accensendus, qui ejus aetate floruerunt.' He points out to us certain *Carmina* of great beauty, and gives us the appreciation of the

learned who have written on the poetry of St. Alphonsus. In number XVIII. we have the marvellously beautiful dialogue between the Soul and Christ, for which the holy Doctor composed music which is considered of the first order.

Besides the Introduction, the translator gives us twelve pages of *Annotationes*, which show how carefully he studied these writings of the saint, and how deeply he imbibed his spirit. It is no matter of wonder that the Holy Father has written : ‘*Sic enim conversis carminibus non minus jucunde pieque afficientur animi quam natis.*’ His Holiness, we have heard, has further signified his appreciation by sending a copy to every seminary in Italy.

TRACTATUS DE VIRTUTIBUS IN GENERE, DE VIRTUTIBUS THEOLOGICIS, ET DE VIRTUTIBUS CARDINALIBUS. Ad usum Alumnorum Seminarii Archiepiscopalis Mechliniensis. Mechliniae : H. Dessain.

TRACTATUS DE JURE UT JUSTITIA ET DE CONTRACTIBUS. Ad usum, etc. Mechliniae : H. Dessain. 1896.

THESE are two of the latest volumes of the already extensive Mechlin *cursus*. Some of the preceding volumes have been before the public for a number of years, and the fact that they have gone through several editions is a proof of their popularity. The Tracts under notice preserve the method, style, and general characteristics of their series. The catechetical method is followed without deviation, and so its defects as well as its advantages, come out in distinct relief. The style is eminently simple and clear, and sufficiently concise. With regard to matter and treatment, it is worthy of note in the treatise *De Virtutibus Theologicis* that, contrary to the general practice of modern theologians, no distinction is observed between the provinces of Dogma and Moral. Whatever may be thought of this mixing as a system, it looks very well in the present instance ; and it would be difficult, for example, to point to a more useful elementary collection of the whole theology regarding the virtue of Faith than is to be found here in the brief compass of less than a hundred pages. In treating of the Moral Virtues—as elsewhere also wherever his authority is available—St. Thomas is followed

¹ For the convenience of persons living in England or Ireland, orders can be sent to Messrs. Browne and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin. Price, 3s.; postage extra

with fidelity. The mention of this fact is enough to give a high character to this treatise.

The Tract *De Jure*, &c., is largely taken up, as we should expect, with Belgian municipal law. In the purely theological portions we notice nothing worth referring to, except that in some sections the treatment is rather scanty and wanting somewhat in definiteness. It would be interesting to compare the author's teaching about the effect on conscience of certain provisions of the municipal law with Crolley's teaching on corresponding points in connection with our law. Just to give an instance, the complete liberation of conscience which Crolley holds to be effected, under certain conditions, by a certificate of discharge in cases of bankruptcy in our law, is distinctly denied by the author of this Tract to have any place in Belgian law. The difference, however, appears to be all in the law, not in the theology of the question, since, in the present form of the Belgian law, there seems to be *no extinction* for the bankrupt even of legal liability against the event of a return to better fortune (N. 38, Q. 6).

Both of these volumes, but especially that *De Virtutibus*, will be found useful by any student or priest who cares to study them. They have the approbation of Cardinal Goossens, Archbishop of Mechlin.

P. J. T.

FROM HELL TO HEAVEN. By the Rev. J. A. Dewe.
London : D. Lane, 310, Strand.

THIS is a strange book, with a strange title. It is a collection of sermons on moral and dogmatic subjects, published by a Catholic priest, and yet it bears no evidence of having been submitted to a censor, or of having received the requisite approval from ecclesiastical authority. In a word, it has neither a *nihil obstat* nor an *imprimatur*. The sermons, which are seventeen in number, are original both in matter and form. There is no text of Sacred Scripture given at the beginning, and, indeed, the inspired word is used very sparingly throughout. It would, perhaps, be better to call the contents of the book 'short essays' rather than sermons. They are, however, thoughtful and clever, and possess a freshness which is absent from many sermon books. As it is not our intention to usurp the functions of the forgotten censor, we will offer no criticism on the matter of the sermons.

MISSA ANGELICA IN HONOREM SS. ANGELORUM. Auctore P. Griesbacher. Op. 17a, for Six Mixed Voices and Organ; op. 17b, for Four Equal Voices and Organ. Düsseldorf, Schwann.

THIS beautiful and effective Mass is very suitable for festive occasions. It requires a choir fairly familiar with contrapuntal compositions and a good organist. The edition for four equal voices is suitable for either male or female choirs. The two lower parts are printed in the bass clef, which appears to indicate that the author was thinking primarily of male voices. The organ accompaniment, too, is conceived under this aspect, for the author remarks that, in case of a performance with female voices, it would be better to use the organ accompaniment of the six-part edition. Still we have some hesitation in recommending the Mass to male choirs. We fear that the generally low position of the voices would produce a rather sombre effect. But for well-trained female choirs a performance of the composition should be a very worthy and repaying task. H. B.

TEMPERANCE CATECHISM AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE MANUAL.

By Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J. Dublin: *Messenger* Office.

THE NECESSITIES OF THE AGE. A Lecture. By the Rev. W. J. Mulcahy, P.P., Croagh.

FATHER CULLEN'S *Temperance Catechism* is so well known that it is hardly necessary even to announce the issue of a new edition. The *Catechism* is intended 'for the use of colleges, schools, and educational establishments;' and if it were really used in these, and in the homes of our people, it would do more to save the rising generations from the demon of drunkenness than all the pledges and total abstinence societies ever invented.

Father Mulcahy's able lecture appeals to the grown up and the educated on the same subject on which Father Cullen's *Catechism* appeals to children and to the less educated of our countrymen. It is a powerful philippic against alcohol, the manifold evils of which are exposed in lucid, eloquent, and sometimes pathetic language. To the aid of his incisive logic the learned lecturer brings an array of facts and statistics, collected from sources almost innumerable, so that his lecture, apart from its literary finish, will form an armoury whence those who embark in the crusade against the demon alcohol can supply themselves with suitable weapons.

IMITATION OF THE MOST BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. After the model of the *Imitation of Christ*. From the French. By Mrs. A. R. Bennett-Gladstone. Benziger Brothers.

EXPLANATION OF THE 'OUR FATHER' AND THE 'HAIL MARY.' Adapted from the German. By Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. Same publishers.

PRAYER. By Saint Alphonsus Liguori. Same publishers.

WE can heartily recommend the *Imitation of the Most Blessed Virgin* as a book of solid, practical devotion. The virtues of our Lady are put before the reader as models, and sensible advice is given as to how persons, in the different states and spheres of life, may copy these models. The book is beautifully turned out in the shape of a little pocket manual, and contains, in addition to the four books on the *Imitation of the Blessed Virgin*, an excellent method of assisting at Mass, together with Vespers for Sunday in Latin and English.

Dr. Brennan's *Explanation of the Our Father and Hail Mary* should prove extremely useful to priests. The book opens with a short dissertation on prayer in general, and then the prelude and the several petitions of the *Our Father* are taken up separately. On each is given a short instruction; then follow passages from Sacred Scripture bearing upon or illustrating the petition; these passages are followed by similar passages carefully selected from the fathers of the Church; and finally is given a series of interesting anecdotes appropriate to the petition under discussion. The *Hail Mary* and the *Holy Mary* are explained in the same manner, and as the complement of this explanation the author gives an interesting and valuable explanation of the *Litany of Loreto* and of the *Rosary of the B.V. Mary*.

St. Alphonsus' treatise on *Prayer* needs no word of commendation. This is the centenary edition.

IRISH LOCAL LEGENDS. By Lageniensis. Dublin:
James Duffy & Co.

By the publication of this unpretentious little volume, 'Lageniensis' has added yet another to the many debts of gratitude which his countrymen already owed him. True, the 'Local Legends' here published nearly all appeared before, but only in an ephemeral form; besides, in their collected form, they

are not merely handy and convenient, but they will reach a much more enlarged circle of readers than they ever did when first printed. There are in all thirty legends, picked up, as the author tells us, in various parts of Ireland. And very few places in Ireland, indeed, would seem to have escaped him; for he has legends from Antrim and Cork, from Dublin and Galway, from Waterford and Donegal. And all the legends are interesting and 'racy of the soil.'

MISSA IN HON. S. ROSAE, VIRG. LIMANAE. For two equal, or four mixed voices and organ. By H. Tappert. Score 35 cents; twelve copies, 3 dollars 50 cents. St. Francis, Wis.: J. Singenberger.

THE Rev. H. Tappert, of Covington, Kent., fully familiar with the needs and possibilities of country choirs, presents us in this, his first Mass, with a composition that, besides being very easy, and still effective, has the advantage of allowing a double way of performance, namely, either by four mixed voices, or by soprano and alto only. We should not recommend the work for choirs consisting merely of female voices, because the omission of the male parts necessitates, now and again, slight breaks in the continuity of singing—gaps filled up by organ interludes, which, though not very unpleasant, still cause some slight inconvenience. But for such choirs of moderate attainments that either regularly or occasionally include male voices, the Mass will prove very suitable.

H. B.

ETHELRED PRESTON; or the Adventures of a Newcomer. By Francis J. Finn, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1897.

MOSTLY BOYS. Short Stories. By the same Author. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897.

FATHER FINN'S stories of schoolboy life are already so well known and appreciated, at least in America, that they hardly need our commendation. We consider them equal to anything in their line we have ever read, and they possess a value altogether their own in being the first notably successful pictures that have appeared in English of Catholic school-life as it is. Racy in style, rich in incident, teeming with merry schoolboy

fun, they cannot fail to captivate the youthful readers for whom they are written, while the ideals of honour, truthfulness, industry and piety which they hold up for admiration and imitation must have an influence for good on the conduct and character of the impressionable small boy. Thoroughly Catholic in spirit and tone, they display, nevertheless, a liberality and breadth of interest that ought to recommend them even to non-Catholic boys. They are, of course, distinctively American in matters of detail, but this need not militate against their popularity with us: our boys, we think, will bear with the account of a base-ball match, which they do not understand, for the sake of more salient points of interest common to them and their young American friends.

Of the two volumes mentioned at the head of this notice we have nothing special to remark, except that they scarcely show Father Finn at his best, and we recommend our readers who wish to give him a trial to consult his other books also, *Percy Wynn*, *Tom Playfair*, *Harry Dee*, and *Claude Lightfoot*. They are published in a uniform series, price 85 cents., or 3s. each, by Benziger Brothers, and by Messrs. Gill & Son.

A ROUND TABLE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN CATHOLIC NOVELISTS. Benziger Brothers. 1897.

PASSING SHADOWS. A Novel. By Anthony Yorke. Same Publishers. 1897.

THESE are two of the latest issues of the Catholic literature of fiction, which is growing apace in America, and accomplishing, doubtless, no inconsiderable good in the interests of religion.

The *Round Table* furnishes a choice selection of short stories by the leading Catholic fictionists. The assured eminence of the contributors led us to expect rare excellence in the contributions, and we are glad to say that on the whole our expectations have been fulfilled. We know of no better collection of the same compass where the reader may turn for an occasional hour's pleasant and profitable reading. A portrait and a short biographical sketch of the writer accompany each contribution. The publishers announce their intention of continuing the series in case this first venture proves a success. We cannot help wishing that it may be a success, and shall be glad to welcome further

volumes that maintain the same high standard. The price is \$1.50.

Passing Shadows is a very readable sketch of Catholic life in New York. There is nothing very striking about it, but it is precisely its avoidance of the sentimental that gives it the merit it possesses. The style is brisk and vigorous, and the story runs along with a smooth and easy progress and exhibits a very natural blending of genuine piety with mirth, love, and affliction. We should not be surprised to see the author produce such works as make men eminent.

THE THANES OF KENT. By C. M. Home. London :
Catholic Truth Society.

THIS story gives an interesting, and, as far as it goes, accurate picture of the lives led by the Saxon nobles of Kent during the reign of Ethelbert, and the saintly Bertha, over that kingdom. The story commences in the interval which elapsed between the death of Bishop Luidhard, who had accompanied the Lady Bertha from her Frankish home, as her confessor and chaplain, and the arrival of St. Augustine and his companions. The example of the gentle but queenly Bertha, aided by the zeal and kindness of Bishop Luidhard, had already won over to the true faith many noble thanes and maidens. Of the former we are specially introduced to Oswyn and Athelstan; of the latter, to Eanswythe and Eadburga, two maidens who abode, as the custom then was, at the royal court as companions to Queen Bertha. Seigfrid, brother to Oswyn, but a stubborn, though noble-minded pagan, is the hero of the story; Baldred, a chief among the Druids, the villain; and Eanswythe, the heroine. Justice has not been done to Baldred. Though comparatively young, he was recognised as the chief and spokesman of the Saxon priests; consequently, he must have been clever. Yet in the methods which he adopted to thwart and oppose St. Augustine's work, there is not displayed a single spark of genius. The author attributes to him only a low cunning and a brutal blood-thirstiness, which, though becoming in a 'Bill Sykes' are not such characteristics as even a Christian artist would give to the highest and the last of the priests of Woden. Apart from this blemish, which is merely an artistic one, the story is very readable.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. With 100 Illustrations. New York, &c., Benziger Brothers, 1897.

POPULAR INSTRUCTIONS TO PARENTS ON THE BRINGING UP OF CHILDREN. By Very Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C.S.S.R. Same Publishers, 1897.

OUR FAVOURITE DEVOTIONS. Compiled from approved sources by Very Rev. Dean A. A. Lings. Same Publishers, 1897.

HOW TO MAKE THE MISSION. By a Dominican Father. Same Publishers, 1897.

The New Testament, just issued by this eminent and enterprising Catholic firm is really a work of art. The type though small, as it must be, in a pocket volume of the New Testament, is so clear cut, and so evenly spaced, that the very appearance of the page pleases the eye. The illustrations, one hundred in number, are all full page, and all copies of famous pictures, some of which are historical, some allegorical. The American price is 60 c., the English 2s. 6d. The publishers request us to state, that this edition of the New Testament can be procured from Messrs. Burns and Oates, and R. Washbourne, London; from Messrs. M. H. Gill and Son, Dublin, and from all Catholic Booksellers.

We can recommend the *Popular Instructions to Parents*, especially to parents of the under and middle classes, who often neglect through ignorance, to fulfil some of their most important obligations towards their children.

Our Favourite Devotions is a compilation of useful and suggestive prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart, the Holy Name, the Blessed Virgin under various titles, St. Joseph, and several other saints, devotion to whom has become popular.

How to Make the Mission, will probably be of some service to uneducated persons, in enabling them to profit by the instructions of the mission and to prepare for a good confession.

MISSA IN HONOREM ST. CAECILIAE. By J. Quadflieg. Op. 8, Score 2 M., parts 0. 35 M. each. Ratisbon: Feuchtinger & Gleichauf.

THIS Mass has been published in two editions, the one (op. 8 A, for soprano and alto with organ, the other (op. 8 B) for four

voices and organ. The soprano and alto parts are exactly the same in both editions, with the exception of two passages which in the four-part edition, are assigned to the tenor and bass, and are to be omitted by the upper parts.

Quadflieg, choirmaster and organist of St. Mary's Church, Elberfeld, is one of the most promising Church composers of our days. He has a good invention, great command of counterpart which makes his part-writing always interesting and flowing, has a good knowledge of the organ so as to write effectively and in accordance with the character of the instrument, and knows also how to write for the vocal parts. From the great composers of the sixteenth century he has learnt to give independence and melodic interest to voice parts, and, with few exceptions, adheres to those rhythmical rules, the observance of which makes the compositions of the Palestrina style so agreeable to sing. At the same time his harmonies in the present Mass, at least, are quite in accordance with modern ideas, and we do not think that even a musician altogether unacquainted with Gregorian Chant and Palestrina style, would find in it any combination of harmonies difficult to understand. We can, therefore, recommend the work unreservedly to all choirs that have passed the rudimentary stage.

ST. PATRICK: HIS LIFE, HIS HEROIC VIRTUES, HIS LABOURS AND THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOURS. By Very Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G. With a Preface by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Croke. Eighth edition. R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row, London; Benziger, Brothers, New York, &c., 1897.

THE fact that this Life of St. Patrick was written by the Venerable Dean of Cashel, would alone suffice to render it acceptable to Irish Catholics; while the further fact that it has already reached an eighth edition, renders it superfluous if not impertinent for us to recommend it to the favourable notice of our readers.

THE IRISH ROSARY. A Monthly Magazine conducted by the Dominican Fathers. Browne and Nolan, Ltd.

WE bid a hearty welcome to our bright contemporary, which seems to promise to do for the laity what it has been always our aim to do for the clergy. The illustrations, which are numerous,

are well up to the standard of those to be found in any of the first class London monthlies, while the letterpress is varied, instructive, and elevating. The beautiful poem from the pen of the gifted S. M. S., appearing in the first number, concludes:—

‘May the sons of St. Dominick new multitudes win
From the snares of indifference, heresy, sin,
And to all Erin’s children more fully unfold
Treasures hid in your Roses, white, crimson, and gold!’

We heartily re-echo this wish, and fully believe that *The Irish Rosary* will largely assist in realising it.

THE HOLY BIBLE, CONTAINING THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. Appointed to be read in churches. Oxford, Printed at the University Press. London, Henry Frowde.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. According to the use of the Church of England. Same Publishers.

THESE are respectively the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Bible, and the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Prayer Book. They display all that exquisite taste in type and binding for which the works issued from the Oxford University Press have long been justly famous. Each contains a portrait of Her Majesty, taken in 1837, and another taken in 1897, and all four are different. Besides these portraits, there are several reproductions of famous religious paintings in each volume. Of course the Bible is the Authorized Version, and therefore forbidden to Catholics, as is likewise the Book of Common Prayer.

THE VALUE OF LIFE. By C. E. Burke. With a Preface by Aubrey de Vere. Catholic Truth Society.

THIS is emphatically a good book. It awakens noble aspirations, casts a halo round the most humble and most commonplace duties, and shows how we can make the most of our lives for God, for mankind, and for ourselves. Yet it is not what is usually styled a ‘religious’ book. The author, like the bee, gathers honey from every flower, no matter where he finds it growing. Fichte, and Ruskin, and Miss Proctor may be found jostling St. Luke, St. Paul, Faber, or Newman. But from whatever source they come, the thoughts are ennobling, the counsels founded on a deep and true insight into the value of life. ‘This

is pre-eminently a household book,' writes the venerable author of the Preface. Its aim is to make home-life sweet, to make it real; and recognising the paramount influence of woman in the home-life, the author devotes a large proportion of his space to 'woman's sphere in life.' We should, indeed, rejoice to see a copy of this little book in every household. Its price, 1s., places it within the reach of almost every household.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JAMES EARL OF DERWENTWATER
Compiled by Charles H. Bowden, of the Oratory. Catholic Truth Society.

JAMES RADCLIFFE, Earl of Derwentwater, was born in 1689, and was brought up at the court of the exiled James II., where the youthful heir to the English throne was his companion. He returned to England in 1710, and two years afterwards married a lady to whom he was sincerely attached. On the death of Queen Anne many of the Scottish chieftains refused to accept the Hanoverian George as their sovereign, and proclaimed James III. king. Their example was contagious. The Catholic nobles and gentlemen of the North of England took up arms in the same cause, and amongst these was the Earl of Derwentwater. They met the King's forces at Preston, and, though they at first succeeded in driving them back, they were forced to surrender. To Derwentwater, in his prison cell and on the scaffold, pardon was again and again offered, on condition that he would become a Protestant, and accept the Hanoverian succession. He nobly refused, and died on the scaffold a martyr for his faith. The beautiful narrative, of which this is the outline, will be found in Father Bowden's interesting little work.

We have received the following additional leaflets and publications from the Catholic Truth Society:—

The New Six Articles, An Alternative for the Pan-Anglican Synod, Catholic Progress in England, The Drunkard, by Archbishop Ullathorne; *The Catholic Library of Tales*, No. 24; *The Ember Days*, by Dom Columba Edmonds, O.S.B.; *Remember Me, Daily Readings for Lent*; *Mother Margaret Hallaghan (1803-1868)*, by Lady Amabel Kerr; *Shrines of Our Lady*, for use with Magic Lantern; *Leo XIII. and the Reunion of Christendom*, by Cardinal Vaughan; *A Duchess of York's Reasons for becoming a Catholic*; *But they Don't*, a Letter to Thinking Protestants.



DANIEL O'CONNELL

IRELAND has produced many great and illustrious men. She has given important contributions of intellectual and stalwart manhood to the pulpit, the bar, the senate, and the battlefield. There is no position of social or public standing which has not been graced, and even exalted, by her children. Their influence, achievements, and fame, have not been, and are not being, confined to the land of their birth. Their services and renown have extended over oceans and continents, reflecting honour on the land that bore them, and scattering countless blessings of civilization and religion over the vast expanses of the habitable globe.

Numerous and great and famous as are the sons of Ireland, past and present, at home and abroad, conspicuous amongst the foremost of them all, on account of his talents, labours, and achievements, and by reason of his upright and stainless public career, stands the illustrious personage known to the speakers of the English language as 'The Liberator.'

The great Montalembert addressing him a short time before his (O'Connell's) death, said :—

Thy glory is not only Irish—it is Catholic. Wherever Catholics begin anew to practise civic virtues, and devote themselves to the conquest of civic rights—it is your work. Wherever religion tends to emancipate itself from the thralldom in which several generations of sophists and logicians have placed it, to you, after God, is religion indebted.

Remarkable tribute this, from one of the greatest thinkers of the century to a decrepit old man of alien race, and of waning popularity, and wholly devoted in his life to right the wrongs of the inhabitants of the small island that claims him as her own! Pre-eminently deserved, however, I regard it as being; and I rejoice that though fifty years have passed by since O'Connell went to his reward, his merits are not forgotten, and that from Rome, Armagh, and elsewhere has come the news that action is being taken¹ that the 'Jubilee' of his death is not to be allowed to pass without salutary tribute being paid to his memory. For the 'scattered Gael,' and, above all, for the Irish priests at home and abroad, his memory is a precious heir-loom; and with the desire of paying a small personal tribute to it, and of helping to perpetuate it as far as my tribute can, I offer to the readers of the I. E. RECORD my views on his non-professional and public career.

To appreciate him properly, we must look back to the state of religion and other things in Ireland and in the British Empire at the end of the last century, when he entered on his manhood and commenced his public life.

Ireland had passed through centuries of religious persecutions and confiscations. A temporary cessation in the enforcement of the penal laws had indeed ensued, but they were almost all unrepealed. Most injurious disabilities, excluding from Parliament, from all places of public trust, and from the learned profession, were in full force. Though the country was almost all Catholic, and though it had a parliament of its own, no one professing the ancient faith could be a member of that parliament. The Catholics were merely tolerated to worship God according to their conscience: and, as a down-trodden, persecuted race, only such civil rights were extended to them as would allow them to reclaim the bogs, and to so support themselves, as would enable them to provide arbitrary and exorbitant rents for the dominant class.

From a social and political point of view [writes Dr. Healy²] it was almost impossible that the state of things could be worse

¹ This was written before the memorial celebrations of May 12th.

² *Maynooth Centenary History*, p. 88.

than it was about the year 1790. The nominal independence, secured in 1782 by Grattan and his patriotic colleagues, raised ardent hopes of a brighter future which were never destined to be realized. It is true, indeed, that there was some noteworthy improvement in commerce, trade, and manufacturing industries—especially of woollen fabrics—but the general state of the country remained practically the same.

Froude¹ describes Ireland at the same period as follows:—

The executive government was unequal to the elementary work of maintaining peace and order. The aristocracy and the legislature were corrupt beyond the reach of shame. The gentry had neglected their duties until they had forgotten that they had any duties to perform. The peasantry were hopelessly miserable; and, finding in the law, not a protector and a friend, but a sword in the hands of their oppressors, they had been taught to look to crime and rebellion as their only means of self-defence.

The cruelties inflicted on the Irish people by reason of the rebellion of 1798, to which they had been driven, and into which they had been actually incited by the Government, the unchecked lawlessness of the Orange Society, and the enforcement of martial law under which Ireland groaned, produced almost universal hopelessness amongst Irish patriots. As long, however, as the Irish Parliament remained, Anti-Catholic and bigotted though it was, there were certain hopes of its having to allow liberty of conscience to the vast majority of the people it legislated for, and otherwise to promote their happiness and prosperity. Until the 'Union'—

Manebant etiam tunc vestigia morientis libertatis.

But the Irish Parliament being swept away by the most glaring acts of personal and political perfidy recorded even in Irish history, the flickering flames of liberty went completely out. The promises of Catholic Emancipation, under which, I regret to say, influential opposition was bought up, were disregarded. Injustice was knowingly and almost universally inflicted upon the down-trodden race. Constitutional redress was persistently denied, and the most daring,

¹ Vol. iii., p. 5, quoted in *Maynooth Centenary History*, p. 88.

imbibing the spirit of desperation, would rush wildly into secret societies for self-preservation, or as their last and forlorn hope. Religious animosities were fostered to divide and distract the Nation, and even Emancipation 'under conditions' was temptingly offered as a bribe to win over the wealthy and timid to support the 'Union' that procured the impoverishment and slavery of the people, and the 'Veto' that would destroy the independence, and annihilate the influence of the Catholic Church in the country.

Throughout the rest of the British Empire, matters, from a Catholic point of view, were, if possible, worse. The war of American Independence having ended gloriously for America, there remained to England hardly any colonies, certainly none worthy of the name they now enjoy. In England and Scotland the Catholic Church had practically disappeared; and the peaceable in every land had imbibed a dread of the very name of freedom, by reason of the horrors that those who abused it in France and elsewhere had brought upon the world. The French Revolution had made good men tremble, and made 'liberty' revolting because it had become saturated with innocent blood.

Thus it was that, crushed in their various efforts to shake off their chains, the Catholics of the Empire feared even to rattle them; and millions of O'Connell's countrymen had grown so accustomed to servitude, that they hardly aspired to be free. Those of them that did had no one to legally marshal them, and knew no hope save that of secret societies and rebellion. These invariably produced the informer, and ended in martial law, the gallows, and the triangle. The then state of public spirit is pathetically described by Moore where he sings:—

Thus, Freedom, now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To show that still she lives.

The heart of the country, however, beat fast for 'happy homes and altars free;' and in this it harmonized with O'Connell's. The Irish are a liberty-loving people; and the fire of his eloquence in course of time enkindled into a flame their patriotic love of freedom,

Freedom for his fellow-Catholics to practise their religion, eligibility to every position and office in the State, and similar freedom for every man to follow his own convictions, were the cardinal points in his demands for 'Emancipation;' and the power for his fellow-countrymen to legislate under the Crown, through a House of Lords and a House of Commons thoroughly representative of the people of Ireland, was what he claimed as 'Repeal.'

Before involving himself in a great struggle for the emancipation of his countrymen, he took care to set forth as his programme ends unquestionably lawful, and the attainment of them by means equally unobjectionable. To compress the patriotic feeling of his countrymen into such a programme was no easy matter; and to inspire those sharing in it with the courage and confidence necessary for their taking an active part in it, was even more difficult still. An ardent longing for emancipation, a heartfelt desire for the happiness, prosperity, and dignity of the people of Ireland, and an almost revealed knowledge of the power of constitutional agitation filled his buoyant soul with confidence of ultimate success. Youth, ardour, eloquence, health, and vigour were his; and with such qualifications he devoted his early manhood and his entire subsequent career to the attainment of 'Catholic Emancipation' and 'Repeal of the Union' by constitutional means.

I learned [said he] from the example of the United Irishmen that, in order to succeed for Ireland, it was strictly necessary to work within the limits of the law and constitution. I saw that fraternities bonded illegally never could be safe; that invariably some person without principle would be sure to gain admission into such societies, who, either for ordinary bribes, or else in times of danger, for their preservation, would betray their associates. Yes; the United Irishmen taught me that all work for Ireland must be done openly and above board.

Not merely did he thus form and proclaim his programme, but, on all suitable occasions, he used his immense authority and power to enforce it:—

We disclaim [he wrote to the people of Tipperary] the assistance of the idle, the profligate, the vicious. Religious and

moral men are those alone who can regenerate Ireland. . . . The greatest enemy we can have is the man who commits any crime against his fellowman, or any offence in the sight of his God. The greatest enemy of the liberty of Ireland is the man who violates the law in any respect, or breaks the peace, or commits any outrage whatsoever.

In the spirit thus manifested, O'Connell engaged in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and became its ardent advocate. His first public utterances were for the repeal of the iniquitous Union; and, though till Emancipation was won, 'Repeal' was in the back-ground, never did it cease to be the darling ambition of his life. Engaging in this two-fold cause, he saw, on the one hand, the dangers of the excesses being perpetrated in the sacred name of 'liberty,' and the calamitous reprisals that were certain to follow; on the other, he beheld his country dejected, degraded, down-trodden in every way; his religion persecuted, prescribed, and out-lawed. He felt that he was born in servitude, and living a slave, and his noble spirit determined to be free.

Union amongst his countrymen was necessary for his success. He made his platform as wide and as unobjectionable as was consistent with the full realization of his hopes. He reminded his countrymen and fellow-sufferers of every nationality of their heaven-given rights, and he convinced them of their power. He taught them that true liberty was neither licentiousness and revolution on the one hand, nor tyranny and despotism on the other. These conflicting agencies had sunk it in a sea of blood. He dived after it, and recovering it clothed with gore, and sending forth a nausea that made it offensive, even to its true friends, he cleansed it, purified it, and sanctified it by the infusion of religious principles upon it; and thus, odoriferous with justice and sanctity, he presented it to an anxious and admiring world.

Oh, glory! oh, triumph of O'Connell! [cries out Father Ventura in his famous panegyric, preached in Rome on the Liberator] for having first reconciled liberty with order, independence with loyalty; and for having transformed into a principle of security and happiness what was a principle destructive of thrones—a principle of desolation fraught with the slavery of nations.

Such an achievement constitutes a great claim for honour and renown, and having rescued liberty from licentiousness and error, having shown it compatible with loyalty, as he did in his own person, as well as in the persons of millions of his countrymen; and having supernaturalized it by religion, he exhibited it as one of the dearest earthly gifts of God to man, the safety of governments, and the basis of human happiness.

But 'liberty' thus presented could not be at once understood or realized by O'Connell's countrymen, driven by tyranny and rapacity, as they were, and by so many disappointments, to servile contentment or to the wild policy of despair. For well-nigh half a century, as Herculean agitator he toiled, with zeal unequalled and with wisdom unsurpassed. A bright and easy career of happiness was before him in an honourable profession. He renounced it, and when one would suppose him weary of the political warfare, he rejected its highest reward. His minutes literally counted as gold honestly earned as a lawyer in his laborious profession. Yet, no one devoted more time to his country's welfare. The whole burden of the Irish cause rested upon him. He bore it up. General apathy for a long time pervaded the masses. Suspicion, opposition, calumny, and contempt were hurled against him. Attacks on himself he paid back with interest and scorn, and from insult he defended himself, once sinfully indeed, but according to the mistaken code of honour that then prevailed, with the weapons employed in duel encounters. Insults to his country he drove back with pulverizing blows. Peel and Disraeli fell beneath them morally as completely as the unfortunate d'Esterre did physically. Him it was O'Connell's misfortune, for which he publicly repented, to have fatally wounded. The 'Orange' Peel and 'the legitimate descendant of the impenitent thief,' are epithets of lashing invective that made the greatest men writhe beneath its inflictions, as witness their contemplated duels with him. Disappointments, baffled hopes, perfidy to pledges, in turn accosted him. 'Put no faith in princes,' and 'the base, bloody, and brutal Whigs,' were his rejoinders. He never wavered, never

desponded, never seemed weary in the glorious struggle. Love for his country and his religion penetrated his very being, and the justice of his cause bore him up, till dissension amongst his own followers produced disruption in the national ranks, and the dark cloud of famine overspread his beloved country, showering death all around. An over-worked brain and a broken heart brought him to a premature grave, before his work was fully done, but not until much of his programme had been realized. Religious emancipation for all, liberty of conscience for the Non-conformist and Jew as well as for the Catholic, freedom to follow one's honest convictions in all matters of religion, non-interference in religious matters on the part of the State—in a word, universal emancipation was his idea of liberty of conscience. His 'platform' was so extensive that he was able to congregate, in course of time, upon it not only his own co-religionists of every class but very many honest non-Catholics both in Great Britain and Ireland. The reasonableness and the justice of his programme, the irresistible force of his arguments in its favour, the vivid description of the tyranny opposed to it and the immense attention paid to his words all over the liberty-loving world, were such that England was shamed amongst civilized nations.

It will not surprise anyone that O'Connell encountered difficulties from various sources in his struggles. It will be wondered at, however, that many of his difficulties came from his own co-religionists, and the greatest of them was supported even in Rome itself.

When English statesmen came to regard Emancipation as desirable in the interests of the Empire, if not absolutely necessary for its peace and greatness, they determined before assenting to it, to make political capital out of the concession. Hence, 'securities,' 'guarantees,' and such things were to be 'tacked on' to the measure of religious freedom Catholics were to enjoy under the Crown. The wealthy classes, anxious for religious peace on any terms consistent with the principles of their faith, the English Catholics, some Irish bishops, too, despairing of better terms for their people, would accept such a measure of Emancipation as would give

British statesmen the power of 'Veto' in the appointment of Catholic bishops.

Not so, however, would O'Connell, who read Virgil to some purpose where he wrote :

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

Against the 'Veto' he warred with untiring vigilance, and so successfully did he reason, that he was largely instrumental in having passed by the bishops of Ireland a resolution that baffled British intrigue in Rome, ended, in course of time, the iniquitous claims of a heretical government to have a voice in the appointment of bishops of a Church which it had done its utmost to destroy, and saved the liberty and influence of that Church itself throughout the British Empire. In August, 1815, the resolution that may be said to be the basis of the *Magna Charta* of Irish Catholic rights was unanimously passed by the Irish bishops.

It is our decided and conscientious conviction that any power granted to the Crown of Great Britain, of interfering directly or indirectly in the appointment of bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may eventually subvert, the Roman Catholic religion in this country.

Enthusiastic expressions of approval and delight from the laity welcomed this noble declaration ; and O'Connell, in alluding to it said :¹—

This is a day of gratulation and triumph. The sentiments of delight which we experience are pure and unmingled. Our great cause is at length placed on its proper basis. Win or lose, we are sure our religion cannot suffer. Our question is now stripped of all the intricacies and details in which it was involved by false friends and perfidious co-operators. It reduces itself simply to this—Shall we be emancipated as Catholics, or as Catholics continue slaves? Every attempt to barter religion for liberty, every scheme to traffic upon our faith for civil benefits is destroyed for ever. . . . I do, therefore, deprecate the 'Veto' as an Irishman ; as an ardent, enthusiastic lover of liberty, I detest it, and would oppose it at every peril. In both capacities, as Catholics and as Irishmen, we will ever resist it, and placing on our banners 'religion' and 'liberty,' wage an eternal war against the open enemies and insidious foes of both.

¹ *Life and Speeches*, vol. ii., 207-211.

Resist them he did, and persistently. His example, arguments and eloquence enkindled like sentiments in his countrymen. His indomitable perseverance and the legal stainlessness of his position marshalled his countrymen at his back. His open and candid and legal mode of warfare brought him triumphant through many persecutions. His fame concentrated the eyes of Europe and America upon him ; and he taught the masses and the nations the power of a united agitation, and that, by union and determination, and without war, they can right their wrongs in almost every clime. Religion became more loved and its virtues more practised ; Ireland more sympathized with and respected ; rebellion more dreaded ; liberty more loved and prized. He continued faithful to his country, and his country continued faithful to him ; and millions enrolled themselves under the banner of 'Faith and Fatherland' which he unfurled. In response to his call, gallant Clare elected him to the Imperial Parliament in which, as Catholic, he could not sit. Voices of thunder went forth from the lips and hearts of the most loyal, most orderly, but most united and determined people in the universe. They demanded the removal of the prohibition oath-tests ; of the opposing barriers to the free exercise of their constitutional rights. Their demand was echoed by the mountains. It was borne upon the gale. It was carried across the sea by the great agitator himself. He carried it into the very Parliament House at Westminster. He trumpeted it in the British Senate itself. It startled, terrified, and subdued prime-minister Wellington—the conqueror of the great Napoleon. It wrung an unwilling consent from one of the most powerful and obstinate monarchs in Europe, who had even sworn he would never yield it, and cried in his defeat. 'Happy homes and altars free' was the cry that conquered Wellington and George IV.; and justice and liberty triumphed over power and wrong.

Oh, such a victory, grand, stainless, stupendous ! For a century and a half Ireland was struggling for it ; Grattan and Plunkett, Canning and Pitt, had failed in obtaining a moiety of it. But the genius, the eloquence, and the courage of O'Connell at last won it ; and the shackles of religious

slavery fell from off the limbs of millions of his countrymen. All the subjects of the British Crown became legally free to follow the dictates of their conscience and to obey its behests, and the portals of the Catholic Church were thrown open, without legal barrier, to hundreds of millions of human beings. Was it not of this resplendent victory Curran had a foresight when he exclaimed :—

I speak in the spirit of British law which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from the British soil ; which proclaims, even to the stranger and sojourner, the moment he sets his foot on British earth, that the ground on which he travels is holy and consecrated by the genius of universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an African or an Indian sun may have burnt upon him ; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down ; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted on the altar of slavery—the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust. His soul walks abroad in its own majesty. His body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him ; and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal Emancipation.

It has been frequently said that Emancipation did little good and much harm to Ireland, owing to the ‘wings’ with which it was accompanied, and to the fact that the wealthier classes, when emancipated, deserted their poorer brethren in the pursuit of ‘Repeal’—the panacea for all Ireland’s grievances.

Undoubtedly, many of the upper classes found themselves free by it to enjoy temporal rights of which they as human beings should be possessed, and even to take positions of honour and emolument in the service of the State both in England and in Ireland. These are the birth-rights of every citizen in civilized states, and though it may be impolitic in peculiar circumstances and for the greater good of the country at large that some should accept them, there should be no religious barrier to their attainment of them. Accept them, however, they did, and contentment ensued in the cases of such, and their co-operation for the amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes was withdrawn from the

political movements of their fellow-Catholics. Evictions, too, followed wholesale on the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders—an event that accompanied the Emancipation measure. It is stated, the votes of these members of the community being taken from them, the landlords no longer wanted them on the estates for the purposes of their pocket-seats in Parliament. I fail to see how the landlord class could count upon the votes of such as these; and if they could, they would desire their retention as voters. Why, then, would the landlords' friend—the English Government—insist on disfranchising them? Would it not be done with, or without, Emancipation? Be that as it may, O'Connell fought against the disfranchisement most determinedly, and undoubtedly would not have accepted Emancipation with the disfranchising clause if he could obtain it without it. That he never desired a man to be without a vote because of the fewness of his acres, is manifest from the fact that, in his political programme every man was to have a vote—and to give it by ballot—who could sign the voting paper with his name. That Emancipation was clogged by disfranchisement is clear, and, as in the case of most other British measures passed for Ireland by the Imperial Parliament, that whatever goodness was in it was vitiated by an intermixture of badness, cannot be denied.

But a glance at the other side of the picture will show the far-reaching beneficial effects of Emancipation on Irishmen in general, and on the world at large. Besides positions connected with the then Established Church that was supported chiefly by monies wrung from Catholics, there were upwards of thirty thousand positions in the State, including all the highest and most lucrative ones, from which Catholics had been excluded. In addition, there were innumerable positions from which the Ascendancy party excluded them, as they do largely still. The Emancipation Act opened almost all offices and stations to Catholics, and placed them—constitutionally, at all events—on a political level with Protestants. It opened both Houses of Parliament to them. It made them eligible for the Bench, all offices at the Bar, and all positions in Town Councils and

Corporations. It allows Catholics to advance to any position in the Army and the Navy, Grand Juries, Diplomatic Body, and the Civil Service, &c. ; and it removes for ever all legal power of enforcing the penal laws, which, though partially inoperative for a time, were suspended over the persons and properties of all Catholics of the United Kingdom previous to 1829, and could be as easily put in force against Catholics as the proclamations '*Christianos ad Leones*' of the Pagan Roman Emperors. To Protestants, too, it was a boon, for it abolished oaths regarding the tenets of the Catholic Church that many of them could not conscientiously take ; and it freed the Non-conformists as well as the Catholics, for it abolished the Oath of Supremacy, as well as the oaths of mere doctrinal tests.

Emancipation being carried, O'Connell engaged in a great struggle for 'Justice to Ireland,' and for 'Repeal of the Union.' He soon saw his country bleeding from iniquitous taxation, and exportations of the natural wealth of the country by the draining effected by absentee landlords. He saw the unwillingness of an alien legislature to advance the material interests of Ireland, and its inability to do so owing to various causes. He felt his country degraded by being ruled by foreigners, be they ever so well disposed, and he longed all through life for her legislative freedom and native administration. In early prime he took the platform against the Union, and when some Catholics would, weak-mindedly, surrender the Parliament of this country to the English Parliament for religious emancipation, as the learned Dr. Healy, I regret to say, in his *Maynooth Centenary History*¹ applauds them illogically for doing, he, though then but twenty-five, rallied the great bulk of his country-

¹ That statesman [Lord Castlereagh] himself admits that if the Catholics actively opposed him, it would have been impossible for him to carry the Union. But they did not oppose him, and they ought not to oppose him, for opposition would have meant the active defence of the bigoted and corrupt assembly which, as a body, persistently refused to admit three-fourths of their fellow-countrymen to the privileges of citizenship, and ended by selling everything that they could sell to Lord Castlereagh. Such a wretched clique were unworthy to govern any country. And one might say that any Union would be preferable to Union with them.' (Page 117.)

men against them. As spokesman, in Dublin, he declared:—

The Catholics are incapable of selling their country. They will loudly declare that if their Emancipation were offered for their consent to the measure [of the Union]—even were Emancipation after the Union a benefit—they would reject it with prompt indignation. Let us [said he addressing the Catholics of Dublin] show to Ireland that we have nothing in view but her good; nothing in our hearts but the desire of mutual forgiveness, mutual toleration, and mutual affection;—in fine, let every man who feels with me proclaim that if the alternative were offered him of Union or the re-enactment of the penal code [it was then becoming relaxed] in all its pristine horrors, that he would prefer, without hesitation, the latter as the lesser and more sufferable evil: that he would rather confide in the justice of his brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated him, than lay his country at the feet of foreigners.

Thus he loved Ireland with the early pulsations of his heart. He had fought against the iniquitous Union before it was carried; he had sighed over Ireland's miseries when her Parliament was gone. He had wept with Grattan over the grave of her independence, and he longed for her resurrection as a nation. Perhaps it was he who inspired Moore with his beautiful couplet:—

The heart that has truly loved never forgets,
But as truly loves on to the close,
As the sun-flower turns on her god, when he sets,
The same look which she turn'd when he rose.

All the powers of O'Connell's great soul were, after Emancipation (1829), directed to the temporal emancipation of his country. His was not a discontented spirit, grumbling over the Union because it was carried; but his was a spirit grieving over the miseries it was quickly producing, and ardently desiring to cure them. He fought against it, but unavailingly. When carried, he gave it passively a trial for the hopes held out by its supporters. After years of experience, when he found his country bleeding from every pore, and reduced to the degradation of a mere British province, he threw his tremendous powers of voice and pen, and his gigantic influence with his countrymen, into a determined and persistent agitation for its repeal.

In the 'thirties' he devoted his energies to the educa-

tional, poor-law, and tithes questions; and, placing confidence in Whig promises of ameliorating measures for the country, he contented himself in calling loudly for 'Justice to Ireland.' He was led to expect large measures of it, but, in this he was cruelly deceived; and early in the 'forties' he set about enrolling millions of his countrymen under the banner of Repeal. Unanswerable was the case made, chiefly by him, for his country. Ireland had been a nation before England had an alphabet. Now she was a down-trodden province, dominated over by avaricious and intolerant blood-suckers. The ablest lawyers, including the Government's own Attorney-General, had declared the Union binding only until it could be successfully defied. The Parliament that passed it had no power from God or man to do so. Votes for it were obtained by open bribery and fraud, at £8,000 a-piece. Upwards of a million sterling was expended in the purchase of the votes that carried it. Peerages, Protestant bishoprics, judgeships, positions in the army, navy, and Civil Service were bestowed in payment of votes. Public opinion in Ireland was despised during the negotiations. Public meetings against it were dispersed by force. Martial law was in full force, and the Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Intimidation to an alarming extent prevailed. Nearly one hundred thousand soldiers, with all the savagery of '98 attaching to their characters, occupied the island; and, notwithstanding, seven hundred thousand were found to petition against the Bill, while only three thousand, including officials, could be marshalled to petition in its favour. Carried by perjury, corruption, and intimidation the 'Union' became the law of the land.

The consequences of it were direful from the very start. Ruined trade, ruined commerce, increased taxation, increased absenteeism, forced emigration to get rid of the 'surplus' population, wholesale evictions, murders, prosecutions, martial law and the scaffold were the resultants. Curran, speaking in 1812, gives a summary of the effects of the 'Union' as follows :—

Our debt has accordingly been increased more than tenfold. The common comforts of life have been vanishing. We are

sinking into beggary; our poor people have been worried by cruel and unprincipled persecutions; and the instruments of our government have been almost simplified into the tax-gatherer and the hangman.

Twenty years more of arbitrary rack-renting, of exorbitant taxation, and of absentee drainage at the rate of £4,000,000 a year, reduced the people of Ireland to the state described by M. de Beaumont, who wrote that he had seen the Indian in his forests and the negro in his chains—‘they are not the lowest term of human misery. Irish misery forms a type of itself, of which there exists nowhere else either model or imitation.’

Well did O’Connell know that the real cure, and by degrees did he learn that the only cure, for Ireland’s grievances was in the restoration of its Parliament. The time had come, if it had not passed, to strike a great constitutional blow for that object. All British Ministers, and almost all Great Britain, were solid against his attack. The ‘integrity of the Empire’ was at stake, the glory of England would be departed, the days of its power would be numbered, declared the Minister, if both sides of the Houses of Parliament did not unite in resisting Repeal of the Union.

The monster meetings came on. Hundreds of thousands of human beings, sober, peaceable, and determined, rallied at the various centres, to O’Connell’s call. Voices like thunder rent the air in response to his demand; and never did monarch rule more supremely than did ‘the uncrowned King of Ireland.’ The power of authority rests on the people; and here were the people of a nation almost unanimously clamouring for their Parliament to rule them. They did not rebel; they did not want to overthrow their ruler; they only wanted constitutionally what had been stolen unconstitutionally, though in the garb of the constitution, from them. A legitimate demand this, and irresistible if persevered in, by the powers of the constitution!

‘But will it be persevered in?’ argued the opponents of the measure. ‘We will attack the people in the monster meetings, shoot them down unarmed, and thus rid ourselves of the question.’

But no. Wily enough, O'Connell baffles them by disbanding himself the public meetings, and defies the ministers to make him break the law. They then prosecute and imprison him, and drive the people to fury; but his control and that of the bishops and priests restrains them, and again the ministers are baffled, and O'Connell, triumphant, is restored to liberty by the verdict of the ministers' own tribunal! On the agitation for repeal proceeds, passive resistance being opposed to lawlessness on the part of the law guardians: and, baffled by sundry constitutional stratagems, the tension becomes so great, the clamour for repeal so loud, so incessant, so powerful, these must inevitably, and soon, give up the opposition! But, alas! causes were at work that O'Connell could not control, and that, effectively for that period, baffled and defeated the great struggle of his life.

His policy, however, was practical, unexceptionably legitimate, and if loyally pursued, as has since been proved, bound to be successful. The same causes of failure are now producing like effects; and owing to them the struggle for the attainment of the darling ambition of O'Connell's life is unduly prolonged.

The already undue length of this paper, and the fear that politics are forbidden in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, forbid me to go more fully into the political aspect of O'Connell's career. Theoretic debates on ethical questions and revolutionary talk and tactics introduced dissension at his meetings. Young, chivalrous spirits, groaning impatiently at beholding the sufferings of their mother-country, and eager to right her wrongs, or die in the attempt, created disruption. Impatience at the restraint O'Connell put on, and imputations of despotism against him, fanned the flames of insubordination. Wily intriguers distorted the truth, circulated calumnies, and destroyed O'Connell's authority, and, with it, his power; and the terrible famine, fostered by the English Government that could and should have averted it, completed his defeat. Suffering from a disease brought on by mental labour in the service of his country, he died with a heart broken by affliction at the sufferings he was unable to relieve. He was

defeated in Parliament on a measure that would have saved Ireland from the famine without the loss of a penny to England, and this defeat produced the intensified grief that accelerated his death.

There is not much need to unfold O'Connell's public character. He was a man of whom any country might justly feel proud. A lawyer—he was the most renowned of the Irish Bar. A statesman—he was the admiration of liberty-loving people in its true sense in all the surrounding nations. A champion of civil and religious freedom—by his labours and victory, all the millions of British subjects are ever since in possession of that inestimable boon. A constitutional warrior for the emancipation from thralldom and for the national liberty of his countrymen, for which he fought in every action of his life, he stands unique in history in that position which can best enlist the admiration of humanity, and evoke for his memory its most grateful veneration. Pope Pius IX. describes him in words that should be indented in brass on the tablets of the Irish people as ‘the great champion of the Church, the father of his country, and the glory of the Christian world.’ His life was an eventful one. The battle he fought was a tremendous one. The victory he obtained was a glorious one. The cause in which he may be said to have died was a noble and glorious one, though as yet unwon, and his memory is a priceless and sacred heir-loom for the scattered Irish race.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

A MODERN EUCHARISTIC HYMN

THERE is a very beautiful modern hymn expressing the feelings of a soul after Holy Communion, to which, though I have called it modern, I am unable to assign date or authorship. It has been sometimes attributed to the saintly German priest, Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, famous even in Ireland sixty or seventy years ago; but no such claim is put forward in his behalf by his biographers, although they give copious extracts from the Prince's spiritual writings. An appeal to the readers of *The Tablet* newspaper elicited no information on this point. Perhaps I shall be more fortunate with the more learned constituency now addressed.

Many readers of these pages may have used this hymn for years in their post-communion devotions, but it may be perfectly novel for others; and it is useful for our present purpose to begin by giving the hymn in full in the original rhyming Latin, and to number the stanzas with a view to subsequent reference and comparison.

I.

Ad quem diu suspiravi
 Jesum tandem habeo !
 Hunc amplector quem optavi,
 Quem optavi teneo ;
 Omnes meae, exultate,
 Facultates animae,
 Exultate, triumphate,
 Et ingresso plaudite.

II.

Tristis eram et abjectus
 Eram sine gaudio,
 Quia aberat dilectus,
 Quem prae cunctis diligo ;
 Sed ut venit et intravit
 Animae tugurium,
 O quam dulce permeavit
 Meum cor solatium !

III.

Non sic terras umbris tectas
Gratus sol illuminat,
Non sic aestibus dejectas
Nimbus herbas recreat,
Sicut animam languentem
Refocillat Dominus,
Hanc tristantem et torpentem
Novis donat viribus.

IV.

Felix dies, felix hora,
Quâ me, Jesu, visitas,
Pulchra nimis et decora
Lux ad me quâ properas ;
Qui te tenet habet satis,
Quia qui te possidet,
Uberem felicitatis
Verae fontem obtinet.

V.

Quis non tuam admiretur
Bonitatem, Domine,
Si quod facis meditetur
Serio examine ?
Ad te ruo, ad me ruis,
Et me sinis protinus
Immiscere meos tuis
Amplexus amplexibus.

VI.

Nihil eram, me creasti
Ex obscuro nihilo,
Divinaeque me donasti
Rationis radio ;
Pro me nasci voluisti
In deserto stabulo,
Et finire morte tristi
Vitam in patibulo.

VII.

Praeter dona quibus ditas
Me diebus singulis,
Dapes hodie mellitas
Datis addis gratiis ;
O voluptas cordis mei,
Jesu dilectissime !
In me regna, Fili Dei,
Regna, regna, libere.

VIII.

In me proprium amorem
Tam potenter eneces,
Ut te amem et adorem
Solum sicut dignus es.
In me tolle quod est puris
Grave tuis oculis,
Ut sic arctius venturis
Tibi jungar saeculis.

IX.

Oriente sole mane,
Occidente vespérâ,
Bone Jesu, mecum mane,
Mecum semper habita ;
Nil a te, nec mors, nec vita,
Nil a te me separet ;
Unio sit infinita,
Quam vis nulla terminet.

X.

Canam donec respirabo
Gratiarum cantica,
Millies haec iterabo
In coelesti patria ;
Quando te, remoto velo,
Sicut es aspiciam,
Et cum angelis in coelo
In aeternum diligam.

Of these stanzas—which seem to possess a high degree of literary merit, melodious and poetical, yet expressing their meaning with great earnestness, directness, and simplicity—the first version I met with, even before seeing the original, was in a small paper-covered pamphlet of translated hymns, published by James Duffy of Dublin, and in reality detached from *The Book of Catholic Prayers*, which is known to have been edited by a pious layman prominent in all Dublin Catholic affairs in the middle of the nineteenth century, William Nugent Skelly. His appendix of new translations was the work of the Rev. Michael Archbold Kavanagh, S.J. Father Kavanagh was born in Dublin on the 11th of October, 1805, entered the Society of Jesus September 19th, 1823, and died in St. Francis Xavier's, Gardiner street, Dublin,

February 13th, 1863. He was for some years Rector of Clongowes Wood College. His devotion to St. Joseph was very great, and one of his ways of showing it was the publication of *The Month of March in Honour of St. Joseph*, which is still in circulation. The following is this holy man's rendering of the *Ad quem diu Suspiravi*:—

I.

JESUS, source of every blessing,
Whom I sighed for, I possess.
He is mine ; and Him possessing,
I have found true happiness.
Oh ! my soul, with joy high swelling,
Welcome, welcome the loved Guest,
Who thus deigns to fix His dwelling
In a sinful mortal's breast.

II.

I was sad—in deep dejection—
Nothing could my grief allay ;
For the object of affection
That I most prized was away.
He is come to me, and gladness
Thrills my late afflicted heart :
As He entered, grief and sadness
Were seen instant to depart.

III.

Less the sun at morning glowing,
Dissipates night's lingering gloom ;
Less the breeze, in summer blowing,
Cheers the drooping flowret's bloom,
Than the Lord, at His arrival,
Frees from darkening shades the mind,
And, through grace, a prompt revival
Bids the languid heart to find.

IV.

Happy day, and happy hour,
Jesus, when Thou comest to me !
Oh ! what visit hath a power
To delight, as one from Thee ?
He who has Thee needs no treasure,
Of enough he is possessed—
He hath riches without measure,
He with endless joy is blessed.

V.

Who is he that will not wonder
At Thy goodness, King of kings,
Should he but one moment ponder
On the bliss Thy coming brings?
Thou, Thine arms outstretched to meet me,
Comest crowned with every grace,
I with panting heart to greet Thee,
Rush into Thy fond embrace.

VI.

I was nothing—Thou hast made me,
Work of Thy own hands divine,
And gave reason's light to aid me,
Lest to err my heart incline.
Born for me in Bethlehem's manger,
Reared in Nazareth's lowly shed,
Thou hast lived on earth a stranger,
And for me on Calvary bled.

VII.

Here, besides the daily favours
Which my soul receives from Thee,
Food is given that sweetly savours—
Food of immortality.
Oh! thou source of all my pleasure,
Jesus, dearest to my soul;
I will love Thee without measure;
Rule me Thou without control.

VIII.

Let self-love within me perish,
That, from all its shackles free,
I may henceforth seek to cherish
One love only—love for Thee.
Banish from my soul whatever
Might offend Thy blessed sight,
That the future may not sever,
But still more our hearts unite.

IX.

Jesus! when the sun is rising—
When at eve he sinks to rest—
May he find me fondly prizing
Thy dear presence in my breast.
Let nor life nor death dividing
End our union's blissful state—
Union endlessly abiding,
Which no power may terminate.

x.

I will sing, whilst life is given,
 Hymns to Thee in grateful strain :
 When through Thy grace placed in heaven,
 I will sing these hymns again.
 Yes, when to the saints revealing
 What Thou so concealest now,
 I shall gaze, with rapturous feeling,
 On my Lord's unclouded brow.

Something may here be said about two little words which occur at the beginning of this very devout canticle—the only words perhaps that savour of exaggeration and unreality. They are not represented in Father Kavanagh's version :—

*Ad quem diu suspiravi,
 Jesum tandem habeo.*

He whom I have sighed for long,
 Jesus is my own at last.

That *diu* and *tandem*, that *long* and *at last*, how can they be said truthfully by the devout communicant who approaches the altar rails once at least, every week? How can they be repeated with sincerity by the priest, who says every morning *Introibo ad altare Dei*? or by the Christians who attach a eucharistic meaning to that petition of the *Pater Noster*, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' and make the Blessed Eucharist the daily food of their souls? No doubt, this *jubilus animae Christianae*, this cry of jubilation at the fulfilment of long-cherished desires, would be more appropriate on the lips of one who had been absent for a considerable time from the Holy Table. When a priest has been prevented by sickness from offering up the Holy Sacrifice, we know, or we can guess, his joy when at last he is allowed again to mount the altar. It is something like the ecstasy of another First Communion. But happier are they for whom the privilege is not enhanced by its unusualness; happier are they for whom familiarity produces, not the ungracious effect that the common saying attributes to it, but at least a calming of the heart's feelings, a less vivid

sense of the ineffable favour, a greater degree of at-homeness with the sublime mysteries of the sanctuary.

Yet even for these the *diu* and *tandem* of our hymn may have a tender significance; even these must try, day by day, to feel anew that 'longing' which, in more than one language, is connected etymologically with the expression that we are analyzing. *Il me tarde de vous voir*. 'I long to see you.' And, if our faith and love were what they ought to be, we too should 'think long' even the short interval between communion and communion, and we should 'long' for the return of those precious moments of sacramental union in which we can say:—

*Ad quem diu suspiravi,
Jesum tandem habeo.*

When, some years later, the original of this hymn had become familiar to me, I had forgotten Father Kavanagh's translation, which, at any rate, as we have seen in the first two lines, had not striven to produce the very words of the unknown author with scrupulous fidelity. This attempt I made, with the following result:—

I.

HE whom I have sighed for long,
Jesus is my own at last;
Whom I've sought with yearning strong,
I embrace, I hold Him fast.
Oh! my soul, exult, rejoice,
All thy powers in worship bow,
And with glad triumphant voice
Welcome Him who enters now.

II.

Sad and spiritless I lay,
I had neither joy nor rest,
For the loved One was away
Whom o'er all I love the best.
But since He hath come anew
To my soul's poor hovel here,
Oh! what solace sweet and true
Doth my inmost being cheer!

III.

As before the sun's bright glow,
Shadows from the earth retreat ;
As soft rains on flowers bestow
Freshness after withering heat :
So, more softly, Jesus comes
To revive the drooping heart,
And when weary sadness numbs,
Warmth and vigour to impart.

IV.

Happy day and happy hour,
Jesus, when Thou visitest !
Fairest hour of grace and power,
When Thou speedest to my breast.
He who holdeth Thee hath all,
Nor can ask for more than this—
Thee his own, his own to call,
Fullest fount of truest bliss.

V.

Who but marvels, Lord, to tell
Of Thy goodness, passing thought,
When he ponders long and well
On the work Thou here hast wrought.
Thee I rush to, Thou to me
Rushest with a lover's haste—
Sufferest me to cling to Thee,
Each embracing and embraced !

VI.

I was nought: Thy hand divine
Drew me out of nothingness.
Reason's light, a ray from Thine,
Did my darkling spirit bless.
For my sake Thou wouldst be born
In a stable lone and drear,
And wouldst on the Cross forlorn
Sadly close Thy exile here.

VII.

To the gifts wherewith my days
Are enriched with lavish store,
Thou this morn in wondrous ways
Addest one sweet banquet more.
Oh ! my heart's delight Thou art,
Dearest Jesus, Thou alone !
Son of God, reign in my heart,
Freely reign as on Thy throne.

VIII.

From my bosom more and more
Be all love of self removed,
Till I love Thee and adore
Solely as Thou shouldst be loved.
Take from me within, around,
All that might Thy eyes offend ;
So shall I be closer bound
To Thy heart when life shall end.

IX.

When the sun ascends each day—
When it sinks, and day is o'er—
Stay with me, good Jesus! stay,
Dwell with me for evermore.
Nothing, neither death nor life,
Nothing me from Thee must sever—
Union, with all blessings rife,
Which no force can rend for ever.

X.

I will sing, while heart shall beat,
Canticles of grateful love,
And a thousand times repeat
In the heavenly land above ;
When unveiled it shall be given,
As Thou art, Thy face to see,
And, with angels bright in heaven,
I will love eternally.

The odd lines of the foregoing version are content with what we may call *rime suffisante*, whereas in the Latin those lines are rendered more sonorous by what French prosody would call *rime riche*. This dissyllabic rhyming I purposely neglected, as impossible in a fairly exact translation, though I now perceive that Father Kavanagh had accomplished it. Several years afterwards I found that the feat which I shrank from attempting, that closer conformity to the original metre, had already been achieved by a more skilful translator. The learned Redemptorist, Father Bridgett, translated our hymn a few months after his conversion, which took place a few years after Cardinal Newman's. His version remained in manuscript some forty

years till I ventured to put it into print without asking the writer's leave. But, since then, Father Bridgett has himself included it in his holy and beautiful *Lyra Hieratica*, which I of course follow in a few emendations :—

I.

HIM for whom my soul has panted,
 Jesus, my embraces hold ;
 To my earnest longings granted,
 Granted to my fervours bold.
 Powers by which my soul rejoices,
 Shout in one exulting chord !
 Shouting loud with jubilant voices,
 Greet the entrance of your Lord.

II.

Sad I was, my heart dejected,
 Joy nor hope my spirit moved ;
 Reft of Him my soul's elected,
 Reft of Him my best beloved.
 When He came and lowly entered
 'Neath the threshold of my breast ;
 Oh, how sweetly round Him centred
 Solaces of heavenly rest !

III.

Not so bright o'er shadowy mountains
 Bursts the radiance of the sun ;
 Not so sweetly do the fountains
 O'er the withered herbage run,
 As the lonely soul down-drooping
 Kindles at her Lord's embrace,
 As, beneath her burdens stooping,
 New-born powers the spirit grace.

IV.

Blessings teem, the day adorning,
 Jesus, when Thou com'st to me ;
 Light and beauty deck the morning
 Bounteously to welcome Thee.
 Every joy Thy presence bringeth,
 Every wish the spirit gains ;
 For in Thee a fount upspringeth—
 Fount which store of bliss contains.

V.

Is there one who would not wonder
At Thy goodness, gracious Lord,
If with serious heart he ponder
On Thy wonder-working word?
To Thy arms I trembling hasten,
Thou my coming flyest to meet;
Here Thou deign'st Thy arms to fasten,
Deign'st my love with love to greet.

VI.

I was nothing : in Thy power
Me from nought Thou didst create,
And with reason's princely power
Didst my soul illuminate.
Thou for me an Infant tender
In deserted crib wast born
And for me Thy life didst render
On the hated Cross, forlorn.

VII.

Every day with gifts amazing
Thou all measure dost exceed ;
But to-day, Thyself surpassing,
On Thyself Thou biddest me feed.
Oh, what heart-felt transports win me !
Jesus, name of mighty love !
Son of God, reign freely in me—
Reign, oh ! reign my heart above.

VIII.

Grant that I, all creatures spurning,
Pride and self may wholly slay,
Till to Thee my heart returning
Worship due and love shall pay.
Cleanse whate'er my soul defaces
In Thine awful purity ;
So may I in close embraces
Live with Thee eternally.

IX.

When the sun illumines the heaven,
When he sinks into the West,
Dearest Lord, from morn till even
With me ever take Thy rest.
Nought from Thee my soul may sever,
Life nor death may stay our love,
In sweet union living ever—
Union which no power can move.

X.

While with life my heart is beating,
Ceaseless hymns of praise I'll pour ;
Still I'll sing, in heaven repeating,
Hymns from never-failing store :
When, from sight each veil upraising,
All Thy beauty I shall see,
And, with choirs of angels praising,
Love Thee through eternity.

Many have for years found comfort and devotion in making Prince Hohenlohe's hymn (if his it be) one of their habitual prayers after Mass or Holy Communion. Perhaps some who see it now for the first time, may use it henceforth for the same purpose, either in the Latin original, or in one of our English versions.

MATTHEW RUSSELL.

ANGLICANISM AS IT IS

III.

I PROPOSE now to take my readers a little behind the scenes, and show them what Anglicanism is in its dealing with those who are unsettled in regard to the claims of Rome.

There are amongst the High Anglicans some who never seem to experience a moment's doubt as to the mission of the Establishment to provide for the spiritual wants of the English people. I say the Establishment, for although some of these are very full of the spiritual independence of the so-called Church of England, and express themselves as quite certain that her mission has nothing to do with the external accidents, as they say, of the Church in this land, still I am firmly persuaded that were it not for the social position and temporal advantages which accrue to her through her connection with the State, their imagination would lead them to picture to themselves the possibility, to say no more, of the Church coping with the needs of

Englishmen more successfully than their own religious body has done, in regard to those points of doctrine which they consider to be fundamental.

Now this question of success enters very largely into the arguments with which the Anglican director plies some minds when they seem to be drawing towards Rome. 'Look at the way in which infidelity has increased in countries where the Church of Rome has had full sway. Can she be the predestined guide of our souls when she has lost France, Italy, and Germany?' As it is not my purpose to give the full answers to the difficulties suggested by Anglican directors, I will merely indicate the line of argument which every Catholic instinctively feels to be the true one, and pass on. In regard to France, Italy, and Germany, no Anglican takes into account the supernatural atmosphere which still pervades those countries—of course, Italy and France especially. They know little or nothing of the frequent returns to the Sacraments, of the way in which now and again the poor turn to their mother, the Church, and of the fact that so soon as a man becomes religious at all, he instinctively turns to the Sacraments. In the case of an Englishman, you have to teach him a number of things which High Anglicans admit to be true and necessary; the practical mode of returning to God is under dispute; his new-born religious convictions may just as likely take the form of the Wesleyan cult, or of the Low Church method of worship. With all that the High Church have done to familiarize the public with the idea of confession, the 'converted' man will not necessarily turn to that, since he is allowed by the Church of England to go to Communion without that discipline, and, indeed, if he goes by the example of the greater number, he will certainly do without it. This is only one instance of how the Catholic Church retains her hold over the masses in countries where she has once been supreme, but where the political atmosphere has become anti-Catholic. Italy, and France, and Spain, are happy in, at any rate, not having had a 'Reformation.' They stand higher in morals, in a very vital point, than England and Scotland, and they

have a recuperative power in the matter of religious discipline, which is a lingering witness to the supernatural origin of the Catholic system.

A kindred argument is taken from the position which England has achieved in the world since the so-called Reformation. It is the old logical fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. It also comes badly from the lips of those who are professing to be the special champions of the supernatural. For growth in the supernatural has no promise of a proportionate growth in the natural order. The latter, therefore, is no infallible token of the former. "They have their reward"—have it to the full—now and here—should be remembered. Moreover, we have to consider whether material prosperity is the handmaid of happiness, whether if we look at the cost at which England's prosperity has been gained, the dull, morose, iron-bound life, which has been the accompaniment of her material prosperity, is not a fearful comment on that separation from the rest of Christendom, which has been her special feature for three hundred years. Take the life of an under-clerk in an office eighty years ago; consider the cheerless, money-grubbing, comfortless career of those who helped to build up the material prosperity, which is invoked as the sign of heaven's smile; take the life of a factory girl now; look at the crushed youth and forlorn old age of the multitudes, and then compare this with the comparatively merry life of a Catholic Irish hut, when the iniquitous heel of Protestant England was doing its best to crush out all that belongs to man, as made to the image of God: compare it with the life of the poor in the Tyrol, or of the peasant in the Basque Provinces, and our conclusion must be, that if we argue from the facts in all their completeness, we shall be driven to the conclusion that God's earth has known no such blight as that which goes by the name of the Reformation. If it was the real cause, though there is no proof of this, of material prosperity, it quenched the happiness, the buoyancy, the gaiety of millions.

I have spoken of England's isolation. Here the

Anglican director has a greater difficulty to face. It is simply a matter of fact, that no one belonging to the Greek schism has ever condescended to 'receive' at the Anglican 'altar.' Here and there, an Anglican in the present day has managed to persuade a Greek priest to give him the Eucharist; but never *vice versa*. But this difficulty is met by saying that 'it will come.' Many things are *in futuro* with the Anglican; many things which one would have supposed he would count amongst the present necessities of the Church. Extreme Unction, or Unction of the sick in any form, is 'to come'; a bishop who will teach invocation of saints is very much 'to come;' agreement as to vital doctrines between the bishops is 'to come'; discipline as to the Sacraments is 'to come,' and so also is a bishop on the bench who will teach the absolute indissolubility of the marriage tie, and an actual provincial synod of bishops, in place of Lambeth 'Conferences,' or Convocation; the prohibition of marriage after ordination, as in (what an Anglican would call) 'the rest of the Church;' and still more, the prohibition of second marriages of the clergy; and yet further still, the prohibition of marriage after episcopal 'consecration,' in which matter both the archbishops have exercised a liberty unknown to Christendom in all ages—all these improvements are at most *in futuro*. But be patient, says the Anglican director, and all will come right; we are on the mend; when you compare what we were with what we are, how can you set limits to what we may yet be?

And so with this matter of isolation. The Greeks and the Easterns will recognise us yet, the doubter is told; and then we shall have two 'branches' at one with each other; and who knows whether Rome will not fall into line? Patience is the great thing.

And it is wonderful what a little will cheer the Anglican director, and be expected to cheer the Anglican doubter, in the way of preliminaries. Friendly things said by Russians to Anglicans, when England and Russia are not at war, are quite enough in the way of crumbs. Comfort will be derived from the visit of a Greek archbishop, even though

he be reprimanded on his return, as was the case with one who gave his blessing at certain Anglican functions. Giving a welcome to an Anglican archbishop, who comes in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, not avowedly indeed, but in reality in the eyes of Russian dignitaries, such things are quite enough to fire the imagination of the Anglican ; the rest will come ; only wait.

Few Anglicans see through the hollowness of any *rapprochement* which leaves the Greek bishop free to anathematize, as he does, anyone who does not believe in the invocation of saints, and of the Blessed Mother of God, and at the same time leaves the Anglican Bishop free to denounce the same belief (as he will at home), as obscuring the mediation of Christ. Few even see the chasm that yawns between the two, so long as no Greek bishop would receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of an Anglican, which never has been, and we may safely say, never will be done till the day of doom.

Again, the mere existence of the Greek schism is a potent argument with the Anglican director. His history does not tell him the plain truth as to the moral degradation of those that brought it about, and the Erastianism to which it is due, and of which its continued existence is at once child and parent. Think, he says, of the millions that differ from Rome, with their ancient undoubted hierarchy, and the tenacity with which they adhere to all that is primitive and orthodox. He says nothing of all that he thought an argument against Rome ; of the state of the countries where this imaginary orthodoxy flourishes, or of the morality produced ; the very name Eastern is redolent of awe, and a claim to orthodoxy passes for its profession, and the emphatic witness of its teaching against some of the fundamental tenets of Anglicanism goes for nothing.

But the Church of England is, beyond all else, the great witness to the value of history. So at least the Anglican director persuades the doubter. Rome has flung history to the winds. She had one great historian, but she cast him out. True, the only histories he wrote were as subversive of Anglicanism as anything ever produced by the pen of man ;

but then he became—well, it is hard to say what he became; for he respected the excommunication passed on him, and refrained from saying Mass, thereby cutting up the Anglican position by the roots; he coquetted, indeed, with Anglicans, but he expressed his mistrust of a system which permitted married bishops, contrary to all history, and altogether failed to throw in his lot in a practical way with the Neo-Protestants, or, as they call themselves, Old Catholics. An Anglican, if he does set to work at history, is indebted to Catholics for his materials; and fragments of history which would be as child's play to a Catholic professor on the Continent, are held up as signs of the erudition of the Church of England. A religious body, or a section of a religious body, which could receive Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* as ecclesiastical history proves its own unfamiliarity with the rudiments of that department of knowledge. And yet Rome's ignorance is a commonplace argument with our friends the High Anglicans. It is an extraordinary infatuation; it may well provoke a smile of almost incredulity with some of my readers; it seems natural to ask, can such people be in good faith? But so it is; there is many a sincere man who knows no more of history nor of theology than he would gain from the very slender equipment of an Anglican theological college, who will demurely and oraculantly hold forth on the terrible indifference to history and to truth evinced by 'Rome;' and succeed—for that is the strange part of the matter—in impressing his hearer with a sense of danger in drawing near to what yet he calls a branch of the *one* Church. It is impossible that the recent reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* should have received the welcome it has in some quarters, unless theology and history had sunk to a very low ebb indeed in the Establishment. But this being so, our Anglican director has an easy task in persuading himself that he is representing history when he indulges in his platitudes about Anglicanism and the Primitive Church.

Such are some of the arguments which are pressed on the High Anglican when he or she begins to doubt the 'catholicity' of the English Church. But there are two

on which the eloquence of the Anglican director rises to a climax. One is the ingratitude of turning one's back upon the sacraments of the Anglican Church. No one who has not either lived in the Anglican atmosphere, or become acquainted, as a Catholic priest, with the epistolary literature with which the doubter amongst Anglicans is assailed, can form any idea of the tremendous energy with which this weapon is used. For myself, I have experienced both. I have before me a letter, a type of its class, written by one of the most esteemed leaders of what is called the 'Catholic movement' in the Church of England. It is addressed to a lady who found her way into the Church. Her former director speaks of Roman Catholics as reviling our Lord by virtue of their opposition to the Church of England. The denial of Anglican Orders is held to be equivalent to this sin of reviling our Lord. The appeal in such cases is not to any intelligent and literary appreciation of the question of those orders from a theological or historical point of view; but to the spiritual experiences of which the doubter has been the recipient in the use of ordinances which he or she believed to be true sacraments. You turn your back on the sacraments which have been to you such a blessing. The argument is one of immense force to the profoundly untheological mind of the ordinary Anglican. They *have* experienced spiritual blessings. Catholics will for ever beat the air if they do not recognise this. To deal with the case *as it is*, they must realize the fact that people sometimes go on for years using all the Catholic devotions which centre round the altar, and that their spiritual life appears to ebb and flow in complete correspondence with their disuse or more careful use of these devotions. Consequently, their sacraments, as they call them, are a reality *to them*, and the fear of leaving our Lord in leaving them is no unnatural feeling.

I need not say, in a Catholic magazine, how delusive the argument from experience is; how experiences only prove their own reality; but the point is, that there they are, and the argument drawn from them must be dealt with tenderly as well as with theological precision. Ridicule

and contempt is out of the place here ; not, indeed, with the thing, but with the persons. One point that has to be pressed is, that all these are but steps to something further. We need not deny the reality of what such persons adduce, but the conclusion which they draw. But it will be easily seen how strong is the appeal to tender consciences, and how carefully it must be dealt with in endeavouring to counteract the conclusion. It will also be seen that we need to do a great deal more than has yet been done by way of bringing home to the well-disposed amongst them the truths contained in the recent Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, especially as it bears on the nature of a sacrament. Protestants are, of course, not to be confuted by an authority which they do not recognise ; they must be brought to see the grounds on which it rests. The Anglican director very often assumes an air of magnificent authority himself ; he professes to speak in the name of scholarship and history ; it must be shown (and how easily in this case it can be shown since the flimsy reply of the two Archbishops !) that they have neither on their side.

I have kept to the last one argument, far more used than people not well acquainted with the subject would imagine, but of which Anglican directors ought to be ashamed. It is the argument derived from scandals. Two assumptions are generally made in the use of this argument—first, that the Anglicans themselves are particularly free from certain scandals ; and, secondly, that there is no sufficient sanctity exhibited in what they call the Church of Rome to form a stronger argument for, than all the scandals (even if substantiated) would be against, her claim to be a supernatural system.

Both these assumptions are, I believe, due in part to ignorance. As one who, through accidental circumstances, had opportunities of knowing the Church of England in her real working for nearly thirty years to an extent that probably few have shared, I feel justified in assuming that ignorance is at the bottom of much which is assumed in this matter by Anglican directors. When I made my submission, I received a letter from one, whose name has been very

prominent of late, entreating me not to use my unparalleled knowledge of things in the Church of England for purposes of disunion. I have never done so ; I should be ashamed to have recourse to such mean devices. I do not consider such arguments valid. I have read St. Augustine's writings against the Donatists, and anyone who has read these knows how utterly un-Catholic such an argument is. But no chivalry seems to prevent Anglican directors from using this weapon of detraction. Only recently, a very prominent controversialist set afloat amongst undergraduates at Oxford an account of his having been solicited at an Italian seaport by a priest to go to a home of bad fame. Assuming that this person knew the language well enough to be quite sure of his account of the matter, we might well ask if the said priest did take this person (as he assumed) for a fellow-priest, which is most unlikely ; or, again, whether this was a priest at all, or someone who had assumed a priest's dress, as we know happens in those regions ; but even if we make these assumptions, we may well ask whether it is well, for purposes of controversy, to descend to this kind of argument, which would tell fatally against the so-called Reformation, when morality went to the winds with a vengeance, according to the confession of those connected with it. However, so it is, that the amount of stories, true or false, which do duty for arguments, not only with the Protestant Alliance, but with High Church directors, when driven into straits for argument, is much greater than one would have imagined considering the pretensions made to Catholic teaching.

On the other hand, whilst the real meaning of the Church's note of sanctity is thus ignored, by retailing scandals, as was the custom of the Donatists, according to St. Augustine, its true idea is depraved in another way. Many a doubter can resist all the arguments so far, but finds himself, or herself, unequal to the plea that such good men as Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and others, have remained in the Church of England. Who am I that I should set myself above them ? What was good enough for them must be good enough for me. Anglicans do not, as a rule, know that this is an utterly un-Catholic application of the note of

sanctity. If Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble had worked miracles, that is to say, if Almighty God had countersigned their appearance of goodness by this mark of favour, there would be more to be said for it. Even then it would be a misapplied argument; for the Catholic and Roman Church has been beforehand in this matter, and her prestige cannot now be dimmed by an occasional outburst of seeming miracle; with her, miracle has been habitual and age-long, and if an Anglican is going to pin his faith to an individual or two who, we will suppose, seems to have worked a miracle, he fails to appreciate the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is the home of miracle, and ought therefore to be his own home. But the goodness of a few clergymen is an unanswerable argument to some minds, whilst the witness of the saints to the system in which they believed is unequal to the task of counterbalancing the argument thus derived from a few sincere believers in Anglicanism.

My object in the foregoing remarks has been to photograph, as well as I could, the situation in which a devout Anglican finds himself when the claims of Rome come before him. If I have in any way succeeded, one thing would seem to follow—viz., that we have to deal with a complicated problem, and that our work lies before us.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE 'IMITATION OF CHRIST'?

VI.

THE third candidate for the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ*, whose pretensions we must discuss, is John Gersen, a supposed Benedictine abbot of Vercelli, who is stated to have lived, and, moreover, to have written the book, in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Hitherto we have dealt with individuals about whose existence there can be no doubt. Thomas à Kempis and John Charlier de Gerson were realities beyond question; and whatever may have been their relation to *The Imitation*, no one can deny that they lived and did great work in the field of spiritual literature. This much cannot be averred of John Gersen. He is neither more nor less than a phantom. His first appearance before the world dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century (some four hundred years subsequent to his supposed existence), and came to pass after this fashion:—

In the year 1604, in a house of the Jesuits at Arona, on the Lago Maggiore, Father Bernard Rossignoli, S.J., found an undated manuscript of *The Imitation of Christ*. This was the famous Arona Codex. At the end of the fourth book is written: "Explicit liber quartus et ultimus Abbatis Johannis Gersen de sacramento altaris." In other portions of the manuscript the author is named Gessen or Geschen once (the name being here very difficult to decipher), and Gessen thrice. As this house of the Jesuits had formerly been a monastery of the Benedictines, Father Rossignoli imagined that the book belonged to their library, and leaped to the conclusion that it originated with that great Order. Very precipitately, as subsequent events proved, he put forward the Codex as such, and thus gave origin to a most extraordinary fable.

In the year 1617 Father Majoli, another Jesuit who had

made his noviceship at Arona, hearing the story, came forward, and made a *declaration* to the effect that it was he who had brought the Codex to Arona from his paternal home in Genoa! Thus Father Rossignoli's idea was proved to be a mistake. However, Majoli's avowal came too late to prevent an absurd and vexatious controversy. The manuscript had fallen into the hands of Constantine Cajetan, an enthusiastic Benedictine, who, in his anxiety to add to the abundant laurels of his Order the paternity of the great treasure, actually published it in Rome in 1616, asserting that it was the work of 'the Venerable John Gessen, a Benedictine Abbot.' In a second edition, brought out in 1618, he re-baptized the imaginary author as 'John Gersen,' which appellation has survived to the present day.

It was useless to argue that Gersen was a common mode, as we have seen, of writing the name of Gerson, the Parisian Chancellor—that it was quite natural to style him 'abbot,' as he was actually *Abbé commendataire* of St. Jean-en-Grève; the new interpretation suited the novel craze, and must be worked out to the bitter end. Without disparaging Cajetan we may truthfully say that he carried his enthusiasm to folly, as may be seen by the facts related concerning him by Malou and others. At all events, the new candidate was launched upon the world, and all the powers of the great Order of St. Benedict were put forward in the attempt to substantiate his claim. Immediately on the appearance of Cajetan's edition of *The Imitation*, Heribert Rosweyd, a learned Belgian Jesuit, took up the challenge, and published his *Vindiciae Kempenses*, which remains to this day one of the ablest essays ever written on the subject, and a model for controversialists. It had no effect, however, on the enthusiastic sponsor of the imaginary John Gersen.

As no one had ever heard before of such an individual as the new candidate, it became necessary to give him a habitation, a country, a birthplace—aye, and even a portrait. All this was done by a series of processes indicating more fertile imagination than historical truth.

A copy of *The Imitation*, printed in Venice and dated

1501, gave the needful clue. Upon this volume some unknown writer had traced the following note:—‘Hunc librum non compilavit Johannes Gerson, sed D. Johannes . . . Abbas Vercellensis . . . ut habetur usque hodie propria manu scriptus in eadem abbazia.’ This was enough for Cajetan. John Gersen, as a matter of course, was Abbot of Vercelli, and an Italian! It mattered nothing that the name of the asserted Vercellese author was not given; moreover, the fact was overlooked that this written note is undoubtedly falsified, as Delfau and Naudé declare. The idea fitted Cajetan’s wishes, and therefore must be true.

By-and-by it became necessary to find a birthplace for Gersen. That was promptly done. A manuscript of *The Imitation* (the Allacianus), which attributes the book to John Tambaco, a learned Dominican of the fourteenth century, answered this want perfectly. Tambaco, misread by confusion between the letters T and C, gave the author as John Cambaco, or Canabaco, and this word, by a process wholly unknown to philology, was metamorphosed into Cavaglia, a village near Vercelli, in which Gersen was stated to have been born!

The next necessity was to provide a portrait of the newly-discovered hero. This likewise was accomplished without delay. The so-called *Codex Cavensis* has a picture of a monk painted within the letter Q at the commencement of the first sentence, *Qui Sequitur me*. This picture is stated by the Gersenists to represent a Benedictine monk—no other than John Gersen! They ignored the circumstance that this manuscript bears neither name nor date, and that there is strong evidence that it never belonged to the Benedictine Monastery of La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples. In 1833 an enthusiastic Gersenist, the Chevalier de Grégory, enlarged the picture and placed it as a frontispiece to his work.

Let us here recapitulate. By Father Rossignoli’s proven error in supposing that the Arona Codex ever belonged to the Benedictine library at Arona; by the blunder of a copyist so ill informed that he spells the supposed author’s name in three different ways, and called him Abbot; and by the

vivid imagination of Dom Cajetan ;—we have the new candidate put forward as the Venerable John Gersen, Abbot of the Benedictine Order. By a falsified and utterly worthless note in the Venice edition we find him represented as an Abbot of Vercelli, and therefore an Italian ; by a misreading of the name of John Tambaco we find him born at Cavaglia ; and, finally, by a *coup de main* of extravagant fancy, we have his portrait manufactured out of the illuminated Q in the so-called *Codex Cavensis* !

Verily, what more could be needed to prove Gersen's existence, and claim to the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* !

Still, we must follow Cajetan's eccentricities a little further. The question will be asked, When did Gersen flourish as Abbot of Vercelli ? Probably with the idea of ante-dating *The Imitation of Christ*, so as to put Thomas à Kempis and John Charlier de Gerson out of the field, the new candidate was asserted to belong to the thirteenth century. Most certainly the Arona manuscript (which I have myself carefully examined) never justified such an assumption, all competent authorities referring it to the fifteenth century. However, careful search was made, which proved that in neither of the monasteries of Vercelli—St. Andrew's, belonging to the Canons Regular, and St. Stephen's, the Benedictine Convent—was there any record of an abbot of the name of John Gersen. All this made no matter, Dom Cajetan and a host of Benedictines held to the myth—the Augustinian Canons Regular could not abandon the just and solid claims of Thomas à Kempis. Accordingly two powerful Orders entered the lists, partisans joined the fray on both sides, the *mêlée* became European, and thus was inaugurated the most extraordinary controversy known in the history of literature. In process of time, popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen, of various nationalities, were drawn into the battle. Congresses were held, and various decisions arrived at. The Congregation of the Index, and even the Parliament of Paris were appealed to, and many bitter personal quarrels arose. Still, while partisans and theorists lived and died, the truth gradually rose to the surface.

It would be an unwarrantable trespass on my reader's patience to follow all the intricacies of this contest, which lasted nearly three hundred years, or to analyze what each combatant asserted or refuted; and it would be very painful to rake up all the bitterness and obliquity to which it has occasionally given rise.

The Kempists, from the days of the witty Amort up to the present, seem unable to resist the ludicrous view of the contention. Withal, levity is out of place in the discussion of an historical problem, although, if ever excusable it certainly would be so in the present instance.

For my own part, I have only to observe, that, having made a special study of the question for a good part of my life, and having conscientiously sought out all the information procurable, at home and abroad, I have been drawn to the conclusion that there is not the faintest scintilla of evidence that such a personage as John Gersen, of Vercelli, ever existed. In other words, I am perfectly satisfied that he is neither more nor less than a phantom.

Having discussed, at considerable length, in my essay of 1887, all that Gersen's advocates have advanced in his favour, I hesitate to do more than allude—very briefly—to the efforts they make in his favour.

I have already explained how he was invented by Dom Cajetan, and every step in that truly absurd process. Amongst the few latter-day partisans of the imaginary John Gersen, of Vercelli, we find the Chevalier De Grégory, the Père Mella, S.J., Dom Wolfsgruber, and Monseigneur Puyol. I will offer a few observations concerning each of these writers, and, for the rest, refer all interested in the subject—and with time at their disposal—to my original essay.

De Grégory appears, from his works, to have been an excellent Vercellese gentleman, no doubt imbued with good motives, filled with extravagant enthusiasm, of transparent simplicity, totally innocent of logic or historical acumen, and gifted with a very rare power of confusion.

The earlier part of his life appears to have been devoted to a search amongst manuscripts of *The Imitation* for one to

prove the existence of John Gersen. The result was a ludicrous failure. He gives a list of authorities in favour of the existence of his hero. The majority are unknown, and no reference is given to their works. This is a facile short cut out of his difficulty. Those he does name are actually *adverse* to his argument.

The latter portion of De Grégory's life was devoted to a different, but equally unsuccessful, mode of supporting the cause of Gersen. I shall briefly relate it. In the year 1830 he purchased from Techener, a bookseller in Paris, a manuscript of *The Imitation of Christ*, which was believed to have come from Italy. No sooner had he possessed himself of this treasure, than he examined it closely, and being totally unskilled in paleography, assigned it to the thirteenth century.

Inside the volume he discovered the names of its former owners. Beginning with the date of 1550, was a list of various members of a family known by the appellation 'Avogadro;' in Latin 'De Advocatis.' Now, it so happened that a noble family of that name still lived at Biella, near Vercelli. Here was a discovery; or, at all events, a foundation upon which to build a castle in the air! De Grégory lost no time in making known his good fortune, and communicating with the Avogadro family. Shortly afterwards, most marvellous to relate, a fragment of a diary was exhumed from amongst the archives of the said family, dated between 1345 and 1349, in which a certain Joseph De Advocatis makes allusion to a precious codex of *The Imitation of Christ*, which he avers was in the possession of his ancestors long before the time at which he wrote.

Led astray by a mass of fantasies, De Grégory now formulated and published his conclusions—

First. That his manuscript, the *Codex De Advocatis*, dated from the thirteenth century;

Secondly. That the diary, thenceforth known as the *Diarium De Advocatis*, referred to that Codex; and,

Thirdly. That all this (supposed) evidence favoured the cause of John Gersen.

At first, the real facts being unknown and unsuspected,

De Grégory succeeded in making several converts to his views, especially in Italy ; but by-and-by inexorable truth penetrated the mists of delusion, and the worthy Chevalier's castle vanished into thin air.

First. Critical examination proved that the newly-discovered manuscript of *The Imitation* really belonged to the fifteenth, and not the thirteenth, century ; and

Secondly. That the *Diarium* was a clumsy forgery.

Apart from these extraordinary deceptions, to which the Chevalier undoubtedly fell an innocent victim, it seems strange that any sane person should have attempted to erect from such a foundation any support for the pretensions of John Gersen. The *Codex de Advocatis* and the *Diarium* make no mention whatsoever of Gersen, and De Grégory ought to have known that there never was a particle of evidence to connect that mythical personage with Vercelli.

If, for the sake of argument, we were to concede what we know to be untrue—namely, that the *Codex de Advocatis* dated from the thirteenth century, and that the *Diarium* was a genuine document, De Grégory's defence of Gersen derived from these premisses would resolve itself into the following argument :—

First. The *Codex de Advocatis* dates from the thirteenth century.

Secondly. The *Diarium* alludes to that particular Codex.

Thirdly. Therefore John Gersen was the author !

Verily, if this is a specimen of De Grégory's logic, he was not a close reasoner. When, on the other hand, we grasp the real facts—namely, that the *Codex de Advocatis* is a fifteenth-century document, and the *Diarium* a forgery, then indeed we realize how utterly the Chevalier was himself deceived, and in turn misled those who accepted his opinions. So much for De Grégory. No one can read his works without arriving at the conclusion that what he considers facts are fables, that his conjectures are wild, and his conclusions untenable.

Mella and Wolfsgruber follow a line so similar—in fact,

identical -- that they differ only in the language in which they write. What may be affirmed of one applies in the main to the other. Wolfgruber's essay can best be described as a romance, charming reading for anyone totally ignorant of the subject, but deficient in any solid basis. Like Mella, he adopts the method of boldly stating his case—very attractively, I admit—and of ignoring or minimizing all that can be brought against him.

First, he gives an imaginary life of the supposed Abbot, including his birthplace, details of his early education, his friendships, and of course his works, including *The Imitation of Christ*. For all this there is not one particle of foundation! Wolfgruber's story, like many others, is quite credible until the other side is heard. Then it crumbles to dust—nay, more—the wonder begins to grow that anyone could write as he does, unless satisfied that his assertions could be verified. When the reader seeks for proofs he discovers that none exist.

Apart from the romantic element already alluded to, Wolfgruber's work, like Mella's, consists of a *réchauffé* of the usual exploded theories of the Gersenists—namely, the manuscripts asserted to be older than à Kempis,—the famous *Diarium de Advocatis*,—the imagined quotations from writers of the thirteenth century,—the Paulanus codex,—and so on. It may be said of it, that what is new is not true, and what is true is not new.

Probably the best comment I can make upon Wolfgruber's *Life and Work of John Gersen* is to record its effect upon a learned critic, the late Père Schneemann, S.J., who at the time he studied it inclined to the side of Gersen and had actually written in his favour. The result of his examination of this essay was to shake his former belief so completely that he investigated the question anew, and became an avowed and ardent Kempist. I shall translate his words:—

Formerly I defended the rights of Gersen, and I believed them to be indisputable; I then took in hand, with the greatest interest, Wolfgruber's plea for Gersen believing that I should find therein arguments for my own justification. I was then in

the most favourable dispositions regarding Gersen ; but, after having studied this work profoundly, I began to doubt, and the rights of Gersen did not appear to me so certain. The more I examined the question in all its aspects, the more I felt myself led to believe that Thomas à Kempis had in reality written *The Imitation*."

Subsequently, Schneemann contributed a remarkable article in favour of Thomas à Kempis.

Since the publication of his work on John Gersen Dom Wolfsgruber has edited a pamphlet, entitled *Septem Motiva contra Thomam de Kempis*. Monseigneur Puyol also quotes this essay, the manuscript of which is to be found in the National Library in Paris. The document is a remarkable specimen of feebleness and confusion, and it is not easy to understand why Wolfsgruber and Puyol avail themselves of it, as it is certainly anti-Gersenist, and an absurdly weak attempt to dispute the claims of the great monk of Mount St. Agnes.

I am bound to confess myself indebted to Dom Wolfsgruber for my determination to examine the Paulanus manuscript, upon which he lays considerable stress. As I have already shown, this manuscript is worthless, its dates being forged ; and I pointed out this to Dom Wolfsgruber when I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance in Vienna, in the autumn of 1889. He had no reply to make.

Leaving De Grégory, Mella, and Wolfsgruber, we come to the most recent defender of the Gersenist fantasy—namely, Monseigneur Puyol. This erudite writer approaches the subject in a more scholarly fashion than his predecessors, discusses its points with ingenuity and at prodigious length ; but his arguments are shallow and his conclusions untenable. Assuming that this learned divine, in his elaborate treatise on *The Imitation of Christ*, has availed himself of all the learning that has ever been brought forward in favour of Gersen, I have read and re-read with close attention his ponderous octavo of five hundred and thirty pages. If not luminous, Puyol is certainly voluminous. I am obliged to add that I cannot find in anything or in all that he brings forward the smallest ground for accepting his opinions.

At first he endeavours to show a Benedictine origin of *The Imitation*, and therein totally fails. Then he seeks to depreciate a Kampis, and to represent him as incapable of the authorship of the great book. Here, again, forgetting or unconscious of the opposite demonstration of Rosweyd, Amert, Constan, and many others, whose knowledge on this point far exceeds his own, he collapses most ignominiously. Lastly, he seeks to represent *The Imitation* as an outcome of the spiritual school of Italy in the thirteenth century. The more we examine this theory the more visionary it becomes, until it finally vanishes; and we are thrown back upon the obvious fact, that the inspiration of the book, its phraseology and idioms, can only be found in the school of Windeshiem. As an exercise of patience I can strongly recommend Monsigneur Puyol's work to all who have abundant leisure at their disposal.

So much for Gersen and his partisans. Naturally some extravagant developments of Gersenism have taken place: but that was to be expected, remembering the absurdity of the process by which this phantom was invented. Amongst others, we find that in 1874 a statue was erected in the parish church of Cavaglia in honour of Gersen, and that in 1884 another similar memorial was unveiled at Vercelli. The latter ceremony gave occasion to the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Alimonda, to deliver an eloquent address, wherein he declares John Gersen to be the author of *The Imitation of Christ*!

What, may I ask, do these statues prove?—The inextinguishable vigour of imagination. Gersen was the creation of Caletan's fancy, as Minerva was of Jupiter's brain; but, as Father Becker quaintly observes, Italy is full of statues of Minerva, yet who would argue from thence that such a being ever existed?

May I suggest to his Eminence, and to his bearers and readers, the perusal of a notice of this discourse from the pen of the Chanoine Delvigne, of Brussels. With all the dignity, self-restraint, and scholarly perspicuity which characterize this learned writer, he exposes, most respectfully, but scathingly, the startling indiscretion of such a

pronouncement, coming from so high a dignitary, and from so privileged a ground as the pulpit of a cathedral.

So much for John Gersen, of Vercelli. I have endeavoured to discuss his candidature with becoming gravity, although often sorely tempted in the opposite direction.

Having now disposed of Gersen and his advocates, I will add, before concluding, a few observations concerning those opponents of Thomas à Kempis who are unable to suggest an author for *The Imitation*, but still revel in vain wanderings and crotchets.

We have already seen something of the essay, *Septem motiva contra Thomam de Kempis*. The author is unknown, and so much the better.

Some thirty-six years ago an ingenious and learned author, M. Phillippe Tamizey de Larroque, wrote some articles with the intention of showing that the internal evidence of style, &c., in *The Imitation*, and in the admitted works of Thomas à Kempis, tends to dispute the claims of the pious Canon Regular of Mount St. Agnes.

I have not found in these clever essays anything to satisfy me that the author is justified in his conclusions; and, on the other hand, I have observed some errors which appear unaccountable. I shall say nothing of his style, except that, despite its attractions, it is strikingly deficient in judicial calm. M. de Larroque argues against à Kempis on the ground that his acknowledged works contain certain words and expressions not found in *The Imitation*, and *vice versa*. Furthermore, that he treats some subjects rather (but not substantially) differently from the author of *The Imitation*. The discrepancies insisted upon by M. de Larroque appear to me trifling, and altogether insufficient to support his contention, unless, indeed, we were to grant what is not alone against probability and experience, but even impossible, namely, that a given voluminous author like à Kempis, who beyond doubt, was in addition a diligent compiler, must of necessity repeat himself in thought, word, and expression in all his works, and maintain the same level of merit, irrespective of the subject in hand and the audience to which he addresses himself.

M. de Larroque falls into some strange errors, of which I shall single out one for illustration. He reminds us that à Kempis loved rhyming, and that the author of *The Imitation* did not, and therefore that Thomas could not have been the author. This is a fundamental mistake, very curious for a diligent reader, but excusable to some extent, because M. de Larroque wrote in 1861, and Dr. Hirsche did not publish his researches on the rhythm and rhyme of *The Imitation*, until 1873. As a matter of fact, the rhythm and rhyme of *The Imitation*, so identical with what we find in à Kempis' other works, constitutes a most important proof that Thomas *was* the author.

M. de Larroque concludes his brochure by some curious speculations as to the personality of the real author. He rejects à Kempis—likewise Gersen, with emphasis, and is altogether doubtful about Gerson. But he hazards as far-fetched a solution of the problem as I have yet encountered. He tells us that the love of the French for the book points to France as the country of its origin 'la prédilection d'une mère pour son enfant!' Had our author investigated the internal evidence derived from the study of the linguistic peculiarities of *The Imitation*—a point which he declines to enter upon—I believe he would never have arrived at this conclusion. I hope that when he masters the whole evidence now before us, to a vast amount of which he does not even allude, and much of which has come to light since he wrote, he will arrive at a very different opinion respecting the claims of the saintly Canon of Mount St. Agnes.

Another of the theorists who oppose à Kempis, is Mr. Arthur Loth, of Paris. He holds that *The Imitation* was probably written by a member of the Congregation of Windesheim, prior to the time of Thomas, and he has placed his views before the public in a series of articles in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, which occupy about one hundred and fifty pages octavo. His conclusions are founded upon a certain manuscript which he discovered some years ago in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in which the first book of *The Imitation*, and fragments of the third and fourth, are found bound up with several treatises on spiritual and other

subjects. At the commencement of this collection is a calendar, which according to Loth, points to the year 1406. Upon this very sandy foundation he builds up the theory that *The Imitation of Christ* was written before 1406, and that therefore Thomas could not have been its author, as he was only twenty-six years of age at that time.

A very short study suffices to upset this doctrine. Assuming for the sake of brevity, that M. Loth is correct in believing that the calendar dates back to 1406—a very questionable point indeed—we have yet to learn at what period it and the other treatises in the volume, including the portions of *The Imitation*, were bound up together. On this point we have no indication whatsoever, and hence these fragments of *The Imitation* may just as well date fifty years later than the supposed calendar of 1406. The binding of the MS. is quite modern.

Again, M. Loth endeavours to strengthen his assumption as to the date of *The Imitation of Christ* by dwelling on the fact that there are marginal notes in the manuscript which allude to it as the *De Imitationi Christi*—a term not applied to it in its earliest days. Here I am obliged to remark that I believe he is not a careful observer. In June, 1884, I examined this manuscript myself, and I am certain that the aforesaid marginal notes are not written in the same handwriting or ink as the rest of the manuscript. Thus the conclusion based on these notes goes for nothing, as they may have been written fifty or a hundred years later than the manuscript.

Finally, in his third article, M. Loth commits himself to an assertion which shows much want of care in the examination of the documents respecting which he writes. He gives a description of a manuscript, then the property of Count Riant, in which, among other treatises, is found the first book of *The Imitation of Christ*. Further on is a work of Floretus, bearing date 1416. Loth describes the manuscript as homogeneous—that is, written by one hand—and argues from thence that *The Imitation of Christ* was known before 1416.

I have no intention of disputing the fact that the first

book of *The Imitation* was extant at that period, when Thomas à Kempis was already thirty-six years of age—on the contrary, I fully believe it; but Loth's assertion that Count Riant's manuscript is homogeneous is positively erroneous. In September, 1885, M. Ruelens showed me photographs taken from different parts of this codex which prove beyond doubt that it was written by *several* copyists. Here, again, we find our author building on an unstable base a structure which falls to the ground. In short, a critical examination of M. Loth's elaborate articles forces us to the conclusion that, despite his great ingenuity, high literary ability, and very attractive style, his theories are unfounded, and his conclusions erroneous.

I think it is now time for me to bring this discussion to a close, and I believe everyone guided by the ordinary rules of evidence will concede that I have answered the question, with which I began, namely—'Who was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*'?

Of course this essay has been very brief, and intended mainly to give a bird's-eye view of the subject, as a guide for others who may wish to enter upon a more extended and profound study of it. For all the authorities I must refer to my essay of 1887. They would have been quite out of place in the present little sketch.

I have told briefly the story of the appearance of the great book, of the spiritual school from which it emanated, of the great monk, Thomas à Kempis, in whose favour as its author we find a crushing mass of evidence—traditional—contemporaneous—external and internal. I have shown that the mighty Chancellor Gerson was not its author; that the so-called John Gersen, of Vercelli, is a myth; and that the hypotheses of those theorists, who oppose à Kempis, although unable to suggest any other author, are baseless, and full of mistakes, and erroneous statements.

In conclusion, I offer, on next page, a tabular summary of the real state of the case, and leave the rest to the judgment of my readers.

F. R. CRUISE, M.D.

THOMAS à KEMPIS.

(Born 1379 or '80; Died 1471.)

I.

Contemporary Witnesses

From amongst a crowd I have quoted fourteen, of whom two knew him personally, and three were members of his own order, and therefore representatives of the domestic tradition which attributed the authorship to à Kempis long before any controversy arose.

II.

External Evidence of Manuscripts

A large portion of the most ancient and trustworthy manuscripts, many dating during his life, and one in his own handwriting, point to him as the author.

III.

Internal Evidence

In favour of à Kempis we find—

(1) Identity of Style; including

peculiarities, viz.:

(a) Barbarisms.

(b) Italianized words.

(c) The word "Devotus"

used in a peculiar

sense.

(d) Dutch idioms.

(e) Systematic rhythmical

punctuation

(2) *The Imitation*, in part derived, word for word, from the writings of the 'School of Windesheim,' of which à Kempis was the leading exponent.

(3) Also copiously derived from the Scripture, and the works of St. Bernard, with both of which we know à Kempis was specially familiar.

JOHN CHARLIER DE GERSON.

(Born 1363; Died 1429.)

I.

Contemporary Witnesses

Not one to be found in his favour. Two (his brother and Ciresio) negatively adverse by their silence. Five, shortly after his time, testify positively against him.

II.

External Evidence of Manuscripts

Not a single manuscript dated during his life, or for thirty years after his death, assigns the authorship to him.

III.

Internal Evidence

Unfavourable to him in every point.

JOHN GERSEN,

Benedictine Abbot of
Vercelli?

Existence wholly mythical. Claims to the authorship of *The Imitation* unsustained by one particle of evidence.

HYPOTHESES,
Of the author of the *Septem Motiva*, of de Laroque and Loth.

Purely speculative, and full of obvious mistakes and erroneous statements.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

PART I.—MATTER—*continued*

ORIGIN OF MATTER

MATERIALISTS of course reject the idea of creation or a Creator. According to Häckel the idea of a personal creator could only have arisen in the minds of the 'missing links' while they were being slowly evolved from apes into men! Vogt says: 'The Creator must be put out of doors unceremoniously, and we cannot allow the least room for the operations of such a being.' Darwin, in his *Origin of Species*, uses the words *creator*, *creation* several times. Referring to this in a letter (1863) he says—'I have long regretted that I truckled to public opinion and used the Pentateuchal term of *creation*, by which I really meant *appear* by some wholly unknown process.'

Herbert Spencer refers the doctrine of special creation to that pet limbo of his—'the family of extinct beliefs.' In one of his latest pronouncements on this subject, he says: 'The observed facts of daily experience, proving a constant order amongst phenomena, negative the hypothesis [of special creation].'¹

The argument here advanced against the existence of a Creator is so peculiar as to call for some special notice. It rests on the extraordinary assumption that such a being could not refrain from constant and arbitrary interference with the order of nature! The idea of a Supreme Being that presents itself to the mind of the materialist is some monstrous embodiment of irresponsible power totally unchecked by adequate wisdom or forethought—a sort of celestial Nero whose existence would mean cosmical chaos. With this conception before his mind he triumphantly points to the steady course of nature as proof positive that no such being exists. Obviously our only answer to this strange

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1895.

argument is *transeat*. We never dreamt of tracing the existence or order of nature to such a *monstrum horrendum* as our materialistic adversaries conjure up. Our contention stands clear of all such fantastic nonsense. That a Being possessed of infinite power should have created the things that are, and with infinite wisdom should have impressed on them the laws by which they were to be governed embodies no contradiction that unprejudiced human reason can see. Nay, this very order of nature can be reasonably accounted for on no other hypothesis than that of an infinitely intelligent First Cause. However, this strangely perverse argument from wondrous order to the negation of an orderer, from evident design to the negation of a designer, will meet us in many disguises and at many points of our course. For the present we return to our witnesses against creation.

Tyndall in his *Apology for the Belfast Address* (1875), says :—‘As far as the eye of science has hitherto ranged through nature, no intrusion of purely creative power into any series of phenomena has ever been observed.’ But the celebrated geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, has also some claim to tell us what ‘the eye of science’ observes, and this is what he has to say : ‘In whatever direction we pursue our researches we discover everywhere clear proofs of a creative intelligence, and of its foresight, wisdom, and power.’¹ And Agassiz points to certain phenomena as exhibiting ‘all the wealth and intricacy of the highest mental manifestations, and none of the simplicity of purely mechanical laws.’²

Huxley exclaims : ‘Choose your hypothesis. I have chosen mine ; and I refuse to run the risk of insulting any sane man by supposing that he holds such a notion as that of special creation.’³ And again, speaking of the theory of creation : ‘That such a verbal hocus-pocus should be received as science will one day be regarded as evidence of the low state of intelligence in the nineteenth century.’⁴ But elsewhere⁵ he says creation is ‘perfectly conceivable,

¹ *Principles of Geology*, ii., p. 613.

² *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1897.

³ *Science and Culture*.

⁴ *Lay Sermons*, p. 218.

⁵ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886.

and, therefore, no one can deny that it may have happened. . . . Whether matter was created a few thousand years ago, or whether it has existed through an eternal series of metamorphoses, of which our present universe is only the last stage, are alternatives, *neither of which is scientifically untenable*, and neither of which is scientifically demonstrable.'

This reads somewhat strangely after the 'hocus-pocus' ! Which are we to believe—Huxley of the *Lay Sermons* or Huxley of the *Nineteenth Century* ? But even within the limits of the *Lay Sermons* themselves we find the preacher holding different doctrines. In speaking of certain things that have been referred to special creation he says : 'It *may* be so : it may be otherwise. In the present condition of our knowledge and our methods one verdict—not proven and not provable—must be recorded.'¹

AS TO THE ORIGIN OF MATTER, MATERIALISTS ARE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTIES

1. Those of the school represented by Büchner hold that it is eternal. Matter, they argue, is eternal because it is indestructible ; chemistry proves that no particle of matter ever perishes. What cannot be destroyed was never created. Therefore matter is eternal. This opinion is now rather out of date. Of course the reasoning begs the whole question as to a Creator in the Christian sense. Matter is imperishable because *the chemist* cannot destroy it. In the direct form the argument would read—matter was not created because the chemist cannot create it. But this would be too patently absurd ; so it had to be disguised as above. Again, the proposition 'What cannot be destroyed was never created' needs only to have certain omitted words supplied to show its absurdity—'What cannot be destroyed *by the chemist* was never created *by an Omnipotent God* !'

The permanence of matter in scientific processes is an absolutely necessary condition if these processes are to be of any value for scientific deduction. Without this quality of

¹ Page 185.

matter the science of chemistry as we know it could not exist. If matter could suddenly appear or disappear in chemical processes it would at once put an end to chemical investigation as leading to any definite results. But to argue from the permanence of matter in the hands of man to its permanence in the hands of a Being whose power infinitely transcends that of man, needs only plain statement for its refutation.

Note how this great modern discovery of the permanence of matter in scientific processes seems to shed new light on some words in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, written thousands of years ago, wherein we are told of the wonderful works of God that 'nothing may be taken away, nor added.'¹ How strange that it should be one of the greatest triumphs of modern chemistry to prove the absolute accuracy of this ancient saying down even to the infinitesimal atoms of matter! For the smallest atom is a work of God as truly wonderful as a planet, and as far beyond man's power to make or destroy. 'Though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation-stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn.'²

2. The materialists of our own day take an agnostic stand—'I don't know anything about it.' Darwin, in a letter of September, 1878, says:—'As to the eternity of matter, I never trouble myself about such insoluble questions.' In an earlier letter (1863) he calls such investigations 'rubbish.' Tyndall says: 'If you ask the materialist whence is this "matter" of which we have been discoursing, he has no answer. Science is mute in regard to such questions.'³ 'Science knows nothing of the origin or destiny of nature. Who or what made the ultimate particles of matter, science does not know.' Here the question obviously suggests itself—If 'science knows nothing of the

¹ Chap. xviii. 5.

² Clerk Maxwell.

³ *Scientific Materialism*.

⁴ *Vitality*.

origin' of matter, how can it say that matter was not created?

Huxley says: 'The scientific investigator is wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe.'¹ This is so nice and consistent from the author of the 'hocus-pocus' opinion!

Sir R. S. Ball, when proceeding to evolve the world from the nebula, and prepare it as a canvas for Darwin to draw thereon 'the noblest picture that modern science has produced,' has to begin in this lame fashion: 'We do not inquire how the original nebula came into being; we begin with the actual existence of this nebula'—which, no doubt, is very convenient. He vainly wrestles with the 'very celebrated difficulty' of the origin of life; but he prefers not to inquire about the origin of matter, regarding which one would expect an *astronomer* to be more curious.

So far, then, we do not seem to have got hold of many definite ideas about this scientific materialism. We have been assured that all things, ourselves included, have come from 'fiery clouds' and 'cosmic vapour;' that far better men are still 'potential in the fires of the sun;' that matter is 'essentially mystical and transcendental,' 'a double-faced unity' of absolutely contradictory qualities, which just manage to abide together by a wonderful method of 'close succession,' perhaps like so many small boys clinging to each other's coat-tails; that the doctrine of creation is an 'extinct belief,' 'an insult to any sane man,' 'a verbal hocus-pocus,' fit only for the half-developed brains of 'missing links;' and finally—and after all this, most surprising—that we don't know what matter is, or where it came from, or whether there is any such thing at all! This does not seem a satisfactory return for the expenditure of so much time and printer's ink, especially as it is all assertion without a single atom of proof. But we must take things as we find them. We have let the scientific philosophers speak for themselves, and so far this is absolutely all they have got to

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886.

say. A rather beggarly philosophy when stripped of its gleaming garment of fiery cloud and sometimes equally fiery language! Truly 'a verbal hocus-pocus'—I thank thee, Huxley, for teaching me that word!—'a verbal hocus-pocus, which will one day be regarded as evidence of the low state of intelligence in the nineteenth century!'

Some of the latest results of scientific investigation into the ultimate constitution of matter may be interesting. They are mathematical deductions from experimental data, and are almost entirely due to Lord Kelvin, who enjoys the rare distinction of being at the same time a great mathematician and a great experimental scientist. The novel problem he proposed to himself was—What is the bulk of the ultimate particles of a substance? That there are ultimate particles of definite bulk seems demonstrably true at least of *compound* substances.¹ There is a limit to the divisibility of a compound substance beyond which further division gives, not smaller particles of the substance, but other totally different substances. This seems to indicate that the division has now become finer than the grain of the substance, so to speak, and has resulted in the splitting up of its ultimate particles. To give a rough illustration—We may go on dividing a bag of nuts until we reach the individual nut. This is the limit beyond which we cannot go and still have *nuts*. The individual nuts are the smallest portions of the original substance that are fully representative of it, and can be called by its name, *nuts*. They may be said to represent the ultimate particles of the substance *nuts*. We may carry the division further; but we then get, not still smaller nuts, but other things which are not nuts, and cannot be so called. We get, in fact, the things of which nuts are made up—bits of shell, kernel, &c. Our division has now become finer than the *grain* of the bag

¹ Lord Kelvin's investigation, if we rightly apprehend its limits, does not extend to the ultimate *simple atom*. That slippery entity has hitherto eluded even the far-reaching power of mathematics. Whether its latest form—Lord Kelvin's *vortex atom*—will continue to baffle the mathematical skill of its parent remains to be seen. Even in the case of ultimate *compound* particles, though mathematics may tell us something about their size, no science can tell us anything whatever about their actual structure, shape, or appearance.

of nuts, and resulted in the breaking up of its smallest representative particles.

This is of course a very crude illustration; but it will help us to follow what takes place in the case of, suppose, water. Water may be very finely divided by heat and rarefaction, its particles being driven farther and farther apart, until each stands practically isolated from its fellows in the attenuated vapour. That state would be represented by our nuts spread out widely on a table. If we could get hold of one of those particles, and examine it, we should find it to be, like the individual nut, a perfect representative of the original substance—as truly *water* as would be a bucketful of the liquid. But these particles are the smallest portions of the substance that are thus representative, and that can still be called *water*. Like the individual nuts, they represent the limit of division, beyond which we cannot go and still retain the original substance, *water*. With the keen edge of the electric current we may actually carry the division a step farther; but then we get, not still smaller particles of water, but things quite different from water—two gases, of which it may be otherwise shown that water is made up. Here then we reach a limit of divisibility in water, from which we conclude that water has ultimate particles.

What is the bulk of these ultimate particles, and how near are they to each other in the liquid? By four different methods, resting on independent physical data, Lord Kelvin arrived at the following approximate results:—

1. The distance between the centres of contiguous particles of water is approximately the 500,000,000th of an inch. ‘This is the measure of the coarse-grainedness of what appears to our eyes, and even to our most powerful microscopes, to be absolutely uniform matter.’¹

2. “The effective diameter of a particle must be something certainly not far from one—250,000,000th of an inch.”²

If a spherical drop of water be one-eighth of an inch in

¹ Tait's *Recent Advances in Physical Science*, p. 320.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322.

diameter, its bulk, compared with that of its ultimate particles, would be about as the bulk of the earth to that of a large plum. In other words, if the water-drop were magnified to the size of the earth, its ultimate particles, or what we may call its *grain*, would appear about as large as plums.

These results of purely scientific investigation show how absurd are the vapourings of scientific doctrinaires who are so ready to tell us all about the nature and 'potentialities' of matter. They might just as rationally discourse about the personal appearance and ways of the man in the moon. When Professor Bain, for instance, undertakes to describe the two sides of an atom, pretty much as we might talk of the two sides of a penny, we can only suppose him poking some obscure form of Scotch fun.

Nothing is more preposterously unscientific [says Professor Tait] than to assert (as is constantly done by quasi-scientific writers of the present day) that with the utmost strides attempted by science, we should necessarily be sensibly nearer to a conception of the ultimate nature of matter.¹

We may consider that Lord Salisbury voiced the present state of knowledge in his presidential address to the British Association, three years ago:—

What the atom of each element is; whether it is a movement, or a thing, or a vortex, or a point having inertia; whether there is any limit to its divisibility, and, if so, how that limit is imposed; whether the long list of elements is final, or whether any of them have any common origin—all these questions remain surrounded by a darkness as profound as ever.

DEFINITIONS.

It may be well to explain a few scientific terms, chiefly chemical, which are in constant use in works on the present subject. In these definitions the ordinary chemical theory of matter is assumed.

ELEMENT, COMPOUND, MIXTURE.

A chemical *element* is a substance which cannot, by any known means be split up into other substances different from itself. It may be solid, liquid, or gaseous ; *e.g.*, gold, mercury, oxygen gas. A chemical *compound* is a substance that can be split up into other substances different from itself ; *e.g.*, water, which can be decomposed into two gases. The substances into which a compound breaks up are always found to weigh exactly the same as the original compound. Compounds usually exhibit qualities widely different from those of their constituent elements. Thus common salt, an article of diet, is made up, of a poisonous metal and a deadly gas ; water, a heavy liquid, is made up of two gases, one of them being the lightest substance known ; carbonic acid, a suffocating gas, is made up of a harmless solid and a gas which may be said to be the chief necessary of life.

A mere *mixture* of two or more substances is a very different thing from a chemical compound of the same substances. Thus a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen is not water. It is gaseous, and would of itself remain so. The molecules of the two gases remain as distinct as the grains in a mixture of salt and sand. Put a light to the gaseous mixture, and at once the gases combine with explosive violence, every two atoms of hydrogen uniting with an atom of oxygen to form the *compound*, water.

ATOM. MOLECULE.

Atom is used of elementary substances only ; molecule, of either elementary or compound substances. Thus we can speak of an *atom* of sulphur, but not of salt ; while we can speak of a *molecule* of either. An *atom* is the smallest part of an elementary substance, separable by chemical means. A *molecule* is the smallest separable part of a compound substance, or the smallest part of an elementary substance that subsists alone. The ultimate *free* particles of all substances, elementary or compound, are molecules. The only difference in this respect between elementary and compound bodies is that the elementary molecule is made up of atoms of the

same kind ; while the compound molecule is made up of atoms of different kinds. Thus a molecule of oxygen gas consists of two oxygen atoms ; a molecule of water, of two hydrogen atoms and one oxygen atom.

CRYSTALLINE. AMORPHOUS.

Most substances in passing from the fluid or gaseous to the solid state tend to assume regular geometrical shapes. This phenomenon is called *crystallization*, and the geometrically-shaped solids resulting from it are called *crystals*. A beautiful example of crystallization may often be seen on our windows on a frosty morning. The lovely fern-like tracery is simply crystallized water, condensed from the moisture in the air of the room. Many familiar substances readily crystallize from solution or fusion. Dissolve common 'blue vitriol' in boiling water as long as any will dissolve. On allowing the solution to cool slowly, without shaking, beautiful crystals will appear.

As a rule, the crystalline form of a substance is definite and constant, and may, in many cases, afford a means of identifying the substance.

Crystallization is assumed to be due to the action of molecular attractions and repulsions. The molecules of a crystalline substance are supposed to be endowed with attractive and repellent poles, like so many small magnets. When the substance is solidifying from a state of solution, or fusion, or vapour, these polar forces come into play ; and the molecules, instead of being allowed to settle down any way, like mud out of water, are pulled into certain positions with regard to each other, thereby gradually building up crystals. Molecular attraction, as thus manifested, is spoken of as *crystalline force*.

Amorphous, as its derivation suggests, means the opposite of crystalline — shapeless, showing no tendency to set in geometrical forms. The term is sometimes applied to fluids ; thus a drop of water may be said to be amorphous. However, its application is usually restricted to solid bodies which show no tendency to crystallize.

Some crystalline bodies have, under certain conditions, an

amorphous form as well. An interesting example is sulphur, which, under different conditions, shows two distinct crystalline forms and an amorphous form. What becomes of the crystalline force in the latter case does not seem to be clearly understood.

ORGANIC. INORGANIC.

As first used in technical chemistry, *organic* was applied to compounds which were then known to be produced only by living things, *e.g.*, alcohol, turpentine, sugar; *inorganic* to compounds produced in inanimate nature or in the laboratory, *e.g.*, carbonic acid, water, common salt. Such a distinction, as far as the original meaning is concerned, is now quite out of date, many of the so-called organic compounds being easily produced with the immensely enlarged resources of modern chemistry. For educational purposes, however, the old classification is retained, as conveniently dividing chemical compounds into two great groups, the members of which differ widely in complexity of structure—organic compounds, though made up of but few elements, (chiefly carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen), being as a rule much more complex than inorganic.

Outside chemical text-books the word *organic* is now used rather of 'structures' than of 'substances.' It may be well to particularize the use of the word 'structure' in this connection, its application in ordinary speech being somewhat loose. 'Structure, as here applied, always supposes definite arrangement of parts with regard to each other and to a whole; such as is seen, for example, in a brick wall. This definite arrangement of parts is found in the works of nature as well as in the works of man. Crystals are examples of 'natural structure,' resulting from the spontaneous action of forces inherent in the molecules of substances. There is another kind of natural structure, totally different from crystalline, and resulting from the action of a force not inherent in the molecules of matter, but quite distinct and distinguishable from matter and its attractions. Of this force, under the name of 'vital force,' we shall afterwards have much to say. Here we have merely to state that under its influence matter

supplied as nutriment to living things, animal and vegetable, is built up into 'structures,' not crystalline, but as definite, and far more complex and varied. Such structures are called *organic structures*. Any portion of a plant or animal—leaf, stem, or pith—skin, bone, or muscle—may be taken as an example of organic structure. 'Organism' is a term applied to a complete, individual, organic structure, made up of co-ordinated structural parts, few or many, and animated throughout, such as a particular plant, fish, dog, &c.

THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS

Heat a solid lump of ice, and it becomes liquid water. Continue to heat the water, and it ultimately takes the form of vapour. *Vice versa*, gradually cool water vapour, and it takes, first, the liquid, and, finally, if the cooling be continued, the solid form. The same thing may be done with various other substances; *e.g.*, sulphur, mercury, iron, &c. Experiment has gone far enough to warrant the assumption that even the most stubborn mineral substances would, under the influence of a sufficiently high temperature, become gaseous.

The earth is now exteriorly a solid body. But the solid crust affords abundant proof that it was once liquid; and volcanoes are only one of many evidences that the interior is still in a molten state. Hence it may be regarded as scientifically demonstrable that the earth was once a molten mass of enormously high temperature.

The present physical condition of the sun¹ suggests a further supposition, *viz.*, that the liquid condition of our globe was preceded by a gaseous condition. It is not unreasonable to assume a similar condition of things in regard to the other planets of our system. It seems hardly necessary to remark that a body in the gaseous state occupies an enormously larger space than in the solid or

¹ 'The source of sunlight may not be a solid or even liquid globe—it may be merely a great thickness of very hot and highly compressed gas; in fact, it seems quite possible that no portion of the body of the sun may be as yet even liquid.'—Tait's *Recent Advances in Physical Science*, third edition, p. 250.

liquid state ; we have only to recall how a small quantity of water will develop an immense volume of steam. This physical fact leads to the supposition that the gaseous matter of the planets and sun once combined and commingled to form one immense fire-mist, whirling through space. This would be called the *nebulous* condition of things, out of which the present solar system was afterwards evolved.

To bring about this evolution of the solid bodies of the solar system from that nebulous state, we have to introduce two other factors, viz., force and motion. The huge fire-cloud was in a state of rapid rotation round its own centre. As it gradually cooled, it shrunk ; and as it shrunk, the rapidity of rotation, by a well-known mechanical principle, increased. As these two processes—shrinkage and increasing velocity—went on, portions of the edge of the cloud were from time to time flung off. These portions would at once gather and rotate round their own respective centres, while at the same time continuing their former rotation round the common centre. These detached masses, gradually condensed to liquid globes, formed the planets, one of them being our earth. Finally, of the original fire-mist there was left still clinging together only that portion which we know as the sun, which, now in all probability partly liquid and partly gaseous, still continues to cool, and shrink, and whirl as of old—a vivid object-lesson in astronomical history.

The cooling of the liquid planets went slowly on until the temperature of the outer surface fell below the melting-point, and a solid crust formed around each mass. Following now the story of our own earth, we can suppose it still cooling for a long period after the formation of the outer crust before its temperature would allow of the condensation of the water vapour in its atmosphere. After this came the time ‘when the earth was void and empty.’ During that time the dry land was heaved up, and the waters thereby gathered into oceans. Then went on the disintegration of the surface by atmospheric influences, slowly preparing a soil for plant life.

This supposed evolution of our planetary system from an original fire-mist is known as the *nebular hypothesis*. We see that it makes no attempt to account for the origin of matter. It assumes the existence of the matter of the planetary system with all its forces, and with incandescence and rotation as well, and then endeavours to account for its present physical condition. Even as regards this we should bear in mind that it is merely a *hypothesis*, and, we may add, is likely to remain so. As a scientific hypothesis, professing to account for a certain physical condition of things, nothing need be said against it, while scientifically a good deal may be said for it.¹ But with that we are not here concerned. In treating the next section of our subject—Life, what it is, and whence it is—we shall meet with several references to the nebular hypothesis, and see some astonishing powers attributed to the ancient fire-mist and the cooling planets.

We can at once see its bearing on the origin of terrestrial life; for clearly there could be no life in the original fire-mist, nor on the molten planet, nor even for a long time after the formation of the surface crust. This necessity of accounting for the first appearance of life on the earth we shall find to be one of the chief difficulties of materialism; and later on we shall find the limitation of the age of the habitable earth a stumbling-block in the path of Darwin.

SCIENTIFIC

It may be well to call attention to an acquired meaning of this word. When met with in the *materialistic* writings of Tyndall, Huxley, and the rest, it must be always under-

¹ Several well-known facts favour this hypothesis. 1. All the planets revolve round the sun in the same direction. 2. The inner planets travel faster in their orbits than the outer ones. 3. Both planets and sun revolve in the same direction round their own axes. 4. The sun is still cooling and shrinking. The shrinkage amounts to about four miles a century in the diameter of the sun. 5. The evidence afforded by the crust of the earth and by the present condition of the sun point to previous liquid, and even gaseous states. 6. Spectrum analysis shows that a large number of substances are common to the sun and the earth, suggesting the formation of both bodies from the same original raw material. We have no means of extending this comparison to the planets.

stood in a sense which may be not extravagantly stated thus:—

We alone, the evolutionary school, represent true science up to date. All other scientists, however numerous or eminent, don't count. Hence 'scientific men' means *us* exclusively; 'scientific thought' is *our* thought; 'the scientific method' is *our* patent method of proceeding from absolutely groundless conjecture by the way of assumption and assertion to practical certainty. In a word, science is *our* science, and we alone are its prophets.

Hence when Tyndall describes 'the eye of science' as searching in vain for any 'intrusion of purely creative power,' bear in mind that he refers to an evolutionary eye that is persistently blind to all such 'intrusions.' When he pictures the 'scientific man' proceeding by sure steps to evolve all existing things out of star-dust, that 'scientific man' is simply the aggregate personality of the evolutionary school. When he blandly informs you that the great argument for the evolution theory is 'its general harmony with scientific thought,' don't be deceived—the 'scientific thought' with which the theory is 'in harmony' is simply the 'thought' of its framers and advocates—which sufficiently accounts for the 'harmony'! And so for the other philosophers of this school.

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ARE PRIESTS CASUALLY VISITING A PLACE BOUND TO SAY A PAROCHIAL MASS TO PREVENT DUPLICATION? IF THEY REFUSE, ARE THEY TO BE PERMITTED TO CELEBRATE PRIVATELY?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following in next number of I. E. RECORD :—

A priest on vacation is spending Sunday in a parish where the local priests must duplicate—(a) Is he bound to say one of the parochial Masses to prevent duplication? (b) If he refuses to say one of the parochial Masses, is it lawful for the parish priest to give him permission to say a private Mass?

P. P.

(a) In the circumstances, of course, this priest on vacation would be naturally and rightly expected to offer his services in order to relieve the parochial clergy and prevent duplication. But we know of no strict obligation. Absolutely speaking, he is not bound to celebrate at all, that is, provided that he hears Mass, and that he is not bound to say Mass *pro populo*; much less is he bound to take up one of the parochial Masses. (b) Unless there be a local prohibition, the parish priest is justified in permitting him to celebrate. Such a prohibition has been sometimes enforced.

INTEGRITY OF CONFESSION WHERE THE PENITENT HAS ALREADY NARRATED HIS SINS 'MODO HISTORICO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A person came to me one day, and began to chat about himself and the serious faults he had been committing. He then suddenly fell on his knees, and said: 'Now that I have told you so much, I had better make a real confession. I now renew in confession what I have told you out of confession.' He then gave further details to make his confession complete.

After he had made some fervent acts of contrition I gave him absolution.

All my friends tell me that the absolution was invalid, and that if he comes to me again I must make him tell me all his sins, *secundum numerum et speciem*, in confession. What say you to this decision?

A. B.

If, while receiving the general accusation *in ordine absolutionem*, the confessor retained—as, no doubt, he did—a distinct memory of the sins which he had already heard, he need not be in the least disturbed by the opinions of his critics. St. Alphonsus himself, while rejecting the opinion of Lugo, who maintains that a general accusation *in ordine ad absolutionem* of sins already mentioned *modo historico* is in every case sufficient, admits that such a general accusation is sufficient, provided and as long as the confessor still retains a distinct recollection of the penitent's sins; 'posset admitti [opinio Lugonis], si confessarius dum poenitens se accusat de peccatis [jam modo historico] narratis distinctam eorum haberet notitiam.' (*Homo Apostolicus*, Tr. 16, n. 44.) This teaching is quite certain, and our correspondent may confidently refer his friends to St. Alphonsus, De Lugo, Gury, Ballerini, Lehmkuhl, *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*.

2. If the confessor from the beginning intended to try and induce the person to receive absolution, then, according to Lugo, Ballerini, Lehmkuhl, a general accusation *in ordine ad absolutionem* will suffice as long as the confessor remembers, even in a general way, the sins and the state of the penitent.

3. Finally, according to Lugo, Ballerini, and others, a general accusation of sins already narrated, as long as the confessor remembers them in confession, will in all cases suffice, even though neither penitent nor confessor thought of sacramental confession when the sins were being told in the first instance. *Ante factum*, we would not act on this opinion; *post factum*, we would not urge a strict obligation of repeating a confession made in this way.

**DOES RESERVATION AFFECT SINS COMMITTED BUT NOT
ABSOLVED BEFORE THE RESERVATION COMES INTO
FORCE?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—A certain sin is now for the first time reserved, without a censure, by the bishop in this diocese. Can I still, without special faculties, absolve from such sins, provided that they have not been committed since the reservation was made?

C. C.

The confessor could, of course, absolve if there were an express provision to the effect that the reservation was meant to affect only sins committed after the reservation was made. Again, he could absolve if he knew, either from the express will of the superior or from the recognised custom of the diocese, that ignorance would excuse from this reservation. Manifestly, all persons were ignorant of the reservation until it was made. But, outside these cases, the reservation must be taken to affect sins committed before, as well as after, the case was reserved.

Si eo tempore [in quo absolutio datur peccata] sint reservata, nihil proderit, quod ante reservationem fuerint admissa.¹

D. MANNIX.

¹ D'Annibale, pars. I., n. 341. See also Bucceroni, *Comment. De Casibus Reservatis*, n. 24.

LITURGY

THE EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES OF CERTAIN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should be obliged for an answer to the following:—

In the Propaganda Faculties for investing in scapulars, has the phrase 'exceptis locis ubi adsunt Regulares,' &c., any force at the present day? I understand that some priests hold it has not, and, therefore, a priest having such faculties can invest in scapulars, even though he is within very easy distance of such 'Regulares.'

SCAPULAR.

The fact that the phrase about which our correspondent inquires is still to be found in the formula granting the faculties is a sufficient proof of its binding character. The restriction on the use of the faculties granted through Propaganda which this phrase indicates, could not cease unless formally withdrawn by the Holy Father; and of such a withdrawal there is no evidence.

It is important, then, to know the precise meaning of this phrase; or, in other words, to define what is meant by the 'locus' of a religious house or monastery.

We are of opinion that, when a house of one of the orders referred to in this phrase is situated in a small town or village included in a single parish, or in a compact country parish, a secular priest, having Propaganda Faculties, could not bless the scapulars, &c., peculiar to that order. But if the house be situated in a large city, in which there are several parishes, then the influence of the order in this matter does not extend beyond the limits of the parish in which they live. And if the parish in which the house is situated—whether it be a city parish or a country parish—be so large that it requires two or three churches or chapels, then we are of opinion that the exception contained in the Propaganda formula applies only to what might be regarded as the territorial division of the parish in which the house is situated. Speaking of the exclusive privilege enjoyed by

the Franciscans of erecting the Stations of the Cross in the 'places' wherein are situated their convents, Beringer says :—

Ce serait un erreur de croire que le droit exclusif des Franciscains s'étend toujours aussi loin que les limites de la paroisse où ils habitent, même quand celle-ci comprend des localités fort distantes les unes des autres.¹

**QUESTIONS REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BLESSING, THE
BLUE SCAPULAR, AND INDULGENCED BEADS**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion on the following two points :—

1. Two couples wish to be married on the same morning. I wish to impart to them the nuptial blessing. Please let me know if the *one* blessing will suffice for the two pairs?

2. I have faculties for enrolling in the Blue Scapular, and of attaching the Dominican indulgences to beads. Might I ask must persons using the aforesaid scapular and beads have their names enrolled; and must those names be sent to a convent of the Servites, and to a place where the confraternity of the Rosary is established?

C. C.

1. The nuptial blessing read once, and in the singular number, suffices no matter how many couples are to receive the blessing in the same Mass. The celebration of the nuptial Mass and the giving of the nuptial blessing are functions which *de jure* pertain to the parish priest, and nowhere is it stated that, if two or more marriages are celebrated on the same day, the parish priest is bound to delegate another or other priests to impart the blessing. Hence, as several marriages may be celebrated on the same day, it follows that the parish priest can give the nuptial blessing to all those who have been married. But this blessing cannot be given apart from Mass, and as the parish priest can celebrate only one Mass on the same day, it necessarily follows that he can give the blessing to all at the same time. Moreover, in the

¹ Vol. i., p. 271.

missal the prayers are given in the singular number, and no direction is given that they are to be read in the plural when more than one couple receive the blessing at the same time. Hence the prayers are always to be recited as they are in the missal.

2. The Blue Scapular is not the badge of any confraternity; hence it is not necessary that the names of those who wear it or receive it should be enrolled.

It is not necessary to enrol the names of those to whom beads bearing the Dominican blessing are given. With such beads the ordinary indulgences for reciting the Rosary can be gained by anyone. But in order to gain the immense indulgences attached to the confraternity of the Rosary it is, of course, necessary to be enrolled in the register of a validly erected confraternity.

SHOULD THE BELL BE RUNG DURING SOLEMN MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say, in the next issue of I. E. RECORD, whether there is any necessity for ringing the altar bells at a High Mass. It would seem to me that they ought not to be rung, because it is not necessary, and because it causes great inconvenience. First of all, it is not necessary. The object of ringing these bells is, of course, to call the attention of the people to the principal parts of the Mass. Now, in a High Mass this is sufficiently done by the singing. When the priest, after the Gospel or Creed sings *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus*, the people know that the Offertory is about to begin. The *Sanctus* is heard from the Choir, and when it is over, the Elevation takes place. Again, when the *Agnus Dei* is sung, the people know that the Communion is approaching. There is no need, therefore, for the bells. But they are also very objectionable from a musical point of view, especially when they themselves, as is the case, particularly with the 'gongs,' are 'musical;' that is to say, have a very pronounced pitch, or even are tuned in a chord. Then the dissonances they usually make with the harmonies of the choir are very exasperating. Imagine, for instance, the strains of the *Sanctus* dying away before the Elevation, and these bells setting in a key, say three quarters of a tone away from that of the choir! and how grating on a musical ear! Then, again, if the Choir

begins the *Benedictus*, how false must their singing sound, after the ear has got accustomed to the key of the altar bells ! Unless, therefore, there is strict law prescribing the ringing of these bells, I should say that they ought not to be rung.---Yours, faithfully,

MUSICUS.

We are glad for our correspondent's sake that there is no strict law requiring the bell to be rung either at a solemn or a private mass. The rubric prescribing the ringing of the bell during Mass is not preceptive, but merely directive, as may be easily inferred from the rubric itself :—

Ad Crucis pedem ponatur Tabella Secretarum appellata. In cornu Epistolae cussinus supponendus Missali, et in eadem parte Epistolae paretur cereus ad elevationem Sacramenti accendendus, *parva campanula*, ampullae vitreae vini et aquae, cum pelvicula et manutergio mundo, in fenestella seu in parva mensa ad haec praeparata.¹

From this rubric it is clear that the bell is no more necessary than the charts, the book-stand, the candle for the time of the consecration, the glass cruets, or the basin to be used at the *Lavabo*. Now, the charts are merely an ornament, or at most a convenience, the *cussinus* of the rubric is now made of all kinds of wood and metal, and no priest believes its use obligatory ; the candle to be lighted at the elevation is almost entirely obsolete ; for the *glass* cruets, ornamental vessels in metal are (we regret to say) often substituted, and the altar-steps or the floor have, unfortunately, to do duty sometimes for the basin. That this rubric is merely directive is the opinion of all writers who refer to the matter. Thus Quarti, who is approvingly quoted by De Herdt, says :—

Ea quae praescribuntur in hac rubrica de Tabella, cussino, *campanula* ampullis pelvicula, manutergio sunt materiae instructionis non praecepti ; consequenter non committitur peccatum contra praeceptum ecclesiasticum in eorum omissione vel mutatione.²

The object of the bell is, as our correspondent justly

¹ Rub. Missal, Tit. 20.

² P. i., Tit. 20, Dub. 12.

remarks, to call the attention of the congregation, and especially those members of the congregation who cannot see the altar, to the principal parts of the Mass. And when this function is otherwise effectively discharged, as it undoubtedly is in a solemn Mass, there is not the smallest reason for ringing the bell. Moreover, if the ringing of the bell during solemn Mass disturbs the choir, as our correspondent declares it does, not only need it not be rung, but it should not be rung. The directive rubrics lay down general principles intended merely to guide in the becoming celebration of the sacred mysteries, and to help to excite devotion in the hearts of those who assist thereat. Hence in the directive rubrics what the Church has in view is the end to be attained rather than the means for attaining it. If, then, the ringing of the bell during solemn Mass interferes with the singing of the choir, or even if it irritates the more highly cultured musicians present, whether they are members of the choir or not, it should be omitted.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

SUM REQUIRED TO FOUND A BURSE IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

[The following questions have been sent to us, with the request that we should publish the answers in these pages. As our correspondent has not given us his name, and as the questions are of practical importance to a great institution, we comply with his request. The questions have been submitted to the proper authorities, and the answers here given are approved of by them.

EDITOR I. E. R.]

REV. DEAR SIR,—Please answer the following questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD :—

A parish priest, anxious to establish a burse in Maynooth College, but wishing to get a return after the manner of 'Frankalmoign,' asks :—

1. Would the College, in the event of his giving or bequeathing the required sum, bind itself to have Masses said publicly, and in perpetuity for the benefit of his soul?

2. In case it would, then, how many Masses per annum would it undertake to have said?

3. And what is the least sum of money sufficient to found such a burse?

REDIVIVUS.

1. When a free place or portion of a free place is established in the College, the founder may secure that a number of Masses shall be offered publicly and in perpetuity for his intention. Two distinct methods of doing so have hitherto been followed. The more secure method is to direct that a certain portion of the dividends on the investment shall be applied in having Masses offered for the founder's intention. Where directions of this kind are given, the College will undertake to have them carried out. It will not, however, bind itself absolutely to a fixed number of Masses, but only to apply the amount specified in having Masses offered at the rate of the ordinary stipend.

The other mode of securing the same object is to direct

that a particular student shall be nominated to the burse, and that upon his ordination to the priesthood he shall publicly offer a certain number of Masses yearly, either in perpetuity, or till his successor in the enjoyment of the burse shall have been ordained priest. We do not, however, hesitate to recommend that the first method be in all cases adopted.

For every burse established in the College a full equivalent is given in the maintenance of an ecclesiastical student; and, consequently, the College is not in a position to provide Masses in consideration of such burse, unless a portion of the dividends be set aside for the purpose.

2. If a special fund is created for the purpose, the College will undertake to apply it in having Masses offered at the rate of the ordinary stipend. Should the obligation be imposed on the student by whom the burse is to be enjoyed, any reasonable number of Masses may be required. It may be well to state here that every benefactor of the College, whether living or dead, participates in the suffrages of the College, and that for deceased benefactors a Solemn Requiem Office and Mass are celebrated on a fixed day in each year.

3. The amount varies with the interest, any sum which yields £30 a-year being sufficient to establish a *full* burse. At present Trustee Securities yield scarcely three per cent. and, consequently, about £1,000 would be required if the money were handed over to the College Trustees for investment. Intending benefactors may, however, themselves invest in Securities that bear a higher rate of interest, and such investments will be accepted by the Trustees, provided they do not involve any liability beyond the amount of the investment. In this way a full burse may be established for a sum considerably less than £1,000. Besides, the Trustees are willing to accept, not only a full burse, but any portion of a burse; and any sum or investment, however small, will be gratefully accepted, and devoted to the maintenance of an ecclesiastical student who might, perhaps, be otherwise unable to prosecute his studies for the priesthood.

DOCUMENTS

BISHOPS CAN APPROVE OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, BUT ONLY FOR PRIVATE RECITATION

BUSCODUCEN. DUBIA QUOAD OFFICIUM PARVUM B. M. VIRGINIS

Die 24 Aprilis 1896.

Rñus Dominus Guglielmus Van de Ven, Episcopus Buscoducensis, a S. R. Congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter efflagitavit, nimirum :

I. An Episcopus ordinaria auctoritate approbare valeat translationem in vernaculam linguam Officii parvi B. M. Virginis, quod legitur in Breviario Romano ?

II. Utrum idem Officium, ita translatum et approbatum, in luce edi et adhiberi queat a fidelibus, intra fines dioeceseos Buscoducensis degentibus, et praesertim a Congregationibus religiosis utriusque sexus ?

Et Sacra eodem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Affirmative, sed tantum pro recitatione privata.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 24 Aprilis 1896.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, S.R.C., *Secretarius*.

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE TITULAR OF A CHURCH WHICH IS MERELY BLESSED IS TO BE MADE IN THE SUFFRAGES; AND WHEN THE TITULAR IS THE HOLY FAMILY THE COMMEMORATION OF THE B. V. MARY AND ST. JOSEPH ARE TO BE OMITTED

ORD. MIN. S. FRANC. CAPPUCCINORUM. DUBIA QUOAD COMMEMORATIONEM S. FAMILIAE IN SUFFRAGIIS SANCTORUM

Die 13 Novembris 1896.

Viglebani e fundamentis nuper erecta est Ecclesia in honorem Sacrae Familiae Iesu, Mariae, Ioseph, rite benedicta et Hospitio Fratrum Minorum Cappuccinorum adnexa. Exortis nonnullis dubiis quoad commemorationes communes seu suffragia sanctorum, R. P. Franciscus M^a. a Bistagno, Ordinis Minorum

Cappuccinorum et ipsius Ecclesiae atque Hospitii Superior, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione eorumdem dubiorum solutionem humillime flagitavit, nimirum :

I. Utrum in suffragiis sanctorum agenda sit commemoratio Sacrae Familiae titularis Ecclesiae tantum benedictae et non consecratae ?

II. Et quatenus affirmative ad primum, sunt ne relinquendae commemorationes de S. Maria et de S. Ioseph ?

III. Si negative ad secundum, commemoratio S. Familiae debetne praecedere istis commemorationibus ?

Et Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, re accurate perpensa auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum duxit :

Ad I. et II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Provisum in Praecedenti.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 13 Novembris 1896.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S.R.C., *Secretarius*.

WHEN THE VOTIVE OFFICE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE B. V. MARY ON SATURDAY IS FOLLOWED BY A DOMINICAL OFFICE THE VESPERS ARE FROM THE CAPITULUM OF THE SUNDAY

GENEVEN. DUBIUM QUOAD OCCURRENTIAM SECUNDARUM VESPERARUM OFFICII VOTIVI B. M. V. IMMAC. CUM PRIMIS VESPERIS DOMINICAL SEQUENTIS

Rñus Dñus Ioseph A. Broquet, Vicarius generalis Dioeceseos Geneven, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime postulavit sequentis dubii solutionem, nimirum :

Utrum concurrentibus secundis Vesperis Officii votivi de B. Maria V. Immaculata cum primis Vesperis Dominicae sequentis, Vesperae fieri debeant a capitulo de Dominica, vel potius recitandi sint psalmi de sabbato ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, atque re perpensa, rescribendum censuit :

Affirmative ad primam partem ; negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 3 Septembris 1895.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

A. TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.

THE "SEPULCHRE" IN WHICH THE BLESSED SACRAMENT REPOSES ON HOLY THURSDAY REPRESENTS BOTH THE BURIAL OF CHRIST AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT. STATUES, &c., SHOULD NOT BE PLACED ON THE ALTAR OF REPOSE

ROMANA. DUBIA QUOAD ALTARE, QUOD COMMUNITER DICITUR SEPULCRUM

Instantibus plerisque Rōmīs Episcopis variarum regionum, qui sacros ritus et caeremonias iuxta ecclesiasticas praescriptiones ac laudabiles consuetudines in suis dioecesibus observari satagunt, quaestio super Altari quod communiter dicitur *sepulcrum*, alias agitata, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sub duplici sequenti dubio reposita fuit, nimirum :

I. Utrum in altari, in quo Feria V et VI Maioris Hebdomadae, publicae adorationi exponitur et asservatur Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, repraesentetur sepultura Domini, aut institutio eiusdem Augustissimi Sacramenti?

II. Utrum liceat ad exornandum praedictum Altare adhibere statuas aut picturas, nempe Beatissimae Virginis, S. Ioannis Evangelistae, S. Mariae Magdalenae et militum custodum, aliaque huiusmodi?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio in ordinariis comitiis, subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, ad relationem infrascripti Cardinalis, Sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefecti, exquisitis trium Rūmorum Consultorum suffragiis, scripto exaratis, attenta quoque antiqua et praesenti Ecclesiae disciplina, omnibusque maturo examine perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Utrumque.

Ad II. Negative. Poterunt tamen Episcopi, ubi antiqua consuetudo vigeat, huiusmodi repraesentationes tolerare ; caveant autem ne novae consuetudines hac in re introducantur. Atque ita rescripsit, contrariis quibuscumque decretis abrogatis. Die 15 Decembris 1896

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XII. per ipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem relatione, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae Congregationis ratum habuit, et confirmavit, iisdem die, mense et anno.

CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

D. PANICI, S.R.C., *Secretarius*.

THE FEAST OF THE HOLY INFANCY OF JESUS, WHERE
TITULAR OF A CHURCH IS TO BE CELEBRATED ON
DECEMBER 25, WITH THE OFFICE AND MASS OF THE
NATIVITY. MANNER OF COMMEMORATING THIS
TITULAR IN THE SUFFRAGES.

BELLEVILLEN. DUBIA QUOAD FESTUM, OFFICIUM ET MISSAM IN
ECCLESIA DICATA S. INFANTIAE IESU

In Diocesi Bellevillensi extat Ecclesia parochialis, dicata Sanctae Infantiae Iesu, et Sacerdos eidem Ecclesiae adscriptus, de consensu sui Rñi Episcopi a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum resolutionem humillime postulavit :

I. Quando Festum Titularis Ecclesiae suae sit celebrandum ?

II. Quod officium cum Missa sit dicendum in hoc Festo ?

III. An et quomodo facienda sit commemoratio in fine Laudum et Vesperarum inter commemorationes communes ?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgiae, omnibusque mature perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Die 25 Decembris.

Ad II. Officium et Missa de Nativitate Domini.

Ad III. Quoad primam partem Affirmative. Quoad secundam, ad Laudes dicatur : Gloria in excelsis Deo etc. nempe antiphona ad Benedictus, in Laudibus Officii de Nativitate Domini. In Vesperis dicatur antiphona ad Magnificat in 2. Vesperis eiusdem Nativitatis, omissis Hodie. Atque ita rescripsit die 18 Decembris 1896.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. With Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By the Rev. Joseph MacRory, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew in Maynooth College. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd.

IT may seem strange to some that a new commentary on the Gospel of St. John should be called for now, when somewhat more than eighteen hundred years have elapsed since the Gospel itself was written. Besides, during those eighteen centuries the task of explaining this Gospel has been undertaken by some of the greatest of the fathers, as well as by many of the most profound theologians and most learned biblical scholars the world has ever seen. Exhaustive commentaries on it have been written by St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, by St. Thomas of Aquin and St. Bonaventure, by Maldonatus, à Lapide, and Toletus, and in our own time by Patrizzi, Corluy, and Archbishop M'Evilly. And these are but a very few of the great names associated with works written on the Gospel of St. John. What need, then, can there be for yet another commentary on this Gospel? Some unthinking people may, perhaps, reply, 'None whatever,' and may feel inclined to speak of any fresh attempt to throw light on the obscure passages of St. John somewhat after the manner of the Caliph Omar, when questioned by Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, as to how the books in the famous Alexandrian library should be disposed of. 'If these writings of the Greeks,' replied the unlettered fanatic, 'agree with the Book of God, they are useless, and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed.' By a similar, though undoubtedly less arbitrary, process of reasoning, it might be said that a new commentary on St. John, which agrees with the works of the great men whose names have been mentioned, is useless, and that one which disagrees with them is pernicious. But this view of a new commentary on even the best-known portions of Scripture is as shallow, as Omar's view of the Alexandrian library was ignorant and unreasoning. For, although a treatise on a particular subject may contain nothing that is not to be found in similar treatises, still, provided the author be a thorough

master of his subject, the treatise will assume in his hands a form better suited to the wants of his time, or to the wants of the class for whom the treatise was written, than that possessed by earlier treatises. Many examples in support of this statement will occur to everyone. A familiar one is the yearly, almost daily, multiplication of school treatises on the grammar of various languages, as well as of annotated editions of the better-known writings in the same languages. The chief merit claimed by the compilers of such works is, that they are better suited for the object for which they are intended than treatises or editions already in existence.

This was one reason which influenced Dr. MacRory in preparing his 'Critical and Explanatory Notes' on the fourth Gospel. The course of Sacred Scripture read in the College was lengthened, the students were unable in the time at their disposal to read the existing commentaries; consequently, it became the duty of the Professor to provide them with a commentary suited to their circumstances. He tells us this in his preface:—

'Some years ago their Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, decided to lengthen considerably the course of Sacred Scripture read in this College. ∴ . . . This change, while it has the advantage of familiarizing our students with a larger portion of the Sacred Text, obviously renders it impossible that so much time as formerly should be devoted to the study of any one portion of it. . . . I was not long, therefore, in charge of the class of Sacred Scripture when I became convinced that it would be useful, if not necessary, to provide the students with a compendious exposition of the portions of Scripture that they are expected to study.'

The present commentary on the Gospel of St. John is the first instalment of the projected work, and its merits as an exposition of this sublime Gospel, apart altogether from the object for which it was written, far more than justify its appearance, and afford splendid promise that when the author has finished the task he has undertaken, he will have permanently enriched biblical literature, and conferred an inestimable boon, not only on the students of Maynooth, but on all students of the New Testament who understand the English language.

We have no intention of apologizing for the publication of this volume—it is its own best apology—but we desire to mention another reason which justified Professor MacRory in publishing

it, and which will equally justify his successor one hundred or five hundred years hence in following his example. There are a great many exegetical difficulties in the fourth Gospel. These have been variously explained by different commentators, and for some unaccountable reason no one who makes anything like a profound study of this Gospel or of any other book of Sacred Scripture, can accept throughout the solutions of the difficulties given by even the ablest commentator. The earnest student of Scripture is by a necessity of his nature, or rather, of his individual characteristics, eclectic. He cannot adopt the views of any one commentator, but must laboriously weigh the opinions of the authors he has at hand, reject those which do not recommend themselves to his reason, adopt that one which does, or, abandoning all the opinions he has read, construct one for himself: or if this be impossible, give up the difficulty in despair, and admit a series of more or less probable opinions. This is particularly true of a professor, who must be prepared to recommend and defend some solution of every difficulty, some interpretation of every obscure passage that occurs in the text which it is his duty to explain. And when a professor has finally convinced himself of the truth or greater probability of certain definite solutions of all the difficulties contained in a book of Scripture like the Gospel of St. John, he is naturally desirous to crystallize his opinions by committing them to type, thereby saving himself the trouble of again consulting authorities, or looking up forgotten notes.

That the author of this work has definite and decided views regarding the solution of the difficulties with which the fourth Gospel abounds is evident from even a casual glance through these pages. And that his views have not been formed without exhaustive reading, the numerous though unobtrusive references to the fathers, the great theologians, and the classical commentators, abundantly prove; while the exercise of an independent, and generally sound, judgment is testified by the fact that the author always supports his interpretation by intrinsic rather than by extrinsic arguments. No matter how great may be the authority of those who hold a certain interpretation, he rejects that interpretation, unless the intrinsic evidence in its favour outweighs, or, at least, equals that in favour of any other opinion.

A striking instance of our author's independence of judgment is given in the beginning of the first chapter. Everyone is

acquainted with the usual division and punctuation of vv. 3 and 4 of the first chapter :—

- ‘ 3. *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt ;
et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est :*
4. *In ipso vita erat et vita erat lux hominum.*’

But this familiar and now universally-received punctuation, our author tells us, is all wrong, and must, therefore, be abandoned, and in its place we must adopt the following :—

- ‘ 3. *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt :
et sine ipso factum est nihil.
Quod factum est, (4) in ipso vita erat :
et vita erat lux hominum.*’

The English rendering, according to this punctuation, would be : ‘ All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing. In that which was made [*literally* ; What was made, in *it*] was life, and the life was the light of men.’ Is it possible, then, that the world has waited for eighteen centuries to learn from Professor MacRory the true meaning of the very first lines of the best-known portion of Holy Writ? We will allow himself to answer this question :—

‘ We think it extremely probable, then, that the words : *Quod factum est* (*that was made*, or, as we shall render in our interpretation ; *what was made*), standing at present in the end of verse 3, are to be connected with verse 4. Some may be inclined to blame us for departing from what is at present the received connection of the words in such a well-known passage as this. Let us, therefore, sum up briefly the evidence that has forced us, we may say reluctantly, to connect the words with verse 4.

‘ 1. Though Maldonatus tries to throw doubt upon the fact, this is the connection adopted by practically all, if not all, the fathers and other writers of the first three centuries, and by the majority of writers afterwards down to the sixteenth century.

‘ 2. It is supported by the oldest MSS. of the Vulgate, and, what is more remarkable, by some of the oldest Greek MSS., notwithstanding the fact that St. Chrysostom was against it.

‘ 3. The parallelism in the verse is better brought out : *All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing.*

‘ 4. If *Quod factum est* were intended to be connected with the preceding, the clause would be certainly unnecessary, and apparently useless, because it is plain without it that the Evangelist is speaking of what was *made*, and not including any uncreated Being, like the Father or the Holy Ghost.’

Though we hold very strongly against the author that the now recognised punctuation is correct, we cannot deny him the merit of courage and independence of judgment in reviving an old opinion against the united forces of modern criticism, and we must congratulate him on the ability he displays in maintaining his view.

Every difficult passage in the Gospel receives from the author full and careful treatment. No opinion of any weight seems to have been left unnoticed. Usually he marshals under each difficult passage the more probable interpretations, giving the names of the prominent interpreters who have held each, as well as the internal arguments in their favour; and in no single instance, as far as we have been able to discover, does he leave the reader in doubt as to the interpretation which he himself favours. We should feel inclined to challenge some of his interpretations, notwithstanding the great learning and ability with which they are supported, but our own interpretations of the same passages are certainly no better supported by authority than his; while the force of the internal arguments in favour of our interpretations may derive something from our own subjectivity. Hence we will abstain from any detailed criticism of his conclusions, though we reserve to ourselves the right to animadvert briefly on the solution he has adopted of one difficulty. In reconciling the apparent discrepancy between the fourth Gospel and the synoptic Gospels regarding the day of the month Nisan on which our Lord was crucified, he adopts the time-honoured but inconvenient view that, while the synoptic Gospels measure the day by the Jewish method, from sunset to sunset, St. John measures it according to the Greek method, from midnight to midnight. This solution of the difficulty we would adopt in defect of a better; but a better, we think, exists, and is actually discussed by our author, who, however, rejects it, on what we cannot but consider as very inadequate grounds. We let himself explain this opinion:—

‘(4) Others, as Petav., Mald., Kuin., Coleridge, Cornely, &c., hold that our Lord and the Apostles eat the Paschal Supper on the night of the 14th of Nisan, while the Jews that year eat it on the night of the 15th. Maldonatus holds that it was customary with the Jews from the time of the Babylonian captivity, whenever the first day of the Pasch fell on a Friday, to transfer it to Saturday, in order that two solemn feasts might not occur on successive days. According to this view, our Lord corresponded with the requirements of the Jewish Law; the Jews, on the other

hand, followed the custom which had been introduced after the Babylonian captivity. In this view, too, it is easy to reconcile St. John's statement with those of the other Evangelists. He speaks of the night of the Last Supper, in reference to the feast as celebrated that year by the Judeans, and so places it *before* the feast; they, on the other hand, speak of it in reference to the strict Law, and place it on the first day of Azymes, or rather, on the night following the first day of Azymes.

'The great names of many who have held this opinion lend to it considerable probability, and if the custom which is alleged in its favour were proved to have existed in the time of Christ, we would at once adopt it. But it is seriously disputed whether such a custom did exist at that time. It is true, indeed, that among the modern Jews, when the Paschal feast should begin on Friday, they always defer it to the Sabbath; and the Talmud is referred to by Cornely (vol. iii., § 73, 1) as saying that the same has been the Jewish practice ever since the Babylonian captivity. Others, however, contend that the custom is not as old as the time of Christ, and that in His time the custom of the Pasch was kept on a Friday whenever it fell on that day. Aben-Ezra (on Levit. xxiii. 4) says:—"Tam ex Mischna quam ex Talmude probatur Pascha in secundam, quartam, et *sextam* feriam quandoque incidisse." Since, then, the hypothesis on which this opinion rests seems doubtful, the opinion itself appears to us less satisfactory than that which follows.'

From this quotation it appears—(a) That this opinion is supported by the greatest authorities among biblical scholars, past and present; (b) that the Talmud states that the custom of transferring the Paschal festival to Saturday as often as it fell on Friday existed from the time of the Babylonian captivity; (c) that the Jews of the present day observe this custom. And yet the opinion is rejected by our author, as well as by Corluy and other writers of name, simply because it cannot be clearly proved that the custom did, in fact, exist in the time of Christ. We say that this is the only reason; for we regard the words of Aben-Ezra, quoted by the author, if they possess any meaning at all, as making for rather than against the opinion in support of which they are brought forward. Why did Aben-Ezra consider it necessary to say that the Pasch *now and then* (*quandoque*) fell on Friday, unless in the hypothesis that it did not fall on Friday every time that the 15th of Nisan fell on that day? For the feast, being regulated by the moon, had just as good a chance of falling on Friday as on any other day of the week. What the ancient Rabbi's reference to *feria 2^{ta} et 4^{ta}* means, we do not know, and, perhaps, neither does anyone else.

The form of the 'Notes' and their relation to the Text in the printed page are both highly satisfactory. The Text of the Vulgate and that of the Rhemish version are given at the top of the page in parallel columns; the 'Notes' also printed in double column fill the remainder of the page. The proportion of Text to commentary varies, of course, with the difficulties contained in the Text. And here we may point out what we consider a great advantage in this work, namely, the brevity or complete absence of commentary on passages which present no difficulty. On passages like the story of the man born blind, which might be transferred without changing a word into a children's Bible History, it is irritating to meet with a long and prosy commentary. Another point we note with pleasure, wherever the Sacred Text is quoted in the notes it is always printed in clarendon. The author has adopted a style well suited to a commentary, such as his. It is at once clear, terse, and simple. We notice a few inconsistencies in the use of terms, and in the form of type in which certain peculiar words are printed. This small defect is, doubtless, owing to hurry in revising the proof sheets.

We will conclude this long notice by expressing a hope that the reception which this volume will receive from Catholic colleges, Catholic students, and Catholic priests, will encourage the author to hurry forward the publication of similar volumes on the other portions of the New Testament.

D. O'L.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By William Stang, D.D., Vice-Rector of the American College, Louvain, and Professor of Pastoral Theology at the same; late Rector of SS. Peter and Paul's Cathedral, Providence, Rhode Island. Brussels: Société Belge de Libraire; Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son; London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.; New York: Benziger Brothers.

BEFORE we could find space for a notice of this valuable contribution to ecclesiastical literature, the first edition had been completely exhausted, and a new edition issued, by those energetic publishers of Catholic books, Benziger Brothers. The work was primarily intended for the students of the American College, Louvain, in which the author discharges the duties of Vice-President and Professor of Pastoral Theology. Written by an

American priest, and designed to help to train priests for the American mission, the work is naturally and necessarily adapted to the circumstances of the Church in America. But this, so far from diminishing the value of the book for English-speaking priests, elsewhere than in America, really enhances it. For in methods of administration, in the matter of Catholic schools, ecclesiastical buildings, societies, and such like, a good deal is to be learned from our progressive brethren in the United States. The book is intended for a class-book, and, as such, is, in the mind of the author, only a collection of materials which the living voice of the Professor must expand. To us, however, it seems that any intelligent reader, may master the details of the book without the aid of a professor, and may thus acquire in the retirement of his own study the vast stores of practical wisdom which Dr. Stang has succeeded in compressing into his work. For the author is not a mere theorist, not a mere man of books ; almost every page reveals the man of experience in every detail of a missionary priest's work. This experience being engrafted on a mind of broad and warm sympathies towards every class, lends a special charm to the book, and a special weight to the author's views. We should like to see a copy of this book—for it is the only one of the kind originally written in English, or written with a view to the peculiar circumstances of missionary countries—in the hands of every theological student and of every young priest. The student will learn from it how to reduce to practice the principles taught him in the schools ; he will learn how to conduct himself as a priest, as a pastor of souls, as an administrator of ecclesiastical property, and as a man of the world, in so far as his duties compel him from time to time to assume this character. The young priest should have it at hand, and should read it frequently, that he may be able to apply, when the occasion arises, the wise practical directions and suggestions with which the work is crammed. To older priests we would also recommend it, if for no other purpose than that they might compare their practice with that recommended by the author, or, that they might in these pages gaze on what they ought to be, and compare the picture with what they really are.

We do not know whether the circumstances of this country are so different from those which prevail in the United States, that the following advice, tendered to the American rector and his assistant, might not be adopted by our parish priest and his

curate. Many, at any rate, will consider the advice a good one :—

‘The good assistant will entertain for his rector the true affection as for an elder brother, while the latter will treat him with every possible condescension and confidence. There must be no secrets between them about the workings of the mission. The rector is only *primus inter pares*; he cannot regard his assistant as a slave who has to do the hardest and most disagreeable work, hear all the confessions, attend every sick call. The rector should never forget that his assistant is his equal as a priest; he should take an equal share of the pastoral work, and simply do himself what he expects the other to do. He who gets a curate for the sole reason to rid himself of pastoral work is a hireling, and unworthy of his calling. The rector is responsible to the bishop for the priestly conduct of his assistant. He should not report him, however, for every little fault. He should try to advise and correct him in a kind and brotherly way.’

The new edition professes to be ‘revised and enlarged.’ The enlarging consists in the addition of a useful chapter on Church music; the revision in the correction of trifling inaccuracies. There is a curious mistake, however, which has not been corrected in the new edition. The *Instructio Clementina* is in both editions attributed to Clement VIII., whereas it was issued by Clement XI., exactly a century after the death of Clement VIII. The Instruction was issued on January 21, 1705, and Clement VIII. died in 1605. The Instruction, besides, bears internal evidence of being much later than the time of Clement VIII., for a decree is cited in the body of it which was issued as late as 1658. We have noticed the same mistake in a document but recently come from a Roman congregation.

D. O’L.

DOCTORIS ECSTATICI D. DIONYSII CARTUSIANI OPERA OMNIA.

In unum corpus digesta cura et labore Monachorum Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis. Favente Pont. Max. Leone XIII. Tomus I. In Genesim et Exodium (i.-xix.). Monstrolii: Typus Cartusiae Sancta Mariae de Pratis. 1896.

THIS is the first volume of the works of the learned and saintly Dionysius the Carthusian, who lived from 1402 till 1471. The first printed edition of his works was issued in Cologne between 1530 and 1559, in twenty-two folio volumes, and this seems to

have been the only complete edition yet printed. The editors, monks of the Order on which the fame of the author sheds such lustre, intend now to publish a new and complete edition, founded on the Cologne edition, but carefully revised and collated with the best MSS. that can be found. The task is a gigantic one; for it is considered there will be fully forty quarto volumes, each containing about eight hundred pages. The edition is dedicated to his Holiness Leo XIII., from whom the editors have received a most kind and encouraging letter, which they print at the beginning of this volume. An Elenchus, or list of the author's works, is printed among the introductory matter, and from it we learn that he wrote as many as one hundred and eighty-five different treatises or works. These are on every subject of interest to a churchman, but are chiefly on Sacred Scripture, theology, and philosophy. Of the forty volumes of the new edition, fifteen will be occupied with the exegetical works on the Old and New Testaments, and thirteen with his theological and philosophical works. The remaining volumes will be occupied by short works on theological and philosophical questions, and by treatises on asceticism, &c. The first volume contains an exposition of Genesis, and of the first nineteen chapters of Exodus. It displays the great powers of mind possessed by the author, and his wonderful acquaintance with the writings of the fathers, especially with those of SS. Jerome and Augustine. We find no mention of evolution, of course, but we find much that is edifying and instructive, conveyed in easy, graceful Latin. The subscription price is 8 francs a volume.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIAE.

Auctore Joanne Bapt. Sasse, S.J. Volumen Primum. De Sacramentis in Genere, de Baptismo, de Confirmatione, de SS. Eucharistia. Friburgi: Brisgoviae, Sumtibus. Herder.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS. Auctore Ignatio Ottiger, S.J. Tomus I. De Revelatione Supernaturali. Herder.

LIBRI LITURGICI BIBLIOTHECAE APOSTOLICAE VATICANAE MANU SCRIPTI. Digessit et Recensuit Hugo Ehrensberger. Herder.

FATHER SASSE's work on the Sacraments is to be completed in two volumes, and will prove a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. The author has spent more than twenty years

in teaching theology, and is, consequently, thoroughly familiar with every controversy, and phase of controversy, that has been waged round the doctrines and practices of the Church. Beginning with the Sacraments, the author promises us similar treatises on other dogmatic questions. He prefers to make the treatises independent of one another, and to publish them separately, so that they may have an individual value, even though the entire programme which he has sketched for himself should never be carried out. The present volume makes us hope that the author may be permitted to complete his self-imposed task. The work is intended for students, though it is only the more gifted who could profit by reading it as the *first* treatise on the questions with which it deals. For, although it is not so recondite or discursive as Franzelin, nor so voluminous as Haine, on the Sacraments in general, still it is too learned and too long to form a suitable elementary text-book for the average student. But students for whom the Mechlin treatises are too superficial and Perrone too barren, may turn with pleasure and profit to Father Sasse's pages, where they will find every doctrine fully explained and abundantly established, and every objection triumphantly routed.

The second volume mentioned above, and, like the preceding one, from the pen of a learned member of the Society of Jesus, is intended rather for professors than for students. Besides twenty-four pages of introduction and index, it contains nine hundred and twenty-eight pages of text, entirely devoted, as the title of the book indicates, to the question of Revelation. This, like Father Sasse's volume, is but the first of a contemplated series, and is to be followed immediately by two volumes on the Church, *De Ecclesia Christi*. The scope of the entire work on Revelation and on the Church is stated by the author with equal brevity and clearness:—

‘Duae igitur praecipue quaestiones hujus nostrae disciplinae argumentum efficiunt, *utrum* scilicet revelatio supernaturalis atque divina *reapse impertita* sit, et *ubi ea existat* et inveniri possit. Quae enim aliae quaestiones insuper in hac nostra disciplina tractantur, omnes ad duas illas praecipuas pertinent, vel ut praeviae, vel ut natura necessario consequentes. Atque ex dictis evidens quoque est argumentum hujus disciplinae, partim situm scilicet vero in revelationis theora, esse praecipue *philosophicum*, partim historicum, in usum nimirum illius theoriae ad demonstrandam revelationis Christianae in Ecclesia Romano-Catholica existentiam.’

Imbued with this profound but thoroughly clear and logical view of his subject, Father Ottiger has given us as the first instalment of his work—the more purely philosophical portion of it—a volume so well ordered, that the most fastidious could not suggest an improvement, so simple in language and so clear in style that the meaning almost shines from the pages, and so full withal that it contains everything of worth that is relevant to the subject. We have said that the book is intended rather for professors than for students; but by students we mean only those who are making their way for the first time along the foot of the lofty heights of theology. Those already acquainted, even in a very imperfect way, with the questions treated by our author, will find no difficulty, but, on the contrary, much pleasure, in reading his work. And undoubtedly in our time it is ‘fundamental theology’ such as this that we should study. Hardly any thinking man is now a heretic. Hence it is waste of time to fight with the shadows of the ghosts of forgotten heresies. We should rather gird ourselves for the fight with infidelity, and there is no better armoury whence to draw for both defence and attack than the work now under consideration.

The recension of the manuscript liturgical books contained in the Vatican library will prove very valuable to scholars and antiquarians; for the general reader it possesses no interest.

SHORT LIVES OF THE SAINTS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR. By the Rev. Henry Gibson. Volume I., *January-April*. Volume II., *May-August*. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THESE ‘Lives’ may suit certain tastes, and may supply a want, though of this latter we are doubtful. As history they are unreliable, and the author tells us that he has purposely refrained from introducing moral reflections or pious exhortations. Unnecessary dates and names of places, he tells us, have also been excluded. He should have entirely refrained, we think, from all reference to questions involving a knowledge of chronology, geography, or proper names. He releases St. Patrick from captivity after six months, although the saint himself assures us he remained a captive for six years; and he has him consecrated bishop before coming to Rome to receive the Pope’s blessing on his mission, though all the ancient Lives agree in stating that he was not consecrated until after he had left Rome. He makes

St. Columba see the light in the 'County of Tyrconnell,' and Julian the Apostate to succeed Constantine. He gives two lives of St. Catharine of Siena, one on April 30, the other on May 5, the feast of St. Pius V. In the former, St. Catherine dies on April 29, in the latter on April 27. We cannot say we are sorry that the names of so few Irish saints appear. We wish them better than to have their lives handled in the careless manner of this author. Still, we doubt whether it was good taste on the part of anyone publishing a presumed popular work on the Lives of the Saints for English-speaking Catholics to make no reference to St. Brigid, the 'Mary of Ireland,' the patron revered by Ireland's children.

D. O'L.

THE ROMAN MISSAL FOR THE USE OF THE LAITY. Including all the Feasts for England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Society of Jesus, and the Order of St. Benedict. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT OUR GOD. By a Child of St. Teresa. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd.

THIS new edition of *The Missal for the Laity* is quite up to date, as regards new feasts, as one would naturally infer from the names of the eminent firms which join in publishing it, and the style in which it is issued does credit to Catholic taste and enterprise. The type is a little too small, but larger type would perhaps have made the volume too bulky.

The little *brochure* of fifty odd pages on the Blessed Sacrament contains as many striking and edifying thoughts as many a volume on the same subject of ten times its bulk. Its object, as the title implies, is to make us realize that the Blessed Sacrament is indeed our God, and its words are the outpourings of the heart of one whose mind is permeated with the reality of this great truth.

We have also received from Messrs. Burns and Oates, Ltd., copies of new editions of *The Explanatory Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, and of *The Children's Bible History*.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal under Episcopal Sanction

THE LIBRARY OF THE VATICAN

AMIDST the confusion, rush, and unrest of the present time, it is a pleasant thing, and refreshing to the spirit, to turn aside for a while from the current of life around us, into the serenity of a past that is linked to the present by the golden chain of the arts and literature. 'Whatever,' wrote Dr. Johnson, 'withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever make the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of human beings.'

Few things fulfil these conditions more effectually than those store-houses of the world's literature, and the mind's food, represented by great and famous libraries.

All minds in the world's history [wrote a French Archbishop of the sixteenth century] find their focal point in a library. This is that pinnacle from which we might see all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them. My library shelves are the avenues of time. Cities and empires are put into a corner. Ages have wrought, generations have grown, and all the blossoms are cast down here. It is the garden of immortal fruits, without dog, or dragon.

Amongst the famous libraries of the world, it cannot be doubted that the most historically interesting, is the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, the Apostolic library of the Vatican at Rome. As regards the antiquity of its origin, the length of time it has existed, the preciousness of its contents, the number and greatness of the names of those

who helped to form it, it claims the first place amongst the historic libraries of the world. The most celebrated antiquarian and archæologist of modern times, the Cavaliere de Rossi, has left us an exhaustive history, in three volumes, on the origin of the library of the Vatican. He reminds us in the opening sentences of this work, that the learned Oriental scholar, Assemani, himself chief custodian of the Vatican Library during the early part of the eighteenth century, ascribed the first origin of a Christian library at Rome to the Gospel of St. Mark, the amanuensis of St. Peter, and to the parchments that St. Paul when a prisoner at Rome, ordered St. Timothy to bring with him from Troas. There is abundant evidence to show that the first Christians were most careful as to the safe custody of their cherished documents, which were necessarily chiefly of a religious and sacred character. It is generally allowed that the earliest collections of books made by the Christians, consisted of those used in the Church services.

In the Acts of Minutius Felix, at the end of the second, and beginning of the third century, it is related that the magistrates made a raid upon the meeting-place of the Christians to seize their books, and how they found there nothing but empty book-cases, the books having been concealed by the Christians in their houses. Signor Lanciani, the present learned Professor of Archæology at the Roman University, in a most interesting work on Ancient Rome, recently translated into English, states that the first libraries of the first three centuries of Christendom were at Rome.

Such [he writes] was the importance attributed to books in these early days of our faith, that in basilicas or places of worship, they were kept in the place of honour, next to the episcopal chair. Many of these basilicas which we discovered from time to time, especially in the Campagna, have the apse *trichora*, that is, subdivided into three smaller hemicycles. The reason and the meaning of this peculiar form of apse was long sought in vain; but a recent discovery made at Hispalis, proves that of the three hemicycles in those apses, the central one contained the tribunal or episcopal chair, the one on the right the sacred implements, the one on the left the sacred books.

However, the first record that we have of a building

raised for the special and exclusive purpose of a library in Christian times, is that of the building erected by Pope St. Damasus, who occupied the Chair of St. Peter from 366 to 384. He selected as a site the stables or barracks of the Green Squadron of the Charioteers of the Circus Maximus, hard by the theatre of Pompey, and there he raised a basilica, or basilical hall, surrounded by a square portico. This hall he dedicated to St. Lawrence, and the two original dedication-inscriptions have been discovered in a MS., formerly at Heidelberg, and now in the Vatican.

In the front of the building, over the main entrance, this inscription was set up in Latin hexameters:—‘I have erected this structure for the archives of the Roman Church; I have surrounded it with porticoes on either side; and I have given it my name, which I hope will be remembered for centuries.’ Around the apse of the inner hall there was another inscription which ran as follows:—‘With the help of St. Lawrence the martyr, I have raised to Thee, Christ God, this hall, in thine honour.’ The wishes of the Pope have been splendidly realized, for the building which now occupies that site has been known for centuries, and is still known, as the church of ‘San Lorenzo in Damaso.’ St. Jerome, who was once the secretary of Pope St. Damasus, and who afterwards sent to him from the East many valuable MSS., calls this collection of documents so housed by St. Damasus, the ‘*Chartarium Ecclesiæ Romanæ*,’ and asserts that the epistles, encyclicals, decrees, and constitutions of the Popes, the *Regesta Pontificum*, as they were called in later ages, were shown to everybody, and could be copied on application to the keeper-in-chief.

The Acts of the martyrs formed a considerable portion of the literature of the early Christians, which they guarded with jealous care. These acts were drawn up, as regards Rome, by the notaries, who occupied a most important and responsible office. They were at first seven in number, and afterwards fourteen. They were called regionary notaries, as they each had a special region of the city allotted to them. They have left their name to this day in the Notaries Apostolic, who are dignitaries of the Papal Court. A still

larger collection of documents consisted of the 'Epistolæ Salutatoriæ,' which were what we should call letters of introduction, given to pilgrims and travellers from one bishop to another. The lectors or readers, who constitute one of the minor orders of the clergy, had the duty of safe-guarding all these documents; and the place where they were kept was called Archivum, or, as we should say, the Archives. In the Archives of the present Vatican Library to-day, there are no less than two thousand and sixteen volumes of such documents, although the complete collection of the letters of the early Popes collected by St. Damasus, has been lost since the reign of Honorius III., who died in 1227, and who is the last Pope who mentions having seen these documents, and who frequently refers to them.

The next step in the history of the origin of the Vatican Library, after the times of Pope St. Damasus, takes us to the seventh century, when the Papal Archives and books were removed to the Lateran Basilica. The building erected by Pope St. Damasus in the fourth century survived, with various alterations and disfigurements, till towards the end of the fifteenth century, when in 1468 Cardinal Raphael Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV., had it levelled to the ground, and a new church built, about two hundred feet east of the Basilica Damasiana, in conjunction with his magnificent Palace of the Cancelleria. 'Those,' writes Lanciani, 'who have visited Rome, or are otherwise acquainted with its prominent buildings, will recollect, I am sure, the wonderful courtyard of the Palazzo Cancelleria, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Bramante, resting, as by a miracle of art, on a double tier of light columns of red Egyptian granite. These are the very columns which Pope Damasus carried from Pompey's theatre to his library, and which Cardinal Riario, in 1486, removed from the library to his palace.' The seventh century is more remarkable for the dispersion of books from the Papal library than for their collection.

In 601 Pope St. Gregory the Great sent to St. Augustine, who was then preaching the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons, 'plurimos codices,' 'very many books,' of which, unfortunately, only two, as far as it is at present known, have

come down to us. One is in the Bodleian Library, and the other is at Cambridge, both of which are considered by antiquarians as exceedingly fine specimens of sixth century palæography. They are both books of the Gospels—‘*Evangelitaria*.’ Demands for books, from the Gallic, Spanish, and Alexandrian Churches, were not only taken into consideration at Rome, but granted as liberally as the resources of the Archives and library of the Holy See would permit. Missionaries to the northern regions of Europe were especially frequent in their demand for books. In 649 Amandus, Bishop of Trajectum, sent a message to Pope Martin I. to obtain duplicates from the Pontifical library. The answer of the Pope was, ‘Our library is absolutely exhausted, and we could not give your messenger a single duplicate. We authorized him, however, to translate and copy some of them himself, but he left Rome in a hurry.’ It is generally supposed that the reason why no duplicates could then be obtained, was because all the available copies of theological books had been distributed amongst the bishops who were assembled in that year, 649, at the great Roman Council, to help them in their inquiries about the heresy of the Monothelites.

During the seventh century, the founders of monasteries in England were especially distinguished as book-hunters, and St. Bede relates how one of them, St. Bennet Biscop, made no less than five journeys to Rome, between the years 653 and 684, for the express purpose of increasing the literary supply of his abbey. As a result of one of these journeys, he tells us, that he increased his collection with (and these are his own words) ‘an innumerable quantity of books in literature.’ On his death-bed, the last words of this saintly Abbot were words of exhortation to his successor to preserve and enlarge his ‘*copiosissima et nobilissima bibliotheca*,’ nearly the whole of which had been brought from Rome. The successor of St. Bennet Biscop shared his passion for books. He brought over from Rome a ‘pandect’ of the sacred text, of which he ordered three copies to be made; and when he was far advanced in years, he set out again for Rome, taking with him the fairest of the

three copies as a present to the Papal library. The volume still exists, having ultimately found its way into the Medicean library at Florence.

By the eighth century the bulk of the collection contained in the 'Archivum' of Pope St. Damasus had been housed at the Lateran, and there it remained undisturbed until the tenth century, in the course of which the most precious documents were transferred to a stronghold, especially built for the purpose, in the 'Turris Cartularia, a massive tower built alongside the Arch of Titus, by the Via Sacra, and to which the Arch of Titus served as a buttress. A portion of the foundations of this muniment tower, which was only pulled down at the beginning of the present century, can still be seen. It is known that this tower fell into the hands of the Imperial troops in their invasion of Rome, in 1244, and it is supposed that it was then that the complete collection of the *Regesta Pontificum* collected by Pope St. Damasus was lost or destroyed. During the residence of the Papal Court at Avignon, we have no record of special interest concerning the Papal library; but in 1443 after the Popes had left Avignon and returned again to Rome, Eugenius IV. had a catalogue made of the books that had been sent back to the Papal library at Rome, from Avignon, in which catalogue three hundred and forty books are enumerated.

We have now reached the period of the Renaissance, and find ourselves in the very centre of that fascinating and wonderful movement. It was on the 6th March, 1447, that Tommaso Parentucelli was elected Pope, and took to himself the name of Nicholas V. To him it is that we owe the foundation of the Vatican library, as it at present exists. Than this man, perhaps, no greater patron of the arts and literature ever lived. The son of a country doctor, after a brief course of studies at the University of Bologna, he obtained the post of tutor in the noble family of the Strozzi, at Florence. Then for twenty years as a priest, he was Major Domo to the household of the Archbishop of Florence. He was afterwards elected Bishop of Bologna, and rewarded with a Cardinal's hat in 1446. Alike as

Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope, he was so kind to all-comers that no one went away unassisted. A signal proof of his benevolence is furnished in the foundation of the great Papal Almshouse near the church of the German Campo Santo, where on Mondays and Fridays about two thousand poor people received bread and wine, and every day a dinner was given to thirteen. When he was still a young man and poor he used to say, that if ever he had wealth he would spend it on two things—books and buildings. He was a genuine book collector, most keen in his search for new works, ransacking the libraries wherever he went, looking for fresh treasures. The future founder of the Vatican library gradually became one of the first connoisseurs of his day in books, and was looked upon as a great authority among bibliographers and book collectors. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., wrote of him:—‘From his youth he has been initiated into all liberal arts; he is acquainted with all philosophers, historians, poets, cosmographers, and theologians; and is no stranger to civil and canon law, or even to medicine.’

Such then being the character of the man, it is not to be wondered at that during the pontificate of Nicholas V., Rome should have been transformed into a huge building yard, and immense workshop, and studio, as well as a vast literary laboratory. ‘All the scholars of the world,’ wrote Vespasiano Bisticci, ‘came to Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas, partly of their own accord, and partly at his request, because he desired to have them there.’ Besides scholars, a great number of famous architects and artists were employed by Nicholas. He it was who brought his dear friend, Fra Angelico da Fiesole, from the convent of St. Mark at Florence, to Rome, and caused him to decorate the Vatican palace with those sublime frescoes the remnants of which we still can gaze upon in that little shrine of Christian Art, known as the chapel of Nicholas V. But the crowning glory of the pontificate of Nicholas was to be the formation of the most noble library in the world. For this purpose he had agents at work in almost every country in Europe. No expense was to be spared—armies

of transcribers, many of whom were French and German, were employed on the work of transcription of the precious manuscripts he had collected.

Nearly all the manuscripts were copied on parchment, and bound in a sumptuous manner in red velvet, with silver mountings, and silver clasps. The library was intended by the Pope to have been a public institution, accessible to the whole learned world. The zeal displayed by Nicholas in the prosecution of his undertaking was unexampled. During the eight years of his short pontificate, he had got together from all parts of the world a collection of five thousand volumes of rare and costly books, a very large proportion of which consisted of manuscripts of the Greek and Latin classics. The Latin MSS. in the library of Nicholas V., were contained in eight chests, or armaria, arranged after the manner of the ancient Roman libraries, in which the books were not placed in an upright position, as now, but laid lengthways, and piled up, one on the other, a wooden panel enclosing them on the outside of the case.

It was [writes Voigt, the historian of humanism] the greatest joy of Nicholas, to walk about his library, arranging the books, and glancing through their pages, admiring the handsome bindings, and taking pleasure in contemplating his own arms stamped on those that had been dedicated to him, and dwelling in thought on the gratitude that further generations of scholars, would entertain towards him, their benefactor. Thus he is to be seen depicted in one of the halls of the Vatican Library, employed in settling his books.

May it not with truth be said, that the hearts of every generation of the lovers of literature and artistic culture will go out in grateful and enthusiastic greeting, to that beautiful, serene, and noble character, whose only earthly ambition was to benefit mankind, by leaving to posterity, the most splendid collection of literature in the world? 'Don't refuse,' he once said to one who hastened to receive a gift at his hands, 'don't refuse, you may not find another Nicholas.' So we might say now to all the lovers of learning and literature, 'don't refuse your meed of praise

and gratitude to Tommaso Parentucelli, for his glorious, immortal gift, for you may not find another Nicholas.'

This noble Pope [wrote Gregorovius] might have been well represented with a cornucopia in his hand, showering gold on scholars and artists. In the eight years of his pontificate he filled Rome with books and parchments : he was another Ptolemy Philadelphus. Few men have had ampler experience of the happiness of giving towards worthy ends.

Here we should do well to recall two remarkable events of the time that helped to revive knowledge of the ancient Greek literature. These two events were, the temporary re-union of the Latin and Greek Churches, at the Council of Florence, and the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Both these events brought the East into closer contact with the West than had existed for many centuries, but especially the fall of Constantinople, which resulted in the wholesale immigration of multitudes of the educated and cultured class to Italy, who brought with them treasures, far more precious than the silver and gold of which their conquerors had robbed them.

In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries [writes Gibbon] each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who without his industry might have perished. The transcripts were multiplied by an assiduous, and sometimes an elegant pen ; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments or those of the elder scholiasts. The sense, though not the spirit of the Greek classics was interpreted to the Latin world.

Many valuable Greek MSS. from the libraries of Constantinople found their way into the Vatican Library during the pontificate of Callixtus III., who succeeded Nicholas V. Crowds of Greek refugees found literary employment at Rome, Florence, and throughout Italy. It would be hardly possible to exaggerate the immense impetus given to the study of literature in the West, by the fall of the capital of the Eastern Empire.

The next great landmark in the history of the Vatican Library is the pontificate of Sixtus IV., who has left his great monument in the celebrated Sistine Chapel. The large hall constructed by this Pope, under the chapel, was

added to the library built by Nicholas V. It was Sixtus IV. who appointed the celebrated Platina, the author of the lives of the Popes, as chief librarian. William Roscoe, by his *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, has made all English-speaking people more or less familiar with the splendid artistic and literary efforts of that Pope. Learned and experienced men were frequently dispatched by him to every country in Europe, and often to remote and barbarous nations, for the sole purpose of rescuing the precious literary remains of antiquity from destruction, by having them brought to Rome, and placed in the Papal library. He frequently sought the assistance of the other sovereigns of Europe, earnestly entreating them to aid him by every means in their power in his search for literary treasure. Some of the letters of Leo X., written to various sovereigns for this purpose yet remain. Those efforts of the Pope were crowned with success, and the library was very considerably increased under his pontificate.

In 1527, during the pontificate of Clement VII., Rome was sacked by the Spanish and German mercenaries under the Constable of Bourbon, and the library suffered much from the general plunder and pillage that then took place throughout the city, many valuable works there deposited being destroyed or stolen. Under the succeeding pontificate of the Farnese Pope, Paul III., the library began to recover from its great losses, and to regain its former splendour. It was Paul III. who first decreed that the office of chief librarian of the Vatican should always be held by a Cardinal.

We now come to the pontificate of the greatest of the building Popes of the Renaissance period, Sixtus V. In five years he had so thoroughly transformed the appearance of the city, that the intelligent and cultivated Abbot of the Benedictines of Mantua, Dom Angelo Grilli, could write, shortly after the Pope's death :—

I am now in *Rome* after an absence of ten years, and do not recognise it, so new does all appear to me to be : monuments, streets, piazzas, fountains, aqueducts, obelisks, and other wonders, all the work of Sixtus V. If I were a poet I would say

that to the imperious sound of the trumpet of that magnanimous Pope the wakened limbs of that half-buried and gigantic body which spreads over the Latin Campagna have replied—and that, thanks to that fervent and exuberant spirit, a new Rome has risen from its ashes.

Among the noble buildings put up by Sixtus V., the great hall of the Vatican library will always hold a foremost place. One thousand two hundred feet in length, covered with a dazzling brilliancy of colour, from its frescoed vaulting and wall panels, to its inlaid marble floor, it stands unique, in its long drawn perspective, as the noblest hall devoted to literature in the world, an immortal monument of Sixtus V. and his architect, Domenico Fontana.

Throughout the rest of Europe at this epoch, outside Italy, with the exception of those in some of the great monasteries, there can hardly be said to have existed anything worthy of being called a great library. No sooner did the influence of the Renaissance begin to make itself felt in the North than the religious troubles of the sixteenth century arose, and such brilliant and remarkable patrons of the new learning as Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher in England, together with the fascinating and interesting Erasmus of Rotterdam, found themselves embroiled in that vast polemical wrangle which put an end for a time, in a large measure, to the study of humanities and literature in Northern Europe.

The dispersion and wholesale devastation of MSS. belonging to the monasteries and to the two Universities in England under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was lamentable.

The invention of printing was by no means popular in Italy, and particularly at Rome, the chief reason being that it was looked upon as a mechanical and inartistic contrivance, that threatened to put an end to the means of livelihood of a large number of persons who lived by copying and transcribing MSS. From an artistic point of view, there is much to be said for the prejudice against printing; for who would not say that a really beautiful MS. of the Middle Ages is not a finer thing as a work of art than the finest

printed book? However, printing was introduced very early into Italy, and the first Italian printing-press was set up in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Scholastica at Subiaco in 1465, sixty years before Caxton set up the first English printing-press in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster. The Vatican printing-press was set up soon after that of Subiaco. The specimens of printing produced at the Vatican press surpass in clearness of type and firmness of impression even the best productions of the Plantin press at Antwerp.

In the sixteenth century two remarkable additions were made to the library—one the library of the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg, presented by Maximilian of Bavaria, to Gregory XV., and the other the library of Urbino, which was acquired by Alexander VII., together with a large number of MSS. from the ancient monastery of Bobbio, originally founded by the Irish monk, St. Columbanus, in the Appenines. In 1689, Alexander VIII. placed one thousand nine hundred MSS. in the library, which had been left to his family by Queen Christina of Sweden. During the eighteenth century almost every pontificate made very considerable additions to the library. Two celebrated collections of books were obtained for it by Benedict XIV. in 1740, and Clement XIII. in 1748; Clement XIV. in 1769, and Pius VI. in 1775, were important benefactors. Great damage was done by the French in 1798, who carried off to Paris some of the most precious treasures of the library, but nearly all of them were restored in 1815. Pius VII., Leo XII., and Gregory XVI. each added notable additions. Pius IX. was able to crown the work of his predecessors by placing in the library the magnificent collection of forty thousand volumes that had belonged to Cardinal Angelo Mai.

The printed books kept in the Borgia apartment are the only ones in open cases in which the books are visible. All the MSS. are in closed cases. The whole interior of the library is covered with fresco paintings by celebrated artists, representing scenes in Church history connected with literature and art.

There are at present in the Vatican library 220,000 printed volumes, 25,000 of which are fifteenth century editions, and 5,000 Aldines. It contains 25,000 MSS., of which 19,641 are Latin, 3,613 Greek, 609 Hebrew, 900 Arabic, 460 Syriac, and 79 Coptic.

The Vatican collection of MSS. is the largest and most valuable of any in existence. The *Codex Vaticanus*, comprising the greater part of the New Testament, is the oldest yet known version of Holy Scripture, dating from the early part of the fourth century. The Virgil and Terence of the Vatican library are respectively the earliest known versions of those authors.

An interesting work might well be written on the famous librarians of the Vatican library, from Tortello, appointed by Nicholas V., to the learned Benedictine Cardinal Pitra, who held the office during the early years of the present pontificate. However, this paper cannot be concluded without a passing notice of one of those librarians to whom the world is indebted for the discovery of the palimpsest literature. Cardinal Angelo Mai, after holding the post of curator at the Ambrosian library at Milan for six years, was appointed sub-librarian of the Vatican in 1819, and soon afterwards librarian-in-chief. Whilst at Milan he had commenced a series of literary discoveries, which raised him to the very highest place among the students of palæography. In 1814 he discovered a palimpsest, written over by another MS., of some orations of Cicero. In 1815 he published the hitherto unedited works of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. As librarian of the Vatican, his most signal discovery was the six books of Cicero, *De Republica*, of which only fragments had been previously known. This MS. was a palimpsest three times written over. The remainder of his life was spent in a series of discoveries which are of immense value to the literary world. He likewise was the first to publish the *Codex Vaticanus*, towards the end of his life. He died on the 9th September, 1854.

And now, having passed in rapid review through the well-nigh nineteen centuries of the history of the Papal library, it is time to finish this paper with a description of

the public reading-rooms, and consultation library of the Vatican, which has been thrown open to the students of all nations by Leo XIII. The description is written by one who is himself a constant reader at the British Museum, and who visited Rome last winter to consult documents in the Vatican Archives:—

Dr. Salvatori's kindness [he writes] obtained for me access to the Vatican Library without need of delay or further explanations. The first thing that struck me was the number of workers. In Rome there are half a dozen libraries each with manuscripts counted by thousands; in London there is (Lambeth apart, which is inconsiderable) only one collection, yet the 'Students' room (as it is called) at the Museum is, as a rule, I am happy to say, comfortably empty; the room at the Vaticana, which is of about the same size, is packed with workers, our own countrymen, by the way, being singularly distinguished by their absence. I am told that at the Archives things are worse, or (as we may look at it, if we please), better still. The liberality of Pope Leo XIII. has, in this matter, been practically appreciated, except by our liberal and practical nation. But then, we have better things to do, most of us, than to busy ourselves over dusty parchments.

At the Vatican there is further liberality in the opening of what is called the 'Consultation Library,' of printed books. We descend a marble staircase which (in the surroundings here) may be termed mean, to enter a series of noble halls some three or four hundred feet long perhaps, bright and light, and decorated with painting and gilding. It may be that the details do not admit of being closely examined, but such surroundings have at least this effect, that they enable the mind to address itself in the happiest external conditions to tasks in themselves sufficiently laborious and wearisome. Those who know by experience in Bloomsbury, the effort that it demands, independently of the work itself, to resist and conquer the adverse influences of gloom without the building, and dinginess within, will feel grateful for the brightness of that Roman library; and turning to its shelves, we are more grateful still. It is formed with the single and special view to illustrate the twenty or five-and-twenty thousand Vatican manuscripts, and enable those who work on them, to do so with the utmost ease and profit. We are pleased, and justly pleased, with the twenty-two or twenty-three thousand volumes on the shelves of the Reading Room at the British Museum, a collection covering every department of human knowledge and inquiry; here there must be more than double, or perhaps treble that number of printed books, but restricted to a special class of subjects: Biblical texts, Orientalia, patristics,

ecclesiastical history, the history of the Papacy, that is, the history of every European country, together with such necessary supplements as dictionaries, and a capital collection of catalogues of manuscripts of the libraries of Europe; and all is at the freest disposal of the inquirer. This liberty, without restriction, is delightful; there is nothing like it elsewhere; and, happily, the various Governments, our own included, have understood its value, and have, by sending many official publications as presents, seconded worthily the intentions of the Pope.

But in walking through these halls, and using the good things thus freely placed at our disposal, the thought suggests itself—how long will our age admit of such generous treatment? Will it not be abused? The warning has already come in the shameless mutilation of priceless manuscripts, a misfortune which, along with the *désagrément* it entailed, brought about a calamity worse still, in the death of the late amiable and active prefect of the library, Monsignor Carini.

Here I must conclude this very inadequate and imperfect sketch of the formation of a famous library: a formation that began with the first Christian records, and, keeping pace with the progress of the ages, became in time, and still remains, the most glorious literary monument of all the Christian centuries, and the most splendid shrine of artistic and literary treasure in the world.

In endeavouring to put before you a brief epitome of the history of the formation of the Vatican Library, I have had to take you, as by a flying journey, from the beginning of the second century to the closing years of the nineteenth. I will only trust that, during the journey, you have not felt too badly the want of a sleeping-car.

W. H. KIRWAN.

BOOKS AND READING

CATHOLICS in general, and Irish Catholics in particular, hail with pleasure any work from the pen of that great father of the spiritual life—the illustrious St. Alphonsus. No saint has written a more imperishable name in the theological and ascetic literature of the Church than the Bishop of Agatha. There are two things which give man an abiding place in the remembrance of his fellow-men: piety and learning; and both of these St. Alphonsus possessed in a very remarkable degree even among the saints. No one can study his theological works without being astonished at the vastness and profundity of his erudition, and no one can read his ascetic and popular writings without being struck with the passion, so to speak, for holiness which breathes and glows through every page. And yet withal no saint was more in sympathy and touch with our poor fallen humanity.

Humility, self-abasement, is the dominant note and predominant virtue in the interior life of this truly great man, and compassion for the sinner the grand characteristic of all his dealings with his fellow-men. Hence Catholics all the world over, love his name, revere his memory, and like his books. His sons who have inherited the spirit of their great founder hold a high place in the hearts of the Irish people who are never slow to appreciate true zeal for the salvation of souls. Nor do we see any signs that the enthusiasm with which those good men are greeted and the reverence in which they are held, is likely to grow less with time. On the contrary, time which changes so much, seems to give them a higher and firmer place in the affections of the people. For these reasons we can, we think, bespeak for the popular works of St. Alphonsus ably edited by a distinguished member of his congregation, and admirably produced by Messrs. Duffy & Son, a speedy sale and a large circulation.

Those books which are amongst the best of the popular writings of St. Alphonsus, consist of eight numbers, each of which costs one penny. Each little book is complete in itself, and the seven are so connected as to form a complete whole and a beautiful chaplet of devotion. No subtlety of thought nor loftiness of words will be found in these works, but they are full of solid learning, of practical devotion, and like all his popular writings are replete with unction. They are adapted to every capacity and calculated to excite piety in every heart. Who can read his little treatise on Divine love, or the Passion of our Lord, or on prayer, whether mental or oral, without having his 'heart stirred within him' and yearning for better things—in fact, experiencing somewhat of the feeling which the Apostles felt on their way to Emmaus?

The writings of St. Alphonsus are especially suited for popular reading. United with a fervour and vehemence of devotion which is peculiar to himself, his works show in an equal degree acquaintance with the interior life, and that clear and perspicacious knowledge of the human heart by which its secrets are discovered, its vices laid bare, remedies are discovered, and courage stimulated. Those little books come to us with every human safeguard and the highest sanction. They bear the *nihil obstat* of an able theologian, the *imprimatur* of the distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, and they come to us with the hearty approval of our present illustrious Holy Father. In his letter to the translators of the saint's works into French, Leo XIII. says:—

Although the writings of the Holy Doctor, St. Alphonsus Maria Liguori, have already reached the ends of the earth, to the greatest advantage of Christianity, it is nevertheless to be desired that they be propagated more and more, and put into the hands of everyone. For he has most learnedly accommodated the truths of faith to the intelligence of all; he has laid down the rules of morality for all; he has excited in a wonderful manner piety in the hearts of all; and to those wandering in the dense darkness of the world he shows the way by which, delivered from the powers of darkness, they can pass to the light of God and to His kingdom.

What the great Pontiff so ardently desires, and has so

beautifully expressed, the present editor has done. He has translated into English some of the select works of the saint, which will soon be followed by others, and has spared no labour nor cost to place them within reach of all. The work of the translator is not an easy one; and Father Magnier is to be congratulated in having done a difficult work in an admirable manner. Whilst conscientiously faithful to the original, he has executed the translation with a beauty of style and force of diction worthy of all praise. St. Alphonsus is fortunate in having found a translator with the loyalty and love of a true son. We cannot forbear writing that those works come to us with an especial appropriateness—we might almost say with a divine opportuneness—in these our days. For if ever there was a period which called for the unsleeping vigilance, the prudent foresight, the self-sacrificing zeal of the ministers of Christ, and some antidote against the great evils of the day, that period is the present. It requires no depth of thought, nor acumen of judgment, nor close acquaintance with the current events of the several nations, to observe that the Christian world, at the present day, presents an alarming spectacle. It is no longer, as of old, a single heresy or an eccentric fanaticism, the denial of some revealed truth or the excesses of some extravagant error, that trouble or devastate some portion of the Church of Christ, but it is a well-digested and well-organized system of unbelief, suited to every capacity, and reaching every intellect, adorned with all the embellishments of taste and eloquence by genius seduced by its suggestions, planned and planted by hired miscreants in every land, that corrupts and desolates the whole moral world.

It is no longer a controversy and a conflict between different forms of Christian beliefs, but a stand-up fight and a fierce struggle, and in the near future the struggle will be fiercer still between faith and infidelity. A spurious philosophy has prevailed under one name or another in every age, from the days of Democritus down to our own; but it has received of late years an immense impetus from the audacious teachings of modern Materialists, call them

scientists if you like. Emboldened by their successes in research, the professors of this Materialistic school have attempted to lift the mysterious veil of nature and have challenged the truths of Revelation on the very fundamental principles of the Christian creed. The inanities of Democritus which for so many centuries did duty as arguments to bolster up Materialism have, especially of late years, been re-inforced by a long line of sophistries, call them arguments if you will, taken from the whole field of the physical sciences. In fact, the Materialistic theories of to-day which deify reason and eternize matter—and recognise in it the principle and perfection of every form of life, are only the teachings of a school of Pagan philosophers who, from Democritus to Thales, and from Thales to Socrates, delivered themselves up to speculations concerning the nature and origin of the physical world. In language as sublime as it is truthful the divinely-inspired author of the Book of Wisdom, whilst he predicts their teachings with the accuracy of a listener, holds up to eternal reprobation the guilty delirium of their philosophy.

According to them, as according to their latest disciples, man is but a streak of morning cloud, destined to melt into the infinite azure of the past. 'We are born of nothing,' thus does the sacred writer describe the doctrine of those so-called scientists, and 'after this we shall be as if we had not been; for the breath in our nostrils is smoke, and speech a spark to move our hearts, which being put out, our body shall be ashes, and our spirit poured abroad as soft air, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist which is driven away by the beams of the sun and overpowered by the heat thereof' (Wisdom 2). Such was the doctrine of the old time Pagan philosophers, and such is the doctrine of modern Materialists. It does not matter that against such degrading theories human reason itself, unaided by Revelation, indignantly revolted—that six hundred years before the Christian era—when Christ's coming was only dimly foreshadowed, these degrading doctrines were broached in the school of Athens, to be spurned by the greatest intellects of Greece, to be refuted by the lofty

intelligence of Plato, to be annihilated by the acute intellect of Aristotle. In this thing of infidelity, want of novelty is, it seems, no reproach, nor the repetition of blasphemy any shame.

Nor does it matter that the modern Apostles of evil, no more than their old masters, have established nothing by their wild and conflicting doctrines but their own incapacity to offer anything to man instead of that of which they would ruthlessly rob him. We may well say to these friends of humanity, as Job said to his consolers, 'Miserable comforters are ye all.' Nor does it matter that such degrading doctrines have filled the earth with crime, and made the lives of their votaries a very inferno; their pernicious influence has been stealing over men's minds all the same till it has come to pass that such teaching has shaken to its centre the whole fabric of social life in our day almost in every country in Europe in succession. And there is this difference between the old times and the present, that whereas formerly these wild and unsettling theories were confined to the schools, they are now scattered broadcast by means of the Press all over the world. There is no medium for their diffusion from the philosophic essay to the work of fiction and the daily print to which the apostleship of infidelity has not had recourse. Nor is the danger which is great abroad much less in our day at home.

Let us not live in a fool's paradise. The bad literature which has wrought and is working such havoc—such wholesale slaughter of souls on the continents of Europe and America, and nearer home across the Channel, has invaded our country, and is beginning, I regret to be obliged to write, to do much mischief in our midst. Many of the irreligious works of the European continent have been translated into the English language—circulated in every variety of form, from the most ornate to the cheapest and most accessible, and, I bitterly lament to state, are occasionally to be seen even in the precincts of the domestic circle where nothing defiling should be permitted to enter. Nor are works of a similar spirit and tendency wanting in our own literature. And these works are adapted to every class of reader and to

every grade of intellect—reviving the old errors and fertile in the production of new ones—flattering the pride of the understanding and stimulating the passions of the heart—diffusing their moral poison in every department of learning and through every form of publication by which the popular mind can be reached.

An evil Press too, largely circulated and read by many who suspect no evil, is slowly but surely sapping the foundations of the faith of our people. Charged in an especial manner with the guardianship of the faith, placed as sentinels on the watch-towers of Israel, the Irish bishops have spoken on this subject with no uncertain sound, and we hope their paternal counsel and charitable warning will have the effect, if not of changing the heart and chastening the pen of these unholy scribes, at least of opening the eyes of an unwary public to see the abyss into which such uncatholic reading will inevitably lead them. It is our sincere belief that there never was a period in the history of our Irish Church, which is the glory of Christendom, in which so many and such various agencies were at work to undermine and injure it, as are at present in active and unscrupulous motion; and, consequently, never before was it more needful to watch, to warn, to implore, and to inculcate, in order to prevent the weak, the simple-minded, and the credulous from being poisoned by bad literature and being seduced from their allegiance to religion and its ministers by evil men, who under the guise of politics, and in the name of patriotism, are aiming a deadly blow at faith and morality. Shall we yield to the wicked in zeal? Shall we who share the priesthood of a good Master give a monopoly of activity to infidels and atheists—to secularists and other enemies of our faith? From all sacerdotal lips methinks I hear the thunderous No.

But what antidote can we offer against the desperate and widespread evils of the day? We can offer a very effectual one—the dissemination of good books—such books as those of St. Alphonsus. Would that the blessed spirit of that truly good and great man lived and thrived and throbbed in our poor hearts! what a change would be made on the face

of society—what countless souls would be won to God! The great Pontiff who rules the destinies of the Church, and who presents in his own personality in its highest form the happy union of piety and Letters, tells us that religious indifference is the curse of the age. In a letter addressed to all the Bishops, while lamenting the suffering state of the Church on earth and the present condition of society, the evil days upon which they are fallen, Leo XIII. pointed out in clear and unmistakable language the source and fountain-head of the evils of the world. ‘The great wound,’ said the Pope, ‘is religious indifference—indifference about everything supernatural, indifference about everything that was not “of the earth, earthy.” It was a poison eating its way into the heart of society, acting as a fraud upon the intellect of men, tearing to pieces all religion and every hope of everlasting life.’

Surely the noble priesthood of Ireland, who have a record second to none in Christendom, shall not be indifferent to the interests of their great Master and the salvation of souls. Let us then be up and doing, let us step into the breach and to stem the tide of bad literature and infamous pictures which is beginning to flood the land, let us bring good books to the doors of our good and faithful people, but who, alas! are easily led astray. If needs, be let us as the apostles of evil do in other lands, put them into their hands. Any trouble, any cost, any sacrifice is not too great to preserve the priceless jewel of faith—that faith for which our fathers made sacrifices that have no parallel in the history of any other nation. That morality and religion mainly depend on the nature of the books that are disseminated among men is an assertion that needs no proof. Yet it may be well to recall what a pleasure and power is reading—what a fascinating influence books have in every age exercised over the minds of men.

The man who reads lives in all ages is the contemporary of all mankind. For such a one the boundaries of time seem to be at once removed. Nothing is past, for everything lives as it were before him. The thoughts of beings who had trod the most distant soil in the most distant

periods arise again in his mind with the same warmth and freshness as when they first awoke to life in the bosoms of their authors. 'Books,' says Plato, 'are immortal children that immortalize and deify their fathers.'

Give a man [says Sir John Herschel] a taste for reading and a means of gratifying it, and you can hardly fail of making him a happy man, unless indeed you put into his hands a most perverse selection of books. You place him in contact with the best society in every period of history; with the wisest, the wittiest, with the tenderest, the bravest, and purest characters who have adorned humanity; you make him a denizen of all nations, a contemporary of all ages. The world has been created for him.

And what a power is reading! If we look attentively around us, if we pause and consider how men's minds are swayed, from what source their opinions have sprung, how they have been nurtured and how matured, we shall invariably find that reading has exercised a powerful influence over them, either for good or evil. By it good and bad doctrines are alike disseminated; virtue and vice held up to our admiration or contempt; political opinions diffused and debated; yea, what is more, the passions of the multitude not unfrequently aroused by it to such a pitch that we see mighty thrones totter and fall; religion and order swept away, and the hideous monster of anarchy and revolution reigning in their stead.

We have often heard it said that music hath charms to soften savage breasts. Reading, like music, exercises a magic spell over mind and heart. We see it every day. People who turn away in scorn from the piteous appeal of a famishing old man or woman who cries begging at their door, are moved to tears in secret over an imaginary evil, depicted by a master-hand in some work of fiction. And thus reading, like music, and more than music, plays on the chords of the finest instrument in creation—the heart of man. It is admitted, even by the most depraved, that virtue ennobles man.

And does not reading make us acquainted with the heroes of humanity, with the best types of moral and Christian virtues; unfold to us their hard struggles, their noble

sacrifices, their heroic and generous deeds? 'That man,' it has been beautifully observed, 'is little to be envied whose patriotism would not be inflamed on the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warm midst the ruins of Iona;' and it may also well be added: or who can view unmoved the ruined aisles where our forefathers prayed, the mountain caverns where, despite the persecutions of tyrants, they circled round His lowly altars, and preserved unquenched the hallowed fire of a nation's faith. In like manner, base indeed would be the man who could read the lives of the saints, and not feel some touch of his better nature. Very depraved and utterly demoralized must be he on whom such examples would not have, at least, some salutary effect. And thus reading, like virtue, ennobles man; it raises him above his lowly self, what our poor fallen humanity so sadly needs:—

Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how base is man.

It has been truly said that the pen is mightier than the sword; and does not reading produce effects greater even than the sword? We see empires rise and fall by the power of arms; but where is the power that can crush the effects produced by the reading of a single book? The sword can only add to or take from our worldly prosperity, or at most destroy the body; but reading, like an angel of light or darkness, transforms man into a saint, a hero, or a fiend.

History has made memorable the words 'Tolle, lege'—words addressed by a heavenly monitor to the gifted and cultured apostle of Manicheism, at a supreme moment in his life, at the end of a long and terrible struggle against grace. Augustine took and read. He read in the Book of books the passage of St. Paul's Epistle beginning with the words: 'Let us, therefore, cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light; let us walk honestly, as in the day.' The reading of that book won for the Church her greatest champion, for philosophy her most profound and eloquent expounder, and for the empire of letters one of her greatest monarchs. And does not the same illustrious

authority tell us that by reading the life of St. Antony of the Desert, which they happened to meet on their way, two courtiers of the Emperor Valentinian the Younger were so touched by the wonders of that wondrous life, and so convinced of the vanity of mere human services, though these services be given to an earthly potentate, that they and the ladies whom they were to wed abandoned the world, and consecrated their lives to God.

We know too the story of the brave Spanish soldier who was wounded at the siege of Pampeluna. His energies had hitherto been enlisted on the world's side. He had dreamt of glory, of fame, of, perhaps, transmitting to posterity a name enriched with daring deeds of valour and renown. Such was the man at the siege, 'seeking the bubble reputation even in the cannon's mouth.' Behold now the effects of a good book. Stretched on his bed of pain, he asked for a book to beguile the weary hours. He did not want anything serious. No, some light amusing story would have answered his purpose, some romantic love tale would suit him best. However, by God's providence there were none to be had, and he was handed the *Lives of the Saints*. Need I recount the result? How the gay cavalier became from that moment the zealous and indefatigable servant of God; how the aspirant to worldly honours and fame from that moment courted humiliations, thirsted for ignominy and reproach. Look too at the heroic band of spiritual soldiers he has formed, fighting so nobly, so generously, and so frequently at the sacrifice of their lives, the battle of Christ and His Church, shedding a lustre of learning, virtue, and sanctity, which three centuries of persecution and calumny have in vain sought to dim. You may trace the conversion of an Ignatius Loyola to the reading of a good book. The Church is indebted after God, to a half hour's good reading for the foundation of a religious Order which is one of her strongest pillars and her brightest ornaments, and whose history can find no parallel in human records, except that of the Church herself. These are only a few out of many instances of conversions brought about, and marvels wrought on the

lives of men by the reading of good books. And if we look into the annals of military fame, we shall find that the desire of emulating great men, conceived by the reading of their exploits, has inflamed many a breast, and made many a hero. The poet Cowper understood it well when he wrote these beautiful lines :—

And when recording history displays
Feats of renown, though wrought in ancient days,
Tells of a few stout hearts that fought and died,
Where duty placed them, at their country's side,
The man that is not moved with what he reads,
That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave.

And so we find Charles XII. of Sweden, while only yet a child, fired by the love of conquest, at reading the exploits of Alexander the Great. Being asked one day what he thought of that hero, he replied, 'I should like to resemble him.' 'But,' said his master, 'he only attained the age of thirty-two.' 'Ah!' exclaimed he, 'is it not enough when one has conquered kingdoms?' And do we not find the career of that extraordinary man—the most extraordinary perhaps that has ever been on earth, according to one of his biographers, exactly corresponding to the ideas he then conceived? Do we not see him at the early age of eighteen, fighting at the head of his army three great kings, who wanting to take advantage of his youth came to attack him; defeating them in turn, and routing with eight thousand Swedes, a powerful army of eighty thousand Muscovites? As Dr. Johnson says :—

A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, no labours tire;
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field.
Behold surrounding kings their powers combine,
And one capitulates, and one resign.
He left a name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale.

Charles XII. was a hero and a great warrior, no doubt; but he was far from being a great man. Pride and obstinate rashness caused his ruin. It is to be regretted

that the lives of some good and great men, such as the Emperor Antoninus Pius, were not also presented to the study of his youthful mind; it is very probable he would also have taken them for his models. Then, indeed, he would have become not only a great warrior, but also a great man, and handed down to posterity a name not unworthy to be remembered and cherished as a blessing to humanity.

Too great attention cannot be paid to this. The mind of youth is impressionable—the bias which it receives then, it retains just like primal tincture, ever after. We are told that Lamartine, when a child, was thought by his grandmother to spell and read out of the Bible, and if we turn over the pages of that great man's poetry, we shall find them replete with the beautiful lessons of Holy Writ he then imbibed. Such were the effects of Lamartine's early reading. How different might it have been had he not so good an instructor. Books are mighty things for good or for evil. 'They are dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule our spirits by their works.'

We have glanced at their agency for good, and what shall we say of their agency for evil? Unfortunately there exists in our nature a propensity to evil. It is one of the results of the sad fall of our great progenitor. Whatever flatters our passions or vicious inclinations, we, as a rule, are readier to follow than what is good and virtuous. And hence we find that bad books are more generally read than good ones, and that newspapers wherein religion and morality are outraged, have a very wide circulation. If anything more than bad example tends to propagate vice, I think I am right in saying it is bad reading. Vice is in itself odious, but when decked out in all the false colouring of a cleverly-written book it becomes enticing. Young inquisitive people (and young people are generally inquisitive) are tempted. After perusing such a book their horror of vice is very much lessened; they take up another; and so, by degrees, their ideas become perverted. Alas! they did not perceive the poison till they had drunk of it to the very dregs; they did not see the hidden serpent till they were caught in its coils.

But they should be forewarned, and to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Revelation proclaims that 'those who love the danger shall perish in it'—'that we should incessantly watch and pray lest we enter into temptation;' and that 'we carry the treasure of Divine Grace in earthen vessels:' in fine, the whole tenor of its teaching is to inculcate the humility and self-distrust that fly the occasions of sin, not the pride and self-sufficiency that court them. Hence all shall be studiously on their guard against the daring curiosity or intellectual pride that would spurn a restraint which the Church in every age has deemed so necessary for the moral government of the faithful; and hence the rigorous obligation of every pastor, parent, and guardian, to save, as far as is in their power, those under their charge from the demoralizing influence of those impious and licentious works. Even the poet, who wrote—

Vice is a monster of so frightful a mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;

wrote also these lines—

Yet seen too oft, familiar with his face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The truth of the last two quoted lines is painfully obvious to all who have studied city life. Nearly all men agree, that it is familiarity with vice which develops all the immoral and vicious propensities of human nature, and it is this familiarity with the face of vice which is so contagious, and draws so many souls into such an abyss of crime in large cities, and it is the absence of that familiarity with the face of vice which keeps country life so pure and untarnished. Applying this principle to our subject, we are not surprised that we sometimes hear or read of terrible falls of persons, who acting in direct opposition to the warning of God's word, have fallen away from the faith, and even into the dark depths of unbelief. If we now and then come across a young man who scoffs at religion, and cries down morality by word and example, we are to trace his sad state to the same cause. Let us not imagine that he was bred and born in the poisoned atmosphere of

infidelity. He may have been blessed with one of the greatest of all blessings—with good and virtuous parents. A time was when he was a dutiful son, a good Christian, and an exemplary young man; but in an evil hour a companion whom he could not influence by his example slipped into his hand a bad book. He read, and the reading of that book has done its work. What a work of ruin! What a fall of virtue into vice, deep, dark, and obdurate. It is like the fall of Lucifer from the heights of heaven into the abyss of hell. Many a good Christian mother is at a loss to know what has brought about the awful change she deplures in her son. She little suspects it is due to the reading of a bad book. While recently conducting a retreat in a certain city of this country, the writer of the present essay came across several young men and women, who from such reading had lost all faith. Oh, what an evil is a bad book! Evil men, evil lives, evil examples spread a moral pestilence openly and powerfully, but nothing spreads falsehood and evil more surely and deeply than a bad book. For a bad book is falsehood, and sin in a permanent and impersonal form, and all the more dangerous, because disguised and tenacious in its action upon the soul. Some books are to be found in our literature, and I regret to say many of them are written by men and women of the English nation, every page of which panders to the grossest passions, every page of which is filled with blasphemies against Christ, His Church, and His sacred ministers.

And I do not know which is the more dangerous—the books that are written professedly against Christ, His Church, and His laws, or the furtive and stealthy serpentine literature which is penetrated through and through with unbelief and passion, false principles, immoral whispers, and inflaming imaginations. These books could scarcely be worse were they penned in hell, and I firmly believe that the devil suggests the thoughts, and directs the pen of their authors. To read such books is a moral contagion—it is to imbibe poison—it is certain death.

It is, indeed, a melancholy reflection, that any such books should be extant among us. It is sad to think that

any of the human species should have so far lost all sense of shame, all feelings of conscience, as to sit down deliberately, and compile a work entirely in the cause of vice and immorality, which for aught they know, may serve to pollute the minds of millions, and propagate contagion and iniquity through generations yet unborn—living and spreading its baneful effects long after the unhappy hand which wrote it is mouldered into dust ; but perhaps not so long as the unhappy mind which composed it is paying the due punishment for its offence in the doleful regions of futurity. If the authors of such writings could feel this reflection—if they would consider the numberless youths whose minds may be blasted by their evil efforts ; if they would consider that works of this kind, once made public, are impossible to be recalled ; that, however they may themselves repent of the evil—if aught of repentance can touch such obdurate hearts—it is yet of such a nature as can never be repaired, for which no restitution can be made. If men would a moment attend to this reflection, certainly we should hear no more of such contaminating works ; certainly some of those who have taken the devil's office, and turned corrupter of our youth in the present day, would pause in their work of defilement and destruction. It is a striking observation made by one of the fathers of the Church, that “as the authors of good books may hope to find their future crown in glory, brightened by the degree of wisdom and virtue which their writings impart through successive generations ; so the writers of bad ones may well dread an increase of punishment in the future world proportionate to the pollution which they spread, and the ill effects which their writings shall produce as long as they continue to be read.” Writing on this subject, Addison says :—

Writers of great talents who employ their parts in propagating immorality and seasoning vicious sentiments with wit and humour, are to be looked upon as the pests of society and the enemies of mankind. They leave books behind them as it is said of those who die in distempers which breed an ill-will towards their own species, to scatter infection and destroy their prosperity. They act the counterpart of a Confucius or a Socrates; and seem, as it

were, sent into the world to deprave human nature, and sink it into the condition of brutality.¹

And Dr. Young, whose poetic pen has been so well employed in the cause of truth and virtue, speaks with an noble resentment against this prostitution of genius:—

The flowers of eloquence profusely pour'd
O'er spotted vice, fill half the letter'd world,
Art, cursed art! wipes off the indebted blush
From Nature's cheek, and bronzes every shame.
Man smiles in ruin, glories in his guilt;
And Infamy stands candidate for praise.²

We all know the immediate cause of the so-called Reformation; we all know by whose instrumentality it was chiefly effected. Every school can recount its history. Protestants are taught to revere Luther's name. Catholics hold that name in execration. Whatever may be said on the one side or the other, there is no doubt—history bears unmistakable testimony, that passion, pride, and lust were the springs which set in motion the fierce, reckless, and daring spirit of that apostate friar. But how are we to account for his amazing success? What was the immediate cause of that great religious revolt of the sixteenth century? On this aspect of the case there seems not to be such a clear understanding. Much is due, no doubt, to the untiring energies of the man, to his powerful patrons, to his voluminous and scurrilous writings. More is due still to his salvation-made-easy kind of doctrines, which by favouring the passions made thousands of proselytes—which made faith alone the sheet-anchor of salvation—the passport to heaven. But other men in other times, with spirits no less daring, and abilities by no means inferior, endeavoured to sow dissensions in the Catholic Church and failed, miserably failed. Their pernicious doctrines were nipped in their very bud; their sects dwindled away and their names became as by-words. How then is it that the leader of the Reformation met with such

¹ *Spectator*, No. 166.

² *Night Thoughts*, v.

unparalleled success? I find the answer in the words of the great poet :—

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

A century before Luther's time, the first seeds of that great revolt, so evil in its design and so disastrous in its consequences, were sown by Bocaccio's writings. By degrees his famous *Decameron* found its way among the masses of the people, and at length pervaded every rank of society, His 'satire' not only tended to shake the confidence of the faithful in their pastors, but to undermine their very faith. And when Luther appeared, the people's minds were prepared, the ground was ready, the mine was laid, and it only required the touch of a daring hand to make it spring. In 1517 Lutheranism was but a spark; in the following year it burst forth into a mighty conflagration, the embers of which are still smouldering over the ruins of morality in every land where it gained a foothold. And as the writings of Bocaccio prepared the way for the so-called Reformation, so we find later on a great but very depraved man preparing the way in like manner to another revolution. So well did Voltaire and his impious followers know the power of the Press and the influence of reading, that they entered into an unholy alliance—a sacrilegious combination to write down, as they flattered themselves they might, the Christian religion. While they endeavoured by the sophistry of a spurious philosophy to sap the principles of faith, they sought by works of fiction to inflame the passions and corrupt the heart, especially of the young—to deprive vice of its deformity and the stigma of dishonour attached to it—to increase the appetite for pleasure—to clothe immorality in an amiable and seductive form, and thus to create a hatred to the sacred restraints of religion, whose holy and inviolable laws can never tolerate defilement or unlawful pleasures. To that infidel philosopher, Frederick, called the Great, one day said, 'In twenty years you will bury the Church and write its epitaph.'

Poor day dreams! Did they forget that the Eternal and

Infallible Truth hath said: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferni non praevallebunt adversus eam.' If then, the arch-fiend with his countless legions cannot loosen one stone of that indestructible edifice, what canst thou do, poor feeble man, with all thy ingenuity. You may sneer and scoff. You may issue your ribald pamphlets, and cry out Down with priests, down with the Church; you may arm the passions of the multitude; you may gather your mighty armies, and hurdle your destructive engines against it: that Church will outlive your rage and fury. Like those adamantine rocks which encircle our island home, and which withstand the tempest's shock and the ocean's storm, so will that Church founded, on the rock of Peter, withstand the storms of persecutions, which the powers of darkness raise against it. And as we behold when the tempests have ceased, and the waters have subsided, those rocks erect in all their stupendous grandeur, so when the persecutions and raging storms of men's unbridled passions have died away, and those men that raised them are mouldering to dust, will that Church stand forth in all its majestic beauty and grandeur, with the Eternal Sun of Justice shining upon it. Many a twenty years have passed away since Frederick the Great uttered that foolish and impious blasphemy; and he is dead and gone, and the Church which his infidel friend and philosopher in his presumption sought to crush, is towering over his mouldering ashes. But it is a well-known fact, that Voltaire and his clique, the authors of the infamous Encyclopædia, had created by their writings, a resolution in the minds of the people before that terrible Revolution broke out, which deluged France with the blood of some of her best sons, swept away order and religion for a time, and stained the scaffold with the innocent blood of a martyred king and his virtuous queen. And long before that event which plunged France into an abyss of confusion and anarchy, unprecedented in the annals of the world, the minds of the French people had been prepared to imbibe the impious spirit which then seemed to take possession of them by the writings of the Jansenists which had been

widely circulated before the appearance of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the other monsters. So it is an indisputable historic fact, that pernicious books, and the principles of infidelity propagated by them, were notoriously the chief cause at the close of the last century of that Revolution in France, the horrors of which will ever remain inscribed in the pages of history in characters of blood. And what shall I say of the events which immediately followed? The Revolution alluded to, terminated in the wars of Napoleon, which for well-nigh ten years overturned so many thrones, covered Europe with the ruins of so many dynasties, dethroned the Supreme Pontiff—banished him from his see, and sent him into exile in a foreign land.

That wholesale slaughter, and that atheism, which for so long a period bathed Europe in a sea of tears and blood, was the result of Voltaire's immoral and impious writings, and of his followers, who by the same agency raised the standard of revolt and anarchy in every country of Europe in which they found a footing. And coming down to our own times, have we not still fresh in our memories the frightful crimes which have been perpetrated in that very same country. Who will deny that the infidel writings of the day had any hand in them? What interest couldt he Commune have in massacring their illustrious Archbishop and gifted priests—holy, self-sacrificing, and noble-hearted men? None whatever. But they burned with a fierce hatred of religion and priests, and they longed to give it vent. And whence did that diabolical hatred arise? They were not born such fiends. I answer out of the infidel and immoral writings of the day. Less than twenty years before that terrible massacre we have been just contemplating, an official report, addressed to the Minister of the Interior, declared that of the nine millions of works which book-hawkers scattered broadcast among the people of France, eight-ninths, that is to say, eight millions were books more or less immoral. The evil grew with years, till it culminated in the horrible massacre of the Commune, and

¹ *Moniteur*, April 8th, 1853.

deluged the fair Capital of France with the blood of her best and most sacred sons.

In England too, immoral and infidel literature is a widespread evil; it is one of her most deadly plagues, and unfortunately it is a plague which has spread its infection to other lands; in fact, England, like another Babylon, has sent forth emissaries of evil to every land. We are told on undisputed authority, that the issue of immoral publications in that country amounts annually to more than thirty millions, of purely infidel publications to more than twelve millions, and of avowed atheism to more than one million.

We are informed by persons of unimpeached integrity, that "there are twelve thousand women in London only, to whom the crime of child-murder may be attributed." In other words, that one in every thirty women (I presume between fifteen and forty-five) is a murderess; and that 'the metropolitan canal boats are impeded in their course by the number of drowned infants with which they come in contact, and that the land is becoming defiled with the blood of her innocents.'¹

According to recent statistics, there are thousands in Great Britain who seem to have no more elevated notion of the God by whom they were created than the heathen flat-head of the prairie or the wild Zealander in the Bush. The great majority of the working-classes are said to attend no place of worship whatever. In one populous provincial city there are upon an average thirty thousand habitual drunkards on the Lord's day. In short, it is calculated that 33 per cent. of the English population live and die like beasts, in the utter neglect of all religion. Indeed, it would not be going too far to apply to this modern Babylon Osee's description of Israel's wickedness: 'There is no truth, and there is no mercy, and there is no knowledge of God in the land. Cursing, and lying, and killing, and theft, and adultery, have overflowed, and blood hath touched blood; therefore shall the land mourn' (Osee, iv. 3). Nor is the evil unabated. To-day our imagination is horrified

¹ *Infanticide: Its causes and Cure*, by Henry Humble.

by the thought of three living fellow-creatures being suddenly sent, and at the same time and place, before their Maker, at the hands of the common hangman. To-morrow, the same awful picture rises up before our mental vision.¹ Day after day chronicles a calendar of crime—a sum of sin in that country—of brutal and cold-blooded murder, of which no less than twelve within the past twelve months were murders committed by children—of outrages on females, bestial passion, utter lawlessness varied by suicide committed in the most distressing circumstances, not to speak of lesser crimes without number, which suggests a very inferno, and which shows that England is a very Sodom of iniquity.

What is the cause of this dreadful state of things—a state of things which would disgrace the society of even the pagan world? The cause is to be found in the literature of the day. That literature, light and popular, stately and philosophical alike, teems with immorality and infidelity. It displays itself in every form of poetry and prose, in lectures, essays, histories, and to an appalling extent in the latest form of biblical criticism. There it stands out palpable, like Milton's *Death*, black as night, and terrible as hell, obstructing the light of heaven, and overshadowing God's fair creation. The Press is a Catholic institution; a Catholic invented it; a Catholic first printed books; the Catholic Church fostered its infancy. Pope Nicholas' letter, dated 1455, is the first publication having a date; and the first book of any magnitude that was printed, was probably the Latin Bible, which according to Hallam² appeared in the same year. Seventeen years before Luther's rebellion, over two hundred cities in Europe had printing presses, and it is also a well-ascertained fact, that during the seventy-five years intervening between the first issue of the press and the publication of Luther's German Bible in 1530, more than seventy different editions of the Bible had been published in the various vernacular tongues of Europe. At the Council of Lateran, Pope Leo X. declared printing

¹ Triple execution at Old Bailey and Winchester.

² *Introduction to the History of Literature in Europe.*

invented for the glory of God, for the propagation of our holy faith, and for the advancement of knowledge. But the enemies of Catholicity have seized this powerful weapon, and turned it into an engine of destruction to faith and morals. The abuse of the art of printing cannot be better described than in the words of another illustrious Pontiff, who at the end of three hundred years, during which period Protestantism arrogated to itself unchecked power over the press, thus describes the result: 'We are filled with horror in seeing what monstrous doctrines, or rather what prodigies of error, we are inundated, with, through that deluge of books, of pamphlets, and of works of all kinds, the lamentable inroad of which has spread a curse upon the face of the earth.' ¹

If the children of Ireland are a religious, good-living and moral people—if they surpass in that respect every nation of the earth, I think it may be attributed in no small degree to the fact, that there exist less infidel and immoral writings in this country than in any other. And if Ireland is to preserve her unspotted character of holiness, she must be guarded from such dangerous and disastrous influences. Unhappily of late years, bad books are fast creeping in among us, and in some portions of the country are doing their deadly work.

I feel it a duty to bear my testimony against another species of corruption, eminently fatal to the minds of our people in general, and of our youth in particular. I refer to the loose and obscene prints and pictures, which to the great scandal of good morals, and detriment of religion, are not only engraved but publicly sold in some of our cities, and in several parts of our country. It becomes all who have at heart the morality of our noble people, especially those who are placed as sentinels on the outposts, to watch, to warn—to prevent by every means in their power, such deadly agencies from gaining the ascendancy in our country. This we can do by disseminating good books, by preaching and speaking on the necessity and importance of good reading,

¹ Gregory XVI., Encyclical, *Mirari vos*.

and to encourage such a beneficent work, by establishing lending libraries. There is no parish, no matter how small or poor, in which a lending library that could be made self-supporting, may not be established. Such has been done with no little success in England, and in many parts of our own country. Why not in all?

In this way we would help to feed our flocks with the word of life. It is not my especial purpose to treat in this paper of the importance of spiritual reading which 'is intended to perfect the will by means of pious affections, and to spur it on to put these affections into practical shape;'¹ but I may be pardoned for adding this one word on this subject, that experience, which is a mighty preceptor, teaches us that for the most part the spiritual life is not a living reality where the taste for spiritual reading is not fostered. At all events, all the fathers and doctors of the Church tell us that what is true of meditation is also true of spiritual reading—that the habit of sin and of spiritual reading cannot co-exist—where spiritual reading is practised, there sin has no abiding abode. Spiritual reading so arouses men to the great realities of their being—it so frees them from that sleep of death and indifference in which sin had placed them—it so transmutes them into other beings, indeed we may say into such new creations, that the habit of sin is abandoned, and a new life is at once begun. No doubt, it may be said that our people hear sermons on Sundays. But we all know how little impression from one cause or another, sermons make on the mass of hearers; and even if they do, we know how quickly in the din and strife of life these impressions are effaced. The affairs of the world—its success or its failure—its cares and anxieties are so often telegraphed in upon the soul that the recollections of religion are soon banished from the minds of even the best intentioned.

The newspapers of the day teem with scandals which absorb the thoughts or arouse the passions. Such reading familiarizes the young with the details of vice, and their

¹ Scaramelli, *Direttorio Mistico*, sect. i., art. 4.

better nature is overshadowed by the vicious existences depicted, while moral strength to resist temptation is slowly but surely weakened. Then there is that inward strife and struggle—that warring of the passions, from which no one is free—that tendency to evil which seeks to cast off the salutary restraints of religion, and which, alas! has carried down with the current of innate corruption the great mass of mankind. All these things are borne in upon the soul, day by day, and year by year, as though life were to last for ever, and we cannot shut our eyes to the sad fact that they inordinately wed men to a world that perisheth. Besides how many thousands of Catholics are there especially in our large cities who never hear a sermon. From choice or through necessity they frequent the early Masses where the word of God is not preached. The better disposed may indeed go to evening devotions where the want is supplied; but the great bulk are never fed with the word of life. How can they fight the great fight? How can they have the bloom and freshness of health upon their soul? They are indeed in a sad, sad state—in the state of spiritual starvation and death. How many too, who hear the word of God, leave the confessional with the best intentions and the strongest resolutions for a new life, but quickly fall away under the pressure of temptation, because they have no spiritual book at hand wherewith to feed their souls day by day, and strengthen their good resolutions?

We all know how little we can trust ourselves, and how evanescent are oftentimes the best resolutions unless constantly supported and sustained by spiritual aids. In this age men talk much of enlightenment, progress, insight, wisdom; and these things are good in their way; but what our age sadly needs is illumination from God, and that illumination is to be found in spiritual books which teach us about Him and His mercies, and teach us also that greatest of all sciences; and I may add, the most difficult—the science of knowing ourselves. Many even of those who fear God and serve Him, do not understand how bright a light and how clear a vision of Divine things await them in that treasure-house of holiness—spiritual reading. Grace is

mighty and essential—it is superior to every endowment of nature or the most brilliant talents ; to every intoxication of pleasure, glory, or power, to the possession of the whole world ; it is a participation of the light and love, and even of the nature of God. It is the God-like life commenced in time to be consummated in eternity. And yet grace is for the most part made operative through spiritual reading ; since, to adopt the words of a learned living author (Bishop Hedley), ‘as grace does not work miracles (as a rule), it will not put ideas into our heads, or pictures into our imagination.’ The sacraments contain and convey treasures of enlightenment and strength ; but why do these mighty channels of grace so often produce so little fruit ? It is because their recipients are barren of ideas—are devoid of fixed purposes and generous aims to act as intercepters, and transmute these great forces into heat and action. ‘And is not mental prayer itself too frequently feeble, intermittent, and cold, simply because our mind and memory are empty, and we have no store of thought to set our devotion working ? It is spiritual reading which supplies ideas, motives, views, interesting information, touching histories, useful explanation, fertile developments of doctrines, wide generalizations on God, the Church, and eternity ; and this great store of material only requires prayer and grace to be turned into the precious stones which form the walls of the heavenly Sion.’

It need not be said that of all books the Bible is the highest and holiest, and therefore the best and most profitable. The reason of this is, not merely the sublimity of the thought, the beauty of the diction, and the eloquence of the writers, although in this respect the Bible is above and beyond all other books—(man could not compose it) ; but the force and illuminating power of the Divine Inspiration. By it we are admitted into the presence of the Living God, who becomes our very preceptor, and the mysteries of the Inner Temple are disclosed to our view. The Holy Scripture was intended by its Divine Author to illuminate our minds with the light of heavenly wisdom, and to draw us to Himself. And what God intends that He effects. He says that

His word is 'effectual,' that 'it never returns void,' that it is 'a fire,' that it is 'a lamp,' and 'a light;' that 'it converts souls,' and 'gives wisdom to little ones;' that it rejoices the heart and enlightens the soul; 'that it is an infinite treasure to men.' But from the very greatness and holiness of the treasure arises the necessity of reading it with reverence. The Catholic Church which has never forbidden the reading of the approved edition of the Bible in the vernacular, commands and exhorts her children to read it with obedience to her teaching, with desire for their own spiritual profit, with the fear and consciousness of God; and so not to read it to gratify vain curiosity, to take from it every 'wind of doctrine,' and 'wrest it' as the Apostle says to their own destruction.' Before concluding this phase of the subject, I cannot forbear stating that the manner of reading is no less important than the matter. And as Fr. Faber tells us, if there be one thing upon which the masters of the spiritual life are agreed, it is that the books used for spiritual reading, should be read slowly, and a little at a time. Hence it has been recommended that the works chosen should be those which are not too attractive to the intellect; nay, according to Fr. Consolini, a great master of the spiritual life, and the first novice master of the Oratorians, 'they should not be even read quite through, in order to lose the intellectual interest which completeness might give.' Nourishment of the spirit, not instruction of the mind, is the primary end—though, of course, both ends may be attained—for which spiritual books should be written and read. It is for this precise reason that the works of St. Alphonsus are so strikingly adapted for spiritual reading, and why they have produced, wherever they are known, such beneficent results among the children of the Catholic Church.

To sum up what I have been saying. It is our duty as ministers of the Lord to teach our people the importance and necessity of good reading, and the dangerous and disastrous consequences of bad reading. What we want to do, is to create and cultivate a conscience among our people for sound, healthy reading, especially spiritual reading. I say to create and cultivate. For our people, as a people, do

not read, least of all have they a taste for spiritual reading. This taste by a little labour and sacrifice, we can create and foster among our faithful people who are ever ready to receive the light, provided it be put before them clearly and constantly. In the material world, the science of light is advancing with the strides of an intellectual Colossus. Would that we could say the same of the higher realm of light—the course of sacred truth! The Cathode ray of potent, irresistible truth, is needed now as it was never needed before. While the allied banners of atheism and Freemasonry fret the air on the European Continent, the forces of infidelity and indifferentism are doing their deadly work nearer home. The spirit of revolt, born of corruption and bred of disease, has swept across the Channel, and has, alas! found a resting-place in our land. The enemy has laid hold of the Press, and is everywhere outside our own country, and to some extent within it—utilizing it for the destruction of morality and the perversion of truth. The wells of knowledge and the fountains of truth are being daily and hourly poisoned by means of the Press and current literature. A spiritual pestilence is passing over the earth—the souls of millions are perishing through such foul agencies. And shall we who stand for the cause of God, and morality, and truth, fold our arms, and say we have done our duty by bewailing in private the public pest of a poisonous literature? Most emphatically no; our resistance must be active, not merely passive. If God has not given us wealth of ability and strength of mind, and richness of opportunity to engage in the intellectual combat which is being fought everywhere around us, we may, the very least of us, do a great work for a good Master by opposing to the tide of infidelity and indifferentism which is sweeping over the nations, and which is beginning to creep in on our own, the barrier of good books and sound Catholic reading. We need only look around us to see that the great opportunity for Catholicism is at hand everywhere. A marvellous transformation has come over the spirit of the great body of the English people. The mists are lifting out of that land, and her people have at last begun to look at the Catholic Church through her

openly proclaimed doctrines, through her magnificent works in building up the mighty fabric of the social world and her lofty ideals of humanity, as shown in her priests and religious. Secularism in education is confessing its failure at home and abroad. The toiling masses are turning to the Church for the solution of the vexed problem of labour. The creeds are falling to pieces from want of unity, cohesive principle and authority. Thousands are flocking back to the old Church in sheer weariness of spirit. The thousands would quickly swell into millions if we were up and active in the dissemination of good books, and did our part in the wide domain of letters. Let us avail of the opportunity. Let us remember the spreading of the light in Scott's romance. It was by the speeding of the fiery cross from hand to hand. The Catholic book, the Catholic magazine, and the Catholic newspaper are the fiery cross by which we are to dissipate the darkness of the enemy. If we do not utilize the means at our disposal to stamp out the lie and spread the light, we shall most certainly fail in our duty; for God has said 'He that is not with Me, is against Me.'

W. J. MULCAHY.

SERMON OR HOMILY?

II.

THE 'homily' was the method of preaching, we remarked in a former paper,¹ followed by the fathers of the Church in the early ages. These homilies were for the most part wonderfully simple and earnestness breathes in every phrase. Though so simple the profoundest theology has been drawn from them. What was their secret? Like the Apostolic men they spoke the sense of God and not their own; and that divine sense they obtained by meditating on the Holy Scriptures and the traditions of their fathers. In illustration of this we enlarged on the example of St. John Chrysostom. We saw that this great Christian orator explained the Gospel of the day in its entirety, and then drew moral and practical consequences. But the homily can take other forms. Frequently the Gospel of the day can be reduced to a regular division, and then the homily resembles in form the sermon; thus in the Gospel of the Prodigal Son one may show—(1) the misfortune of the sinner who abandons God; (2) the sentiments with which he should return to God; and (3) the goodness of God towards the sinner who is converted. Another manner of commenting on the Scripture which is the homily is when the preacher takes two or three salient points relative to a virtue or to a vice and treats them one after the other though they are not capable of falling into a regular division; and finally, one may explain all the sentences in the Gospel, and draw from each according as he proceeds the moral and affecting lessons which they suggest; thus changing the subject-matter at almost every verse there is an opportunity offered for attacking many vices, teaching many virtues, and recommending many useful practices. Through this variety each one finds in the instruction a help in his difficulties and a remedy for his failings. If, on account of the length of the ceremonies or from any other obstacle, a long instruction

¹ See I. E. RECORD for May (Fourth Series), vol. i., p. 448.

cannot be given on certain Sundays, one can very briefly expound the Gospel, and draw from it for the five or six minutes a few interesting reflections. If these are enunciated clearly and with unction the faithful will listen with attention, and often profit more by them than by a long discourse.¹

Allied to the homily is the 'prone,' which word was, in the first ages, applied to the instruction given to both catechumens and Christians assembled in the nave of the Church: it is now generally employed to signify any simple and short instruction given at the parochial mass. The 'prone' differs from the 'homily' in this that it is not concerned with the paraphrase of Scripture, and is at great liberty in the choice of the subject-matter. It differs from the sermon in this that it is not subservient to the rules which rhetoric gives for oratorical discourses. It is the simple language of a father to his children where the artifice of rhetoric is what is farthest from the thoughts.

The 'prone' is generally more useful than the sermon inasmuch as it is of a simpler kind, is more within the grasp of the artisan, the poor, and the ignorant, and much more adapted to spread instruction amongst the people. It is often more useful than the 'homily,' because it does not divide the attention on many objects and thus is capable of throwing a better and fuller light on the detached subject which it explains; of deducing consequences; and of making practical applications: for the disadvantage of the 'homily' is that in endeavouring to treat many subjects none is profoundly dealt with, and it is thus difficult to make a deep impression or move the affections.

To obtain these happy results of this method of preaching, the ambassador of God's word must prepare his 'prone' many days in advance. It is an illusion to believe that clearness in the instruction, description of manners, or the unction of piety can be improvised.

Preaching without preparation does not exonerate the conscience of the pastor because far from possessing that

¹ *Traité de la prédication*, M. Hamon.

interest, power, and clearness by which he is enabled to instruct and touch, he does but disgust his flock with the word of God.

The matter of the 'prone' embraces every duty of the Christian life and every essential point of religion, and it does not require text, peroration, or preamble; one simply commences one's subject after the reading of the Gospel. Abstruse reasonings are out of place; proofs simple yet solid, many comparisons and a variety of examples are necessary. Substitute clear explanations and urgent exhortations for grand oratorical movements; a flowing natural style which conveys the truth with perspicuity, so that the ignorant cannot but understand, for a brilliant one: choose a popular though dignified eloquence rather than magnificent oratory; but with equal care avoid a negligent and trivial method of expression. For the conclusion of the *prone* certain practices of piety are indicated and acts of virtue for the sanctification of the week. The 'prone' is the food distributed to the flock for the week that they may nourish themselves from it daily.

In saying that the 'prone' does not propose a paraphrase of Scripture, we by no means insinuate that a knowledge of the Inspired Word is not necessary to this simple style of evangelical eloquence; on the contrary, it is the soul, the 'form' of the *prone*, though the material words are not the words of the holy books. And as the 'form' gives life and character to matter, so the Word of God living in the preacher's heart vivifies and characterizes every style of preaching. St. Augustine assures us of this in his profound work, *De doctrina Christiana*, when he says that the preacher excels in the ministry of the Word in proportion that he is skilful in the science of Scripture. The *word* has in ordinary language different significations. We have the *word* conceived in the heart; we have the *word* produced on the lips, and the *word* written on paper. As conceived in the soul it is a thought; produced by the lips it is a sound, written with the pen a sign. Thought dwells in the mind; sounds strike the ear; signs remain in a book. The Word of God reposes eternally in the bosom of the Father and is

called thought or interior word. He manifested Himself to the world without quitting the right hand of the Father and is called the Word. Finally, we have the Truth or Word of God in the Holy Scriptures.

But what is of importance to the preacher is how he may incorporate the Divine truth which he is commissioned to preach to every creature. Now, the great principle is that he puts himself by prayer in direct relation with God. 'I would wish,' says St. Gregory the Great, 'that pity should make the preacher descend to the level of each, and that contemplation raise him above all. In this manner he will not forget the infirmities of men when scaling the heavens, nor will he quit the celestial regions when condescending to the weakness of his brethren.' In the second place it is necessary to give one's attention to the teaching of the Doctors in order to know the Word of God always living in the Church. 'For,' says St. Jerome, 'it is not precisely the Doctors of the Church who instruct us, but God in them' (Ps. lxxxi.). These different schools of the Word of Truth complete one another. Interior illumination if left to itself would lead men to religious fanaticism. Teaching without prayer would become a tinkling cymbal. Scripture to be rightly understood demands the light of contemplation and the *magisterium* of the Doctors of the Church.

'Thus,' as Bossuet profoundly remarks, 'the evangelical preacher is he who makes Jesus Christ to speak: but he does not make Him speak the language of men; *he fears to give a strange body to the Eternal Truth.*' Indeed preaching contains two natures; one divine, the other human; therefore it has in its outward expression a movable side, while the other remains unchangeable.

The particular education of the orator, the taste of the audience, the necessity of the circumstances will effect differences in the beauty of the instructions. The spoken word must make itself all to all to gain all to Jesus Christ. Sometimes the Christian orator, wishing to give truth a more tangible form will recount the history of the Church and the lives of the saints: sometimes on the occasion of a festival or religious ceremony he will explain the visible symbols of

a dogma ; again he will, in presence of a cultured audience bring out in relief the philosophy of our faith. If he attacks the enemies of our belief, he will choose the setting of the sermon ; if in a simple manner he expounds the Gospel he will prefer the 'homily.' Ought he not to vary his style as he addresses priests, religious, or the simple faithful ! Will he not modify his language as he exalts the happiness of the saints or weeps over the dead ! And yet notwithstanding these differences of style the Sacred Word has an unalterable character and one altogether peculiar. The Fathers have marked the limits which we cannot exceed ; they may be summed up in a few words.

Divine wisdom and human eloquence ought, as far as possible, be found united on the lips of the preacher. Standing alone, wisdom can suffice of itself, but eloquence unaided often produces evil and scarcely ever any good. Nevertheless, the ideal of Christian preaching, according to St. Augustine, consists in the happy union of wisdom and eloquence. Hence, there is for the priest a double obligation of studying the Scriptures, as well as the great principles of natural eloquence. Therefore, although the Scriptures and the fathers furnish us with the theory and practice of all preaching, it is by no means useless to read the books composed by rhetoricians, and to work carefully the discourse to be pronounced before an assembly. St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom give this advice. What place, then, does eloquence hold in preaching ? Bossuet will answer in his celebrated sermon, '*Sur la parole de Dieu.*' 'If you should ask what place eloquence may have in the Christian discourse, St. Augustine will tell you that it is not permitted her to appear but in the train of wisdom. There is here an order to be observed : Divine wisdom precedes as the mistress, eloquence follows after as the handmaid.' This principle condemns those orators who employ the flattering words of human wisdom to gain applause and evacuate the influence of the Cross. Moreover, wisdom not only should dominate eloquence, but this latter should present herself without being called. 'But,' adds Bossuet, 'remark the circumspection of St. Augustine, who says that eloquence

should follow without being called. He means that eloquence in order to be worthy to take a place in the Christian discourse, ought not to be sought after with too much study. She should come of herself, attracted by the grandeur of the subjects, and to serve as an interpreter of the wisdom which speaks. But what is this wisdom which ought to speak in the pulpit, if not our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Wisdom of the Father? Thus the evangelical preacher draws everything from Scripture, borrows even its sacred terms not only to fortify, but to embellish his discourse.' ¹ In one word, the preacher, to announce worthily the Divine Word, ought to employ the venerable style of the Holy Spirit who speaks in the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. This truth then being so essential, I will conclude in quoting a few of the earnest and weighty words of the greatest saints and Doctors.

Our Divine Master on one occasion said to the Jews, while teaching in the Temple, 'My doctrine is not of Me, but of Him who sent Me' (John vii. 14). St. Paul wrote likewise to the faithful of Corinth: 'The Spirit of God has been revealed to us, and this is what we teach you, not with the flattering words of human wisdom, but with the doctrine of the Spirit.' Thus also, all the fathers of the Church cry out to us with one voice, with our Saviour, 'Preach the Gospel,' or with the Apostle, 'Preach the Word.' St. Jerome impresses on the priest Nepotien the importance of incessant study of Scripture in these words: 'Read the Scriptures frequently, or, rather, let not the holy books ever leave your hands. Let the speech of the priest be seasoned with the Holy Scriptures. Take care that you descend not to declamation, wordiness, or that which is not useful.' ² Let us listen to the immortal Bossuet, who with great majesty, resumes the pith of this patristic doctrine:—

You ought now to be convinced that the preacher of the Gospel does not enter the pulpit to pronounce vain discourses, which are listened to as a recreation. God forbid that we believe it! They enter it in the same spirit that they go to the altar,

¹ *Ibid.*

² Epis. lii. 8.

there to celebrate a mystery, and a mystery like to that of the Eucharist. For the Body of Jesus Christ is not more really in the adorable Sacrament than the truth of Jesus Christ is in evangelical preaching. In the mystery of the Eucharist the species which we see are signs, but what is contained under them is the Body of Jesus Christ, and in the sacred discourse the words which you hear are signs, but the thought which produces them, and what they bear into your minds, is the doctrine of the Son of God. But consider, my brethren, how great is the audacity of those who expect and even exact from the preacher anything but the Gospel! who wish that the Christian truths be toned down, or that they be made agreeable by mingling with them the product of the human mind. They could with as much reason wish to see the sanctity of the altar violated by falsifying the mysteries.

Therefore, according to Bossuet, who borrows his doctrine from St. Augustine, the preacher and his audience should feel, as it were, under the signs of the words, the presence and truth of Jesus Christ; and in this regard preaching merits the same respect as the Eucharist, for Truth is God also. As the Apostle says, the Holy Scripture fulfils every end of preaching, let the object be either the teaching of dogma or of the mysteries, or the development of moral subjects or the attacking of vice: '*Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in justitia ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus*' (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

A NOTE IN THE 'LEABHAR IMUIN' ON ALLELUIA'S LITURGICAL ORIGIN AND IMPORT

IN the course of an article entitled 'Alleluia's Story,' in the current number of *The Dublin Review*, at the conclusion of some remarks touching the question as to when this form of acclamation, which now heads the principal psalms of praise, was first introduced into the Hebrew liturgy, I said:—'Besides reasons proper to the very text of the Psalter, or drawn from a purely philological consideration of the word itself, data both of Christian and Jewish tradition, it seems to me, all point to the conclusion that it belonged to the Hebrew liturgy from the beginning.'

As adverse to that conclusion, as distinctly forbidding it from the side of Christian tradition, a learned friend referred me to a passage from Gerebrard's *Commentaries*, a work which he had reason to know I greatly esteemed. The passage referred to may be seen in Migne's *Scripturæ Sacræ Cursus Completus*, at the head of page 1416. Commenting on Alleluia's first appearance in the Psalter, and thereupon turning to the question of its introduction into the liturgy, Gerebrard observes:—'Ejus canendi usum in Ecclesia ex Aggeo propheta manare, qui primus illud cecinerit cum novam structuram templi vidit, testatur Epiphanius, *de vitis Prophet.* idque secundum Tobiae prophetiam. Tob. xiii. 35.'

Upon that passage, I would first remark that there is in it no declaration of tradition, either Jewish or Christian, eastern or western. It simply endorses a *dictum* of Epiphanius, and that itself (*idque*) is not given as a traditional saying, but as a personal conclusion drawn from a text of Scripture, the prophetic words of Tobias in reference to the rebuilding of the Temple, which, as a matter of fact, was completed during the lifetime, and, no doubt, to some extent, owing to the exhortations of the Prophet Aggeus. It is quite natural to suppose that, 'seeing the building,' at

the foundation or dedication, of the second Temple, Aggeus should have raised the cry of Halleluiah! It is also natural to suppose that, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Tobias, the assembled multitudes should have taken up the sacred acclamation; that, in the vivid language of the prophecy, 'the streets of Jerusalem should sing it.' But it is also natural to suppose that they did so, and that Tobias prophesied they should do so, because it was already the consecrated cry of joy for the people of God. Was it already such, or did it only then become such? That is the question. Epiphanius, reasoning, it would seem, from the text of Tobias, states it only then became so, and Gerebrard approvingly quotes the statement as made by him. More recent writers repeat it as being 'said,' without giving reason or authority for the 'saying.' At the commencement of the remarks which I made on the question, I noticed this. Having remarked that it is at present impossible to *ascertain* when as a form of acclamation Alleluia was introduced into the liturgy of the Temple, I said:—'Some rather positively assert it was by the Prophet Aggeus on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the second Temple, or at its dedication, and that in accordance with the prophecy of Tobias, &c.' I then gave my reason, an exegetical reason, for not adopting that opinion, and subsequently gave reasons of the same order for not adopting the other opinions which I noticed further on.

But now, I would direct the attention of the readers of the I. E. RECORD to a reason in the order of tradition, of what it seems to me may be called Irish Catholic tradition, certainly of ancient Irish Catholic opinion, in favour of the conclusion which, in the article of *The Dublin Review*, I observed I felt disposed to adopt. This—to say no more—distinct expression of ancient Irish Catholic opinion may be read in a glossa on the refrain of St. Cummain's Alleluiaic Hymn,¹ in the Trinity College codex of the *Leabhar Imuin*,

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Fourth Series, vol. i., p. 441. In the course of that article, comparing the T. C. Codex with the one preserved in the Franciscan library of this city, at page 443, I observed:—'The Trinity College copy is abundantly annotated, seemingly by the original copyist: the Franciscan one not at all.' That referred only to this hymn, of which I was then writing, and of which I wrote immediately after as—'the only one for which I collated the two copies.'

or, as it is now more commonly called, the *Liber Hymnorum*. That glossa, or marginal note, is admitted to have been written by the same hand which copied the hymn; consequently, in the ninth or tenth century, according to Dr. Todd and O'Donovan, in the eleventh century according to others. It was written, in either case, many hundred years before Gerebrard penned his Commentary, and may well have been copied from a note written shortly after the composition of the hymn itself, which would bring it near the time of Epiphanius.

The beginning and the end of the note 'have been cut off'—Dr. Todd says—'by the binder.' All that now remains legible is as follows . . . 'ebraice interpretatur *Laudate Dominum* vel *Laus tibi Domine* vel *Salvum me fac Domine*. Moises primus usus est Alleluia decantans contra Amalech in deserto, extensis manibus ad cœlum a mane usque ad vesperam et sic deletus Amalech a filiis Israel, et postea (David) decantavit apud Ebreos Alleluia causa timoris videns bestiam in Tabor et Hermon, et iterum propter timorem Absolon filii sui cantavit.' . . . There stops what remains legible of the glossa. The old writer, it will be observed, assigns no reason for its statements. To all appearance he only voices the tradition or received opinion of his time and country, or at least of his own community. In that light I am not concerned with appreciating its doctrinal or historic value. I simply notice, and, doing so, would accentuate it merely as an expression of ancient Irish Catholic tradition or opinion on Alleluia's liturgical origin and import.

Thus regarded, whatever may be the precise force of the word *primus* in the text, this ancient glossa clearly assumes that Moses used the mystic word as a form of prayerful acclamation, as a formula of great spiritual power—*usus est Alleluia decantans contra Amalech in Deserto extensis manibus ad cœlum*, &c. Now, Moses may assuredly be taken as the father of the Hebrew liturgy, and so, using the word the way he is supposed to have done, may naturally be supposed to have introduced it into the liturgy which he formed for his people. At any rate, that passage from our *Liber Hymnorum* may well be put against the one

I have quoted from Migne's *Cursus Completus*, and, as against it, against those who so positively assert that Alleluia was first used as a sacred acclamation by the Prophet Aggeus—*cum novam structuram Templi vidit*. Our ancient Irish scholiast, whoever he was, quite as positively asserts that the father of the builder of the first Temple, 'sang it'—*decantavit apud ebreos Alleluia*, as before him Moses 'used it'—*usus est Alleluia decantans contra Amalech in Deserto*.

Finally, analyzing this ancient glossa as a current exposition of Alleluia's import, what most strikes us is the triple form of interpretation it gives for the word: first, as being that of a kind of rallying call among the Lord's own, crying to one another—'*Laudate Dominum!*' then, that of a cheer or glory-giving cry direct to the Lord Himself—'*Laus tibi Domine;*' then, that of a general appeal for succour—'*Salvum me fac Domine;*' rallying call, cheer, cry for relief—the three constituents of the sense of universal acclamation. Last year, in an article in the *Catholic World* on 'Alleluia's traditional import,' I had occasion to remark: 'A vivid sense of its acclamatory character with *trine* signification is most apparent in those Alleluiatic services which form such a striking feature in the liturgical literature of the early part of the middle ages. They exhibit a constant effort after some triple evolution of the word's fundamental thought while retaining its form of universal acclaim.' Those words, it will be seen, exactly describe the Alleluiatic exposition of the ancient glossa I have analyzed. It may, indeed, be said that the old writer of that glossa had no scientific certainty as to Alleluia's etymological meaning, and accordingly what may be called its first literal sense. But he had the real sense, the spirit, the truth of it as a form of universal prayer and praise and self-strengthening cry, as that of his race's traditional aspiration, that appealing 'Glory be to God!' which so naturally rises to Irish-Catholic lips in all life's solemn crises. So was the word to him what it has ever been to God's own, in the desert, in the temple, in the Cenaculum, in the first Christian Church of Jerusalem; what it is in the Church of the world to-day, what it is in God's kingdom for ever—the *Divine acclamation*.

A thoroughly Catholic application of that view of it may be read in the yet unpublished MS. of our ancient *Book of Dimma*, one of the MSS. treasures preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This *Book of Dimma* is so called from the scribe's name, which is thus given on the final page of the volume: 'Finit, amen—Dimma Mac Nathi.' It is held to have been written about the middle of the seventh century. In Gilbert's *Facsimiles* it is marked *circa* 650, while O'Curry in his MS. Materials marks it *circa* 620. It contains four Gospels in Latin with what is said to be a ritual for the visitation of the sick. The latter portion of it may be regarded as one of the most ancient bits of local Celtic ritual existing among our national MSS. Now, the 'thoroughly Catholic' Alleluiatic passage I have alluded to is to be found in this liturgical portion, among the versicles having reference to the Blessed Eucharist, those that are like ejaculations for thanksgiving after Communion. It may thus serve for appropriate expression of the spirit of this festive midsummer season, of the parting spirit of Paschal time, passing through June's fervent festivities, from Whitsuntide through Corpus Christi's octave, into the glowing month of the Precious Blood. It is: '*Alleluia. Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine, tibi (Domine) semper dicamus, Alleluia.*'

A similar ritual for visitation of the sick *pro infirmis*) is found in our ancient *Book of Mulling* (Trinity College), in the *Stowe Missal*, in the *Benchor Antiphonarium*, and in the *Scotch Book of Deer*. Each of these gives the Alleluiatic versicle or antiphon I have noticed in the *Book of Dimma*, but with 'Domine' expressed. The three first mentioned have: '*Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine, tibi semper Domine dicamus Alleluia,*' while the *Book of Deer* gives the latter part as: '*tibi semper dicamus Domine alleluia, alleluia.*' In each case, it will be noticed, the Antiphon gives 'tibi semper;' gives that which is the term-thought of St. Cummain's hymn, of our ancient scholiast's note on its refrain, and of the Alleluiatic services of the middle ages; the thought that this Paschal cry of the people of God is eternal life's acclamation.

DR. EVERARD, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

IN that galaxy of illustrious and saintly bishops, who have occupied the sees of Ireland from the days of St. Patrick to the present time, there are not a few whose lives, had they been spent in other less favoured countries, would have been stored and storied in the annals of celebrated men. As a rule, the perils and persecutions a nation has to endure, its privations and struggles, bring to the fore, if they do not produce, men of sound calibre, of noble endeavour, of exceptional ability, and of heroic virtue. The piping times of peace did not beget the Hildebrands, the Becketts, or the O'Connells. The poet, for want of a theme or a tragedy, wasting his muse goes and sings to the fields and woods; the orator is buried in the obscurity of a rural parish; the man capable of achieving great successes reads of the deeds of other men by his lonely fireside.

Thus, the troubled history of poverty-stricken Ireland, even in the recent period of the last hundred years, contains the names and the works of many men who are known throughout the world of learning. But there are others, around whose unwritten career the episodes of romance and of fidelity cluster, whose strength lay more in action and foresight than in the pen; who deserve to be chronicled with such lights as Troy or Plunkett, Crolly, O'Hanlon, or Neville. Such a one was Dr. Patrick Everard, Archbishop of Cashel, President of Maynooth College, master of a once famous school in England, superior of a college in France, Vicar-General of a great diocese there during the Revolution, and a worthy member of a noble and ancient family in Ireland.

He was a lineal descendant of Sir John Everard, Knight, who possessed not only the town of Fethard 'for ever,' but also several 'castles, towns, and lands,' viz., 'Knockelly, Leagharry, Barretstowne, Rathcowle, Kilbrydy, Longbridge, &c.' in the County of Tipperary, and who had a 'licence to hold

Courts Leet and Barron' in the same county.¹ Sir John's eldest son and heir, Nicholas, married a daughter of James Lord Dunboyne. This Nicholas is described in the Office of Arms in Dublin Castle, as 'Viscount Mount Everard and Baron of Fethard.' Sir John had two other sons, Richard and Gabriel. Gabriel, from whom the Archbishop was descended, was created 'Barronett' in 1622, and lived at Burncourt Castle near Clogheen. He was one of the twenty-four sentenced by Ireton to be hanged at Limerick in 1651.² A grandson of Gabriel, viz., also a Sir John Everard, fought as a cavalry officer at the battle of the Boyne, and was killed at the battle of Aughrim in 1691.³ Sons and grandsons of Nicholas and Richard married daughters of Viscount Fermoy, the Duke of Ormond, and Lord Cahir.

The arms of the Everards, to attempt a diffident blazoning of them, are: a lion langued, armed, rampant, combatant on dexter chief sable; a mullet among a triangle of three crescents of the first sable on sinister chief gules; base fourteen pellets in four lines on field argent. These arms may still be seen on the silver plate which belonged to the Archbishop, or in the Office of Arms at Dublin Castle. The exact house in which Dr. Patrick Everard, Archbishop of Cashel, first saw the light of day, is perhaps a matter of little importance, but is also one of much dispute. Some affirm that he was born at the country-seat of his family, a short distance out of Fethard, in the lovely County of Tipperary; others that he was born in the town-house in Fethard itself. To speak of a town-house in that little rural city of only one street worthy of the name, where a few cattle may generally be seen loitering, which is flooded with the sweet air of heaven at all times, and where the fields, woods, and mountains can be seen from every gap or corner, may seem somewhat extravagant. Nevertheless, Fethard is an important little town in its own quiet way, and is the birth-place

¹ See D'Arcy M'Gee's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 84, seq.: also Haverty, p. 502.

² See M'Gee, *ib.*, p. 46, and Hav., *ib.*, p. 592.

³ See *Records of Ireland*, p. 384.

of more than one illustrious person. It is one of the few ancient strongholds whose fortifications remain almost intact at the present moment. Fethard is a walled city. And those walls, like most of the walls of Ireland, have stood amidst, if not withstood, the missiles of the cruel invaders of her peaceful homes.

It may not, perchance, be tedious, or out of place, to recall here the *ruse de guerre*, which the inhabitants of Fethard are said to have made use of, when Cromwell with his heaven-sent butchers came creeping over the lower slopes of Slievnamon, to besiege the place in 1650. All the farmers of the town and district brought in their largest milk-cans and placed them with the mouths facing the enemy, like so many pieces of heavy ordnance, upon the walls. Then the 'Sovereign,' or Mayor of Fethard, who was, on that memorable occasion, James Everard, a direct ancestor of the Archbishop, together with the leading men of the town, went forth to the hostile camp to discuss the terms of capitulation. This may or may not be true. However, we are informed by Mr. Prendergast,¹ that 'the terms of truce with Fethard were the best obtained by any town in Ireland,' if that be anything to boast of. It would seem that Ireland has never sent out from her primeval fields anything more formidable than milk and butter, saints and scholars. This is surely good for evil.

However this may be, it is quite certain that Dr. Everard was born in or near that most picturesque city of Fethard, about the year 1752. There, in the wide market-place stands the large quaint and ancient mansion of the Everards, and looks now as able to outlast the vicissitudes of men as ever. It is a huge house of but two storeys with dormers in the roof, and in the long front facing the street there are two rows of ten windows each, the lower row being divided in the middle by the main door with a pillar at each side. On the right of this door, and in the wall, there is still a large square stone slab, bearing the arms of the Everards carved upon it. The charge, as far as can be distinguished, is a

¹ See his *Cromwellian Settlement*.

lion rampant, with its tail not bending as usual over the back, but hanging behind, and having many branches, each terminating in a shamrock. Possibly this greatly feathered tail is a playful allusion to the English sound of the name Fethard. The fine old mansion, once the home of culture, virtue, and peace, is now a garrison; for the Everards are dispersed and impoverished, and their seat is the seat of war, or rather of a barracks of British soldiers. Not even secluded Fethard is impregnable to the onward step of 'civilization.' Now it is a town of glorious ruins and dismantled towers and churches and schools. Everywhere you go you light upon the wreck of former plenty, peace, and prosperity, temporal and spiritual. To the English visitor, unaccustomed to seeing such places, Fethard is full of a sort of sad romantic charm and interest. Here, may still be seen a noble battered 'gate,' over which stands a strong watch-tower, with barbican and bastion almost complete; there, a massive castle-like piece of masonry rises up at the very edge of the river; now, lovely flower-gardens are met with enclosed by the ancient fortifications, against which are reared the choicest fruit trees; then, a once substantial church or abbey, or castle handed over to the ivy, the jack-daws, and the elements. The town is bounded on two sides by a natural moat of the dark-flowing Suir, and on the other two sides by walls, which are only about five feet thick. Until quite recent days, a strong embattled tower stood on each side of a drawbridge which formed the sole entrance to the town from the West. Several times each day troops of horses from the quondam mansion of the Everards may be seen scampering headlong up the broad street of Fethard after their watering at the river. At other times that street of irregular, old and pretty houses is quiet enough. An occasional donkey with its tiny cart dozes and blinks near the shop door, undisturbed by a gang of noisy geese, and seeming glad to wait for his gossiping master or mistress within. They do not race time in Ireland; it is, there, the slave, not the master.

We have dwelt for a considerable time upon Fethard, because not only was Patrick Everard born there, but

because the names of Fethard and Everard are almost synonymous words ; with the interests, the history, and the fate of that little city the noble family of the Everards were for ages part and parcel. Here too the future Archbishop's childhood and early youth were spent. His elementary and classical education were, for the most part, acquired at home and at the Grammar School of Fethard. Providence having endowed him with a gentle and saintly disposition, he was irresistibly led on to the vocation of the priesthood. Almost every family has a member a priest in that country, which is the modern tribe of Levi among the nations of the English tongue. Accordingly, when this young Levite had learnt all that his native town could teach him, his father sent him across the seas to the distant, celebrated schools of Salamanca, in Spain. One can imagine the handsome figure of that noble youth, dressed in his knee breeches, silk stockings and white cravat, stepping out of his father's house for the last time and into the stage-coach. It was a long journey in those days, through Clonmel to Waterford, and thence by ship to Oporto, or Bilbao, for Salamanca. That was a pathetic event in his life. He would not be able to return home at Christmas and midsummer, as youths do now ; nay, more than twenty summers would come and go before he returned, if even then he did.

It is not improbable that young Everard called at Bordeaux, on this his first voyage, to visit a friend and former neighbour of his own family, a certain Mr. Barton. This gentleman owned extensive vineyards there and also the [Grove estate, Co. Tipperary, which Mr. Everard, the father of Patrick, was agent for, in the absence of its owner.

With what assiduity Patrick pursued his studies of philosophy and theology in the Irish College at Salamanca, for to that College he proceeded, can only be gathered from his subsequent brilliant career and the splendid success which crowned his labours wherever he went and whatever he undertook. In the home and atmosphere of that famous school of theology, the Salmanticenses, the devoted young Irish student was sure to take full advantage of the fine opportunities he had of becoming a theologian of the first

rank. It is a noteworthy fact, that he had among his companions at the Irish College in Salamanca, three other future Archbishops of Ireland. The four metropolitans, Dr. Murray of Dublin, Dr. Kelly of Tuam, Dr. Laffan and Dr. Everard, both of Cashel, studied, prayed, played, slept, and ate together when boys under the same roof at Salamanca. We do not know the precise year in which he entered Salamanca, but we know that he was certainly there in 1776, when he was twenty-four years of age. We also are certain that he was raised to the dignity of priesthood in the year 1783, at Salamanca, when he was thirty-one. To some this may seem a somewhat mature age at which to be ordained, and might perhaps argue a want of talent in the candidate for Holy Orders. But such was not the case. The course of studies at that great university was long and difficult. We, in England, are accustomed to see young men admitted to the sacred priesthood at the age of about twenty-five and after a substantial, but comparatively meagre curriculum. It was not so in those former times at Salamanca, the Louvain of the South. Taking the degree of S.T.D. there was no trivial affair. There is not the least doubt that Patrick Everard was made a Doctor of Divinity at the great University of Salamanca. When he left his Spanish *Alma Mater* upon his ordination he was styled 'Dr. Everard,' a title he ever afterwards went by. M. L'Abbé Bertrand informs us that Patrick Everard occupied the chair of Doctor of Theology at Bordeaux.¹ To this day, at Ulverston which we shall have occasion to speak of by-and-bye, and where his memory is still green, the people always mention him as 'Dr. Everard,' though he was not raised to the episcopate until his long sojourn in that town was practically over. But, let us now follow him from Salamanca to Bordeaux, where the first years of his fruitful priesthood were spent.

It was the custom of the sons of gentlemen in those days, as soon as they had completed their education, to make a tour through the various places of interest in Europe. With

¹ See his *Histoire des Séminaires de Bordeaux*, t. i., p. 381.

this intention the newly-made priest and Doctor of Theology left his college at Salamanca, intending also, as soon as his well-earned vacation was at an end, to return to his native land and place himself at the disposal of his own bishop. But man proposes and God disposes.

Naturally enough, on leaving Spain he bent his steps towards Bordeaux, where an intimate friend of his family lived in affluence, where he would hear the latest news from Tipperary, and where he could communicate more speedily with his parents. There was also the Irish College at Bordeaux, where he would, doubtless, meet some of his old acquaintance. Little did he dream that his proposed visit of pleasure to Bordeaux was to develop into a delay of more than ten years in that city. Yet so it was to be. How different was the actual, eventful course, which awaited the bright young ecclesiastic from the one he had planned out for himself in his own simple unassuming mind! An exile for many years in a distant land, a voluntary prisoner in the halls of learning, he now yearned to go back to the pleasant meadows and the clear streams of 'the Golden Vale of Tipperary.' What a joy it would be for him to revisit dear old Fethard, and to share in the joy of his father and mother and their tenants; at meeting once again their beloved boy, now grown into a priest and a Doctor of Divinity! His own ambition, if that it can be called, was no more than to administer to the spiritual wants of a rustic flock, to visit and cheer the dwellers in the white-washed cottages of his own native county, where, from almost any point, he could turn and see the venerable and revered Rock of Cashel with its hoary, mysterious, and hallowed cluster of buildings sublimely noble, nay, unique. '*Has inter epulas, ut juvat pastas oves videre properantes domum!*' But, alas! that happy dream was never to be realized.

Dr. Glynn, Rector of the Irish College at Bordeaux, old and infirm when Dr. Everard arrived from Spain, was not slow to appreciate the abilities of the young Salamancan Doctor, nor to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of resigning the arduous duties of a superior. There was an accomplished priest, an Irishman and a nobleman,

in the prime of life, abounding in zeal, knowledge, and energy, educated and ordained on his own patrimony, and therefore under no obligation of serving any particular bishop. It was no slight temptation to the old man. He yielded to it, and who can blame him? But Dr. Glynn was too prudent to rely upon his own influence in accomplishing his plan. There was one, however, whose influence and authority would carry all before it. This was Monseigneur de Ceci, the Archbishop of Bordeaux. He himself had not been insensible to the attractions of the elegant and gifted ecclesiastic now in their midst. He probably might not succeed in affiliating Dr. Everard to his diocese, did he desire to do so; but he might at least by persuasion retain him in the city as a valuable and useful ornament. To the Archbishop, then, Dr. Glynn betook himself, to unfold his scheme, and secure the co-operation he so coveted. Needless to say, he succeeded. The Doctor was summoned to the palace of the Archbishop, and, in the course of an interview, was prevailed upon to accept the reins of rectorship of the Irish College.¹ The Venerable Dr. Glynn then retired into a well-merited and honourable seclusion.

It would have been well for the old man had he then sought his peaceful native shore of Ireland, well—if it be well to escape the crown of martyrdom and a cruel, sanguinary death. Yet who could then foresee that the ‘Eldest Daughter of the Church,’ France, flourishing, opulent, and basking in the rays of her own effete splendour, would, before long, be torn by insane frenzy, be disgraced and drenched with the blood of her own population; her religion, her laws, her wealth, art, honour, all swallowed up and drowned in a diluvian outburst of infamy?

Dr. Everard presided over the destinies of the Irish College at Bordeaux for ten years. Each of those years he sent over to Ireland a little batch of priests, trained under his own eyes, and schooled in that deep theology of which he was a thorough master; but, above all, in those great virtues, lofty principles, and unsurpassed refinement, for which he was always so remarkable.

¹ See *Archives of the Diocese of Bordeaux*, t. 3.

Indeed, the Irish theologian's reputation for sanctity, learning, and prudence became so great in Bordeaux, that the Archbishop Monseigneur de Ceci could afford to pass over the native clergy, and make Dr. Everard Vicar-General of that immense diocese.¹ This singular distinction speaks volumes in praise of Dr. Everard, and is the more wonderful when we remember that he was at the time only a young man between thirty and forty years of age. It was an honour which reminds us of that obtained by Henrietta Maria for the English exiled poet and priest, Crashaw, in his being made a Canon of Loretto.

Then that Revolution of France came. As if possessed by the evil spirit, the rabble concentrated their hatred and cruelty upon the priests of the Church. For a short while the Irish clergy seem to have been protected by a sort of fragile immunity. But the French clergy had to flee, and their Archbishop Monseigneur de Ceci with them. Before taking his departure, however, the Archbishop gave Dr. Everard a still greater proof of his confidence and esteem. He made him sole administrator of the diocese of Bordeaux. Throughout many months of that fearful upheaval of iniquity, the fearless Irish Vicar-General, Patrick Everard, of Fethard, kept those bloodhounds at bay. He carried his life in his hands. But God was with him, and there is a limit even to the wickedness of a French revolution. He remained at the helm, and faithfully steered the bark committed to his charge as long as only his life was spared. Nothing short of the guillotine could make him leave his post; and would not the guillotine make him leave it, besides give the foes of religion a fiendish triumph? How he escaped that dreadful death was an undoubted miracle, as we shall soon see.

The poor old man, Dr. Glynn, then verging on the grave, tottering, bent, and feeble, was dragged out of his house in his soutane, and goaded along to the place of public execution, amidst the shouts of the abandoned mob. A Mr. Roche, of Cork, at that time in Bordeaux, has handed down this

¹ See *Hist. des Seminaires de Bordeaux*, t. i., p. 381.

fact, and says he saw with his own eyes the appalling tragedy. Still, the good shepherd, although he had heard of the fate of his venerable old friend, did not flee. We have the authority of the same Mr. Roche for stating that Dr. Everard did not attempt to escape until an armed band broke into his house, seized upon him, and were about to drag him away, when, the string of his gown breaking, he fled, and, like Joseph¹ left his cloak in the very hands of his would-be murderers.

Where Monseigneur de Ceci had gone to nobody knew, not even his heroic vicar-general, for, when life itself was not respected, how could correspondence be? A touching episode, yet to be related in chronological order, will reveal the Archbishop's harbour of refuge, and also the unbounded filial devotion of his adopted son and heir. Dr. Everard himself made good his miraculous escape, crossed over into Spain, and thence sailed to England. In passing through London in his flight from the Revolution in 1794, he was introduced to Edmund Burke, who, to quote from an authentic letter, 'was so fascinated with Dr. Everard's courtly manner and conversation, that he became ever after his attached friend, and introduced him to the leading statesmen and principal Catholic families of England.

We now come to what may be called the third epoch in Dr. Everard's changeful career. Hidden away in a remote and charming valley of Furness, surrounded on three sides by green lofty terraces of noble hills and on the fourth by the estuary of meeting rivers from the English lakes, reposing in a serene solitude all its own, lies the old picturesque market town of Ulverston. Here we next find Dr. Everard. In this town the faith has had a little nook of some sort almost since the days of the so-called Reformation. And Ulverston has been unusually fortunate in having had, in the past, several illustrious priests as its rectors. 'That celebrated historian, Father Thomas (Daniel) West, S.J.,' to quote from the 'Records' of this Society—'who wrote that scholarly and classical work, *The Antiquities of Furness*,¹ was a predecessor

¹ Twenty-three Dukes and Lords; twenty-two Baronets; forty-nine Protestant Clergymen; eighteen Professors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and nearly all the Catholic gentry of England and Scotland were subscribers to this work. He also was the first to write a *Guide to the Lakes*.

of Dr. Everard at Ulverston. Fathers Sewall, Cobb, and Weld, the great pioneer of the Gospel, all three subsequent provincials of the same Society, were Dr. Everard's successors.¹

The once famous school kept at Ulverston by Dr. Everard is not, perhaps, as well known as it deserves to be. Ulverston, in those days especially, was an ideal situation for an advanced school for the sons of the aristocracy. The open sea and lakes Windermere and Coniston are close at hand; hard by is the noble ruin of Furness Abbey, noble, if ruins can be: every outlet from the town leads into the most charming scenery of mountain, ravine, wood, and stream; the hills abound in grouse and other game, the brooks and rivers in trout and salmon; no railway then disturbed or disfigured the vicinity, no factories polluted its salubrious atmosphere: in short, it was a choice home for study, piety, and recreation. Dr. Everard obtained his lucrative appointment to Ulverston through the instrumentality of Edmund Burke. No place could better afford a peaceful abode to the refugee from the jaws of death, a home congenial to the scholar and professor, than Ulverston.

The Most Rev. Dr. Healy, in his *Centenary History of Maynooth College*, says: 'Dr. Everard bought from the Jesuit fathers their school at Ulverstone in Lancashire, which he conducted with great success for many years.'² In the official *Record* of Maynooth, Dr. Everard is described as 'formerly Superior of the Irish community at Bordeaux and Vicar-General of that diocese, Principal of a lay Academy at Ulverstone.'

It would seem, therefore, that Dr. Everard was not the original founder of the school. It is quite possible that it owed its first establishment to Father West, S.J., who was as renowned all over England for learning as Dr. Everard afterwards became. But there is no mention of a Jesuit school, previous to Dr. Everard's time, in the *Collectanea* of that Society, which, however, do mention that Dr. Everard 'kept a school there, besides serving the mission.' They

¹ See *Records of the English Province*, by Br. Foley.

² Page 228.

relate, also, that 'the Society gave some property to Dr. Everard, with which he bought a house for £800.' Although there appears a slight confusion in the above accounts, it is quite evident that Dr. Everard had some transaction with the Jesuits in regard to the occupation of the school and mission of Ulverston. There is also some discrepancy as to the year in which Dr. Everard came to Ulverston. The *Collectanea* state that he 'was placed there [at Ulverston] by Father William Strickland as early as 1802.' If this means that Dr. Everard was certainly there at that date, it is true; but if it means to imply that he was not there before 1802, it seems incorrect, for the very reason why Mr. Burke obtained the appointment of Dr. Everard to Ulverston school was because he was thrown out of an occupation by the Revolution, in 1794 or '95. Besides, no mention of his being in Ireland, or in any other place than in Ulverston, between 1794 and 1802 can be found. On the contrary, all accounts seem to imply that he came straight to Ulverston after he left Bordeaux, with the exception of the short stay he then made in London. Had he been attached to some other mission in Ireland or England during those eight years, it would certainly have been known to Dr. Healy, who also would have mentioned the fact in his sketch of Dr. Everard's life before quoted. Very probably the word, 'placed,' meant that Father Strickland handed over the charge of the mission, as distinct from the school, to Dr. Everard in 1802. Nevertheless, the Jesuit Order seem to have reserved at least the right of investiture to themselves, because we find that as far back as 1678 until beyond the middle of this century in 1863, when this school had long since melted away into Stonyhurst, Ushaw, and Oscott, a long succession of Jesuits served the district of Ulverston.¹

In the days of Dr. Everard the Catholics of Ulverston, exclusive of the students, were by no means numerous. Yet the few that were there were wealthy and aristocratic. Several titled families, such as the Belasyses and Mostyns,

¹ See *Records of the English Province*, by Br. Foley, vol. iii., addenda, p. 776. Also *State Papers*, P.R.O., Dom. Charles ii., b. n. 411, p. 45.

had fine houses here and resided as neighbours of the erudite and polished Doctor. Indeed, it is said that the school and the Catholic gentry were the mainstay of the place at the time. The students had their own stables and horses and dogs, and followed the hunt or rode out. They dined and danced with the neighbouring county families, who, in turn, were entertained at the Catholic houses in the town.

Report has it that the great Doctor himself accompanied his students on such occasions, and stayed as a spectator, even for the dance.¹ Whether he was a *persona grata* during the last-named portion of the entertainments, is not handed down. There is no reason, however, to suppose that he was anything else, for the dances of the Catholic aristocracy were then, and always have been, as decorous, nay, it might be said, as 'sober, steadfast, and demure' as a procession of cloistered nuns. A wise and paternal master, he had a supervision over his pupils at all times. He knew well how to temper the useful with the pleasant, '*moresque viris et præmia ponet.*'

But no one, who had the least knowledge of him, would be scandalized in Dr. Everard. On the contrary, all who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and that was a great privilege, were drawn to him by an irresistible attraction quite his own. Born and nurtured in a virtuous home, inheriting the refinement of an ancient nobility, trained for over twenty years in the conservatories of solid piety and deep science, he was not only a priest, a scholar, and a gentleman, but he was the model, the perfection, the very pink and *beau idéal* of each.

In strange contrast with his whole character is the following story, and quite authentic. The good Professor was one Sunday evening, above all other evenings, whiling away the long, dreary candlelight, in a peaceful game of whist with the parents of the lady who still relates the event. Suddenly the party were surprised red-handed, in the very act of dealing, by the abrupt introduction into the room of a very rigid and most correct old lady, yet not a

¹ See *Dublin Review*, October, 1892, p. 399, art. on 'Charles Langdale.'

Catholic. She was at first staggered, and could not believe her eyes, but when she had regained her scattered senses and her breath, and became calm enough to realize the awful situation she was in, she clasped her hands in an agony of scandal and horror, cast her eyes up to heaven, and screeched, 'My God! has it come to this!' But Dr. Everard 'lived it down' and his reputation survived even this terrible *denouement*.

Judging from his portrait at Maynooth, and the one at the palace of his present successor in the see of Cashel, and from the fine bust set up to his memory in the chapel at Thurles College, Dr. Everard's personal appearance was as distinguished as were his mental accomplishments. He has the high forehead, the guileless eye, the aquiline nose, the well-formed mouth and chin of manly beauty. He was tall above the average, as most Tipperary men are, broad in the chest, and straight as a soldier.

For all that, his Catholicity and his nationality did not escape the profane ribaldry of the lower orders of the day, who shouted after him 'Irish Pat,' 'Yer Rivrinnee,' and 'Priest.' Cardinal Newman had not yet then whipped out of England that native insolence with his unmitigated castigation, remarking that *anything* can be a subject of ridicule with some people, even the bald head of a prophet. But none of those epithets were calculated to disturb the equanimity of Dr. Everard or caused him to blush. It was very ungrateful on their part, for many of them, if they did not owe to him their daily bread, were his debtors for the butter on it. To have his windows broken on the 5th November, was an affliction which he, in common with many other priests, could not cure, and so they endured. He used to close his inner shutters on the 5th, and send his glazier round on the 6th November, and his tradesmen on the 24th December with legs of mutton, pies, coals, sugar, and tea, for his persecutors.

The school itself was originally a fairly large gentleman's residence, and stands at the end of Fountain-street to this day. Long since it has been divided into four good-sized, respectable houses, in one of which the priests

of Ulverston have lived from Dr. Everard's day until the year 1895, when a new church and presbytery were occupied, and the old ones sold, exactly a century after Dr. Everard came to the town. A large paved courtyard with stables adjoining stands at the back of the old school premises beneath the shade of a few ancient sycamores. Dr. Everard also owned two fine gardens near the school and some fields just outside the town, which are now called 'Gill Banks,' and have become a public pleasure resort for the people.

The annual pension paid by Dr. Everard's pupils, according to Dr. Healy in his aforesaid work, ranged from '£200 to £400.' This seems a large sum for those days; but when it is borne in mind that the school was intended for the sons of the nobility, and patronized by them alone, the amount does not seem so very extravagant. Nevertheless, if there were about twenty students under Dr. Everard, as tradition says there were, and if we put the average pension at £300, the income was one not at all to be despised. The amount of money he realized as the proceeds of his school may be estimated, to a certain extent, by the legacies he left in his will. Among the items of his will are to be seen £10,000 for the establishment of a college at Thurles for the education of priests, and another of £5,000 to his old friend Dr. Murray of Dublin, to be devoted entirely to religious and educational purposes. It is known, on the most trustworthy evidence, that not a penny of his earnings went to a single member of his own family. Dr. Everard did not acquire his comparatively large fortune from the revenues of Cashel, as he was Archbishop of that see for only three months, nor from his own family, for, as we have already inferred, they were long ago denuded of most of the ancestral property they once possessed.

Certainly the suggestion of selfishness, much less the taint of avarice, cannot be laid at the door of his memory. His was a cleanhandedness, a detachment from lucre, worthy of St. Charles Borromeo. The nobility of England would have gladly subscribed to the above-named objects the amount Dr. Everard bequeathed to them, without ever having heard of his name, or having had their sons educated

under his conscientious and indefatigable care. It is as pleasant to think of the success in England of the refugee from death in France as to recollect the triumphant affluence of Job. The emoluments he received at Ulverston were the natural outcome and fruits of his own prolific genius, peculiar skill, incessant toil. All his scorings, if we may use a modern schoolboy phrase, were 'off his own bat.' Only his equal could have attained an equal success. Yet, he did not go over to Ireland to buy back, which he was well able to do, the estates of his forefathers, and there build himself a house, wherein to rest, after the heats and burdens he had so long borne, and end his days in what would now be a boasted and laudable retirement. All his savings went to the building up of the spiritual edifice, the needy Church in Ireland, which, throughout the long periods of his exile, he had ever loved so well. With Bacon, he considered riches to be 'the baggage of virtue,' and his whole existence proclaimed with Fénelon, '*Secouez le joug du superflu, faites-vous riche sans argent.*'

Beneath the handsome marble bust of Dr. Everard in Thurles College chapel there is a tablet which bears the following inscription: 'This Chapel has been Furnished and Decorated by the Archbishop and Priests of Cashel and Emly, in the Year of Grace 1889, in Memory of the Most Reverend Patrick Everard, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly, by whose Magnificent Bequest this College of St. Patrick was mainly Founded, A.D. 1837.'

Thus, the man who had sent over to Ireland from Bordeaux so many well-educated priests, conferred a perpetual boon upon England in furnishing us with lay gentlemen not less accomplished in their own spheres of influence and action; such men, for instance, as Charles Langdale, who achieved so much for the Catholics of his time. Nay, more, he utilized the very success of that boon to establish a great college in Ireland. To see that flourishing college with its grand broad corridors, its noble refectory and pretty chapel, its splendid libraries, its play-rooms and class-rooms, its superb suites of professorial apartments, its large imposing frontage dominating its beautiful gardens,

lawns, and avenues ; to see, above all, its learned and refined staff of professors, with about a hundred earnest, merry, busy, and healthy ecclesiastical students, is to form some idea of the imperishable good Dr. Everard accomplished.

An intimate and unbroken friendship always existed between Dr. Everard and Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin. The late Abbot Clifton, O.S.B., whose father was a pupil under Dr. Everard at Ulverston, informed the writer of this memoir that Dr. Murray himself, for some time at least, assisted Dr. Everard in teaching at Ulverston—a fact which in some measure accounts for the large bequest Dr. Everard left to Dr. Murray.

A heroic and touching event, already alluded to, which portrays in a halo of light the disinterestedness of Dr. Everard, must not be forgotten. When he had passed a year or two in prosperity at Ulverston, he chanced to hear that his beloved former master, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, poor old Monseigneur de Ceci, had escaped over to London, and was living there in obscurity and poverty. The very next ebb of the tide, the faithful disciple left Ulverston, crossed over the dangerous sands of Morecambe Bay in the stage-coach for Lancaster, and thence hastened on to London with all possible speed, and with all the money he possessed, to seek out and rescue his aged friend. And he found him. The meeting of that Archbishop and his former Vicar-General can be better imagined than described. They had been driven asunder by a cruel storm and neither hoped to see the other again. When the young priest was an exile the Archbishop had raised him up to a high position, and now it is in the power of the son to aid the father in his homeless, sorrowful, and penurious exile. Needless to say that opportunity was not let slip. Dr. Everard at once took a respectable house for the foreign Archbishop, and maintained him there in a manner suitable to the dignity of so great a prelate, until the storm abated and the shepherd returned to his stricken flock in Bordeaux.

With the above exception, Dr. Everard's long sojourn of over fifteen years in Ulverston was uneventful enough. It was the calm, steady routine of a community life, day after

day, and year after year. As far as can be ascertained, he did not publish any works except a certain pamphlet addressed to the Duke of Wellington, which is said to have caused a sensation at the time.

We now come to what may be called the last period in the career of Dr. Everard, when we shall find him transferred to new spheres of greater responsibility and higher dignity. His fame was not confined to England and France; it was known also in his own country. The Irish bishops not unnaturally regarded with a jealous eye the employment of their native Irish talent in the 'lay academy at Ulverstone.' The gifted Tipperary priest had been ten years superior of their own college in Bordeaux, and now, in 1810, he had gained a long and varied experience in the training of young gentlemen in England. They could submit to his being raised to a high ecclesiastical position in France, where he might still be useful to their cause; but they would not gladly allow his ability to be spent in England any longer than they could help. The Irish bishops have more virtues in their armoury than the simplicity of the dove. And, if their charity had not in this case begun at home, they would rightly endeavour to make it end there.

Accordingly, the Presidency of Maynooth College being vacant in 1810, the bishops of Ireland elected Dr. Everard President on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul in that year. He was then in his own fifty-eighth year. This was a conspicuous honour conferred upon him by his own countrymen, and, of course, showed their high appreciation of his rare virtues and capacity for training youth. To a great extent, the spiritual fabric and welfare of all Ireland depends upon the President of Maynooth College, where so vast a number of priests are educated.

Unfortunately, the health of the new President was by this time greatly impaired. In fact, his term of residence at Maynooth seems never to have been very continuous. The very year after his installation there we find him recruiting his broken strength in the bracing sea and mountain air of his English home at Ulverston. Dr. Maginnis, of Maynooth, in a letter to the Most Rev. Dr. Plunkett, of Meath,

dated St. Patrick's Day, 1811, says:—'Dr. Everard is still in England.' Nevertheless, he still fought on, and returned to his presidential duties as soon as he had regained sufficient strength.¹ But the climate of Maynooth did not suit his shattered constitution. Ulverston, on the other hand, lying, as we have said, in a basin surrounded by hills, which shelter it from the cold north and east winds, is remarkable for the mildness of its climate, and is even now a health resort for invalids in winter time. Dr. Everard had become acclimatized to this atmosphere, and so we find that he again and again crossed over the Irish Sea from Dublin to Ulverston, now struggling to fulfil his duties, now seeking to restore his failing energies. The end of it all was that he was obliged to retire from Maynooth altogether in 1812, when, as Dr. Healy states, 'he returned to his school in Ulverstone.' It was not, however, until the following year, 1813, that he wrote, sending in his final and formal resignation, which he did on the 25th of June of that year. Dr. Murray, though he was then Archbishop of Dublin, held the presidency himself as a *locum tenens* during Dr. Everard's frequent relapses, hoping against hope that his friend would be restored to health, and so retain the reins of office. But it was not to be.

Although Dr. Everard returned again to Ulverston, after his short and oft-interrupted rule as President of the great college in Ireland, it is not known whether he then resumed his teaching there or not. As he was in his sixty-first year, and infirm, it is not likely that he did. In 1814, we find the Rev. Nicholas Sewall, S.J., at Ulverston. Dr. Everard may, therefore, have handed over the school to the Jesuit fathers, from whom he is said to have originally bought it.

In that year, 1814, Dr. Everard was raised to the highest rank and office to which a priest can attain, being elected Coadjutor to the Most Rev. Dr. Bray, Archbishop of Cashel, with the right of succession. According to the pontifical brief of his election, dated 1st October, 1814, he received the

¹ It was probably through the instrumentality of Dr. Everard that Dr. Lingard, the historian, was, in 1811, invited to assume the presidency of Maynooth. They were clerical friends and neighbours at Ulverston and Hornby.

title of 'Archbishop of Malta, i.p.i., . . . and was consecrated at Cork on the 24th of April, 1815.'¹ The elevation to the episcopate of an aged and feeble man may be regarded as rather *honoris* than *oneris causa* ; as an appropriate recognition of distinguished services rendered to the Church, rather than the road to future labours. Yet, although his health prevented him from retaining the heavy responsibilities of Maynooth, there was no reason why he might not perform the less arduous duties of a coadjutor. Maynooth is in as exposed a situation as Ushaw, while Tipperary is almost as undulating, and its valleys as sheltered, as Furness. His intellectual powers were not enfeebled.

Upon the death of Archbishop Bray, in the year 1820, Dr. Everard succeeded him, and became Archbishop of Cashel and Emly in December that year. But he was not destined to wear the pallium for more than three months. He died in the following March, in 1821. He was buried in the parish church of Cashel, where his remains still repose, unindicated as yet by any monument of stone, but remembered by the more lasting veneration of a hallowed tradition.

Thus the exile, after forty years of vicissitudes, of perils, labours, and successes, returned at last to the home and haunts of his childhood. He returned, indeed, but not in the summer of his life, not to see those hoary ruins of Holy Cross and Cashel, those emerald hills and silvery brooks and pleasant valleys, which team with the fascination of poetry and romance, lit up and engloried in the noon-day sun of his strength ; but he returned in the night of his life, when he was worn, and old, and feeble, when the friends of his youth were dead, to die himself, and lay his bones, as was fitting, by the side of Erin's princes, and under the shadow of the sacred towers of Cashel.

The written records of the life of this great Archbishop are not at all copious, and these pages have been inscribed to his memory in an attempt to save the little that is known to a few from falling into undeserved oblivion.

T. B. ALLAN.

¹M. l'Abbé Bertrand, op. cit. ib.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

ON WHAT DAYS MAY THE ANNUAL REQUIEM MASS FOR THE DECEASED PRELATES OF A DIOCESE BE SUNG ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you be so kind as to relieve me of doubt on the two following points:—

1. As to whether the Annual Diocesan Solemn Mass for deceased diocesan prelates may be celebrated on a feast of a higher rite than semi-double ; and (2) as to whether one prayer only, or three must be sung, in the event of (1) being answered in the affirmative.

M. C.

1. The rubrics of the Missal and the decrees of the Congregation of Rites recognise two kinds of anniversary requiem Masses. One kind may be called *foundation* Masses, as they should be founded by deed, donation, or last will for the repose of the founder's soul, or of the souls of others mentioned by the founder. The second kind of anniversary Mass is one which has not been founded or provided for by anyone, but is asked for annually by the relatives or friends of a deceased person. The privileges attaching to the first kind of anniversary Mass are more extensive than those attaching to the second. Both kinds may be celebrated on a feast of double, or even of double-major rite ; but while the former kind can be transferred or anticipated as often as the anniversary day is impeded by a feast excluding an anniversary Mass, the latter kind cannot ; in both cases, however, the Mass must be fixed for the actual anniversary of the day of death—*in die veri obitus*. And when a requiem Mass is celebrated for several deceased persons, whether it be a foundation Mass, or one asked for annually, it enjoys no privilege unless it be celebrated on the anniversary day of the death of one of those for whom it is offered.

Now, in the case about which our correspondent inquires the Mass is not, unless by accident, celebrated on the anniversary day of the death of any one of the prelates commemorated. Hence it possesses no privilege, and without a papal indult can be celebrated only on a day on which a private Requiem Mass may be celebrated. This conclusion which we have deduced from general principles recognised by the rubrics has been made the subject of special legislation. Questions similar to the present one have been frequently addressed to the Congregation of Rites, and the invariable reply was one forbidding the annual Requiem Mass on any day of higher than semi-double rite. The latest question on this subject was addressed to the Congregation in the year 1850, and the reply was issued on September 7th of that year. We give the question and reply, and although there is no mention of deceased prelates, we think that this case is exactly similar to the one submitted by our correspondent, and consequently, that the same solution applies to both:—

Quando officium solemne, seu anniversarium pro animabus omnium defunctorum confratrum alicujus congregationis fit in festo duplici majori, poteritne cantari missa de Requite, praesertim ubi jam est antiqua praxis et consuetudo?

Resp. In duplicibus non licere missam de Requite nec cum cantu celebrare absque Apostolico indulto hujus Sanctæ Sedis.

In the question, as may be seen, mention is made only of feasts of double-major rite, but the reply is quite general, and includes both doubles minor and doubles major.

2. Our correspondent's second question is based on the hypothesis that the first would be answered in the affirmative; and as the first has not been answered in the affirmative we might leave the second unanswered. If, however, we left it unanswered we should create an erroneous impression by making it appear that the law regarding the number of prayers to be said in a Solemn Requiem Mass is the same now as it was always. And this is not so. Formerly in a Solemn Requiem Mass, whether it was celebrated on a privileged day or as *missa quotidiana*, only one prayer was said. But a change has been introduced by a decree of the Congregation

of Rites, dated June 30, 1896, according to which three prayers must be said even in a Solemn Requiem Mass, unless the Mass be celebrated on a privileged day or for an object to which some privilege attaches. This decree, to which attention has already been called in these pages, and which is published in the introduction to the *Ordo* for 1897, ordains:—

In missis quotidianis quibuscunque, sive lectis sive cum cantu plures esse dicendas orationes.

But an annual Mass, such as that about which our correspondent inquires, though not celebrated on a privileged day, is nevertheless not a mere *missa quotidiana*. For although the day is not privileged, the object is, according to the decree we have just quoted from. In the paragraph preceding that from which the above extract is taken it is laid down:—

Unam tantam esse dicendam orationem . . . quodocunque pro defunctis missa solemniter celebratur, nempe sub ritu qui duplici respondeat, uti in officio quod recitatur post acceptum nuntium de alicujus obitu, et in anniversariis late sumptis.

The last clause which we have italicized has special reference to anniversaries such as that to which our correspondent refers; and hence only one prayer is to be said, although without a papal indult the Mass cannot be celebrated on a day of higher than semi-double rite.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANSWERS IN THE 'MAYNOOTH' CATECHISM: A PRACTICAL QUESTION

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, 24th June, 1897.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Kindly allow me to bring under the notice of your readers a question of very great interest and importance, upon which some of them, as the result of their experience, may have formed a definite opinion, and may be willing to state in the pages of the I. E. RECORD the conclusion at which they have arrived.

It seemed a few years ago to be taken for granted that it would be of great advantage in the religious instruction of the young if the answers in the Catechism were recast, so that each answer should form a complete sentence, stating, independently of any relation to the question, the religious truth intended to be conveyed. Such a change was accordingly made in the edition of the Catechism that was then brought out, and that has come to be generally designated the 'Maynooth' Catechism.¹

Thus, instead of :—

'Q. Who made the world?
'A. God.'

We now have :—

'Q. Who made the world?
'A. God made the world.'

Again, instead of :—

'Q. What is faith?
'A. A divine virtue by which we firmly believe,' &c.

'Q. What is charity?
'A. A divine virtue by which we love God,' &c.

¹ As to this designation of the Catechism, see I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii., Jan. 1892, pages 3-5.

We have :—

‘Q. What is faith?

‘A. Faith is a divine virtue by which we firmly believe,’ &c.

‘Q. What is charity?

‘A. Charity is a divine virtue by which we love God,’ &c.

Also, to take some examples of a somewhat different class, instead of :—

‘Q. Is it a great sin to neglect Confirmation?

‘A. Yes; especially in those evil days, when faith and morals,’ &c.

We have :—

‘Q. Is it a great sin to neglect Confirmation?

‘A. It is a great sin to neglect Confirmation, especially in those evil days when faith and morals,’ &c.

Again, instead of :—

‘Q. Are we to believe that the God of all glory is under the appearance of our corporal food?

‘A. Yes; as we must also believe that the same God of all glory suffered death under the appearance of a criminal on the cross.’

We have :—

‘Q. Are we to believe that the God of all glory is under the appearance of our corporal food?

‘A. We believe that the God of all glory is under the appearance of our corporal food, just as we believe the same God of all glory,’ &c.

And, instead of :—

‘Q. What must persons do who did not carefully examine their consciences, or who had not sincere sorrow for their sins, or who wilfully concealed a mortal sin in confession?

‘A. They must truly repent of all such bad and sacrilegious confessions, and make them all over again.’

We have :—

‘Q. What must persons do who did not carefully examine their consciences, or who had not sincere sorrow for their sins, or who wilfully concealed a mortal sin in confession?

‘A. Persons who did not examine their consciences, or who had not sorrow for their sins, or who wilfully concealed a mortal sin in confession, must truly repent of all such bad and sacrilegious confessions, and must make them over again.’

This extensive change in the form of the answers of the Catechism was made, it seems, for a two-fold purpose: first, to remove the opening, which undoubtedly was left in the older

system, for the giving of irrelevant,—sometimes ludicrously irrelevant,—answers; and, secondly, to secure that the children, by learning the answers of the Catechism, should get hold, in each case, of a definite statement of religious truth.

For my part, in so far as I formed, at the time, any definite view on the subject of the change, I regarded it as a decided improvement. I should think that this was the view then generally taken of it. At the same time I am aware that the opposite view was taken by not a few of the clergy. I understand too that it was taken by some of the Bishops. Indeed I have heard that, mainly on account of this change, there are parts of Ireland in which the so-called 'Maynooth' Catechism has never been admitted, and in which the unmodified 'Butler' has throughout continued to be the only recognised Catechism of the diocese.

Having recently had to consider some thoughtful criticisms in which this matter was discussed on the merits, I have found myself gradually brought round to recognise that there is at all events a good deal to be said in support of the view adverse to the change. For my own guidance, and believing that the point must be of interest to many of them, I have thought of thus bringing it under the notice of the readers of the I. E. RECORD, in the hope that some of them may contribute to its elucidation.

I. As to the supposed advantages of the change.

1. Has the change really excluded the giving of the wrong answers?

My own experience satisfies me that it has not, and that it is very far from having done so. Take, for instance, the questions, 'What is the Blessed Eucharist,' and 'What is the Mass.' In these two cases, is the wrong answer never substituted for the right one,—the first words, 'The Blessed Eucharist is,' or 'The Mass is,' being merely taken up as a sort of echo to the question, and the remainder being given from the wrong answer, which has happened to come to mind? Is the same not true of the answers defining a sacrament and a sacrifice; of the answers defining the several sacraments; of the answers telling what is commanded, or what is forbidden, by the various commandments;—in a word, is it not true in all those cases in which, under the form of answer in 'Butler,' such a substitution was in any way likely to occur?

2. The second supposed advantage of the new system is that

it gives the children hold of intelligible doctrinal statements, not merely disconnected words or scraps of religious phraseology,—such as ‘God;’ ‘to redeem and save us:’ the devil, envying their happy state; ‘on Christmas Day, in a stable at Bethlehem:’ and the like. Now, as to all this, it may be asked whether it is a fact that, in such cases as those illustrated by the answers just quoted, the children really got hold of nothing more than disconnected scraps of phraseology,—whether, for instance, when they learned that, in reply to the question, ‘Who made the world,’ they were to answer, ‘God,’ they had not as firm a hold of the truth, ‘God made the world,’ as they have under the present cumbrous method?

II. As to the considerations that may be urged against the change introduced in the ‘Maynooth’ Catechism, and in favour of a return to the older system.

1. It is very fairly urged that any arrangement which results in a substantial addition to the number of words that have to be learned by the children is, in so far, open to objection. Now, the examples which I have transcribed in the opening paragraphs of this letter,—examples, let me say, selected altogether at random, without any reference to the effect of the change as regards the length of the additions made to the passages quoted,—show the following results:—

Number of words in these six answers in ‘Butler’ ... 78

„ „ the ‘Maynooth’ Catechism ... 128

2. It is also a drawback that the answers as thus modified are, of necessity, rendered more complex in construction.

3. Moreover, the form of answer introduced by the change is undoubtedly a very unusual one; probably it is altogether without parallel in any books of instruction that are drawn up as Catechisms, in the form of question and answer, in other subjects.

4. This method of answering questions is also constrained and unnatural, so that this method seems an undesirable one to put into the mouths of young children,—especially when so many answers, constructed upon the same artificial plan, have to be committed to memory and thus necessarily become familiar by frequent repetition.

5. A still more serious objection to the new form of answer is that it seems to have a tendency to check the exercise of intelligence. In the old form of answer, a child, when asked, for instance, ‘What is baptism,’ had to attend carefully to the question, and to select the proper answer, out of the seven

answers in the Catechism that began with the words 'A sacrament.' In this, there was need for intelligent answering, as distinct from mere parrot-like repetition. But under the new system, in such cases, the last word of the question serves as a catchword to suggest the answer, and there is no evidence that we are getting anything more than a mere mechanical recitation when the child, echoing the last word of the question, continues the answer, 'Baptism is a sacrament,' &c.

I have already noticed the fact,—now fully established, I venture to say, by experience,—that whilst the present form of answer has the very grave defect to which I have just now directed attention, it has not, on the other hand, the advantage of really securing that the right answer shall be given.

A child, even slightly nervous, or answering at all inattentively, is by no means unlikely to give a wrong answer,—wrong, with the exception only of the first word, that one word being repeated, parrot-like, from the question. Thus, in answer to the question, 'What is Baptism,' I have heard, more than once, the absurd answer given, 'Baptism is a sacrament by which the sins are forgiven which are committed after baptism,'—a result which those who object to the form in which the answers of the 'Maynooth' Catechism are expressed would probably ascribe to the deadening effect of this form of answer upon the intelligence of the child.

A still better illustration of the same kind of defect is found in the case of the questions, 'What is Extreme Unction,' and 'What is Matrimony.' In this case, the beginning of each of the two answers contains the words, 'a sacrament which gives grace.' This, of course, adds to the confusion. And so it is not uncommon to hear,—in answer to the former question,—that 'Extreme Unction is *a sacrament which gives grace to the husband and wife to live happy together, and to bring up their children in the fear and love of God,*' and,—in answer to the latter,—that 'Matrimony is *a sacrament which gives grace to die well, and is instituted chiefly for the spiritual strength and comfort of dying persons.*'

This whole subject is plainly worthy of some careful consideration.

I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

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DOCUMENTS

IMPORTANT STATEMENT OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY ON
THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

AT a General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on the 23rd ult., all the Irish Prelates being present, with the exception of the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, who was unavoidably absent, the following statement on the Irish University question was unanimously adopted :—

Since our last meeting we have observed with great satisfaction the progress which the question of Catholic University Education has made.

The striking Declaration in which the Catholic laity of Ireland, renewing a similar Declaration made in the year 1870, put forth their claim to educational equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, has had a decided effect upon public opinion, and has put beyond question the fact that the Catholic laity are absolutely at one with the Bishops on this question, and feel as keenly as we do the disabilities to which, on account of their religious principles, Irish Catholics are still obliged to submit.

One of the first indications of the impression which that Declaration made on the public mind was the very important and hopeful debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 22nd of January of this year, on an amendment to the Address to the Throne, moved by Mr. Engeldew, M.P. for Kildare. In that debate, one of the most remarkable features was the unanimity with which, from every side of the House of Commons, admissions were made of the existence of a grievance on the part of Irish Catholics, and the hope was expressed that the Government would proceed without delay to remove it.

We desire to mark in particular the fair and liberal attitude taken up by Mr. Lecky. His own personal eminence, together with the special authority attaching to his statements as the representative of Dublin University, lend importance to his speech, in which we very gladly observe a tone that does credit to himself and to the distinguished constituency which he represents. Naturally enough, viewing the question from a

different standpoint from ours, Mr. Lecky put forward, on the minor aspects of the question, some views from which we should dissent. But we note with very sincere pleasure the practical conclusion at which he arrived, and the expression of his hope 'that the Government would see their way to gratify the desire of the Irish Catholics.'

In some respects, the speech in which the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Morley, went even farther in the same direction, is still more noteworthy and deserving of recognition at our hands.

With Mr. Morley's well-known views, we regard his hearty support of our claim to a Catholic University as an evidence of true liberality of mind; and we are particularly grateful for the public spirit with which, refusing to make any party capital out of the question, he has raised it out of the arena of contentious politics, and has offered his support to the Government in their effort to deal with it.

There is then the remarkable speech of the First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Arthur Balfour. From one occupying his position we could hardly expect a more favourable statement, and we will add that his speech, in its fairness, its friendliness of tone, and its appreciation of the views and wishes of Irish Catholics, is in keeping with the utterances of the right hon. gentleman on this question for many years; and if the question is now ripe, as we think and trust that it is ripe, for settlement, that favourable condition of things is largely due to the statesmanship with which he has educated public opinion in the three kingdoms upon the fundamental issues that are involved.

In the course of his speech Mr. Balfour observed that upon this perplexing problem the Government have not had so much guidance from the leaders of Irish public opinion as they should like to have.

Perhaps he may have some reason for this complaint, but, for our part, we must say that we have always been ready to place any information which we possessed on the subject at the disposal of the Government, but we have never yet received an intimation that anyone in authority had any desire to receive it from us. Even now we should be glad if anyone on behalf of the Government were to formulate a series of questions on any points on which our views might be deemed of importance, so that we should know precisely the topics to which we might most usefully address ourselves. In this way we should effectually prevent the

contingency which, affecting the Government, Mr. Lecky and Mr. Balfour seemed to apprehend, 'of proposing a scheme without being tolerably sure that it will be accepted.'

However, as we have not these definite points authoritatively before us, we can only gather, as best we may, from the debate to which we have referred, the issues of the case which seem to be regarded as fundamental, and state our views upon them as clearly and briefly as possible. They seem to be :—

1. What should be the proportion of laymen to ecclesiastics on the governing body of the projected Catholic University?

2. Do we ask an endowment for theological teaching?

3. What security should be given to professors and others against arbitrary dismissal?

4. Are we prepared to accept the application of "The University of Dublin Tests Act" of 1873?

1. With regard to the constitution of the governing body we have to remark that the question of the relative numbers of laymen and ecclesiastics upon it is of very recent origin. For forty years, during which Irish Catholics were engaged in agitating for redress in University education, this question was never once raised, nor was any opposition between these classes even suggested; and now we would impress upon the Government that nothing, in our opinion, would be more fatal to the future of the University than to approach its constitution in an anti-clerical spirit, which is absolutely alien to the whole character and disposition of our people.

If, however, such a spirit is excluded, and there is simply a desire to give to the University the best and broadest constitution, with a view to attaining the highest educational results, we have to say that, whatever may be thought of the relative merits of ecclesiastics and laymen as the directors of a University in the abstract, we do not consider that in the particular circumstances of this case it would be reasonable to propose that there should be a preponderance of ecclesiastics on the Governing Body.

The new University will be called upon principally to provide secular teaching. Our theological students are provided for at Maynooth and other ecclesiastical colleges, and the need of a Catholic University is mainly to teach secular knowledge to lay students.

But, on the other hand, there are some considerations which it is well not to overlook. One of the advantages which we expect

from the foundation of a Catholic University is the opportunity which it will afford of giving a higher education to the candidates for the priesthood in Ireland: and these alone, it will be observed, will make, from the first, a large accession to the number of students in the University.

Then the whole system of secondary education, in which thousands of Catholic youths are now pursuing their studies, has come by the spontaneous action of the Catholics of Ireland to be almost entirely under ecclesiastical direction. For many of these students a University course is the natural completion of their studies, and we should hope that with our encouragement large numbers of them would pass on to the new University.

Finally, the Catholic University Colleges, notably those of St. Stephen's-green and Blackrock, and the Catholic University School of Medicine, would with our consent be merged in the contemplated University; and hence it will be seen that we Bishops approach the settlement of this question, not empty-handed, but that, altogether independently of the rights which our Catholic people recognise as attaching to us as their religious teachers, we have claims to consideration which it would be neither just nor reasonable to ignore.

On this head, then, we have to say that if, in other respects, the Governing Body is properly constituted, we do not ask for a preponderance, or even an equality in number, of ecclesiastics upon it, but are prepared to accept a majority of laymen.

2. As to theological teaching, we accept unreservedly the solution suggested by Mr. Morley—a solution which was accepted in principle by all parties in Parliament in the year 1893; namely, that a theological faculty should not be excluded from the Catholic University, provided that the Chairs of the Faculty are not endowed out of public funds. We are prepared to assent to such a provision, and to any guarantees that may be necessary, that the moneys voted by Parliament shall be applied exclusively to the teaching of secular knowledge.

3. As to the appointment and removal of professors, Mr. Lecky raised an important point, and at the same time incidentally indicated at least the principle of its solution.

As reported in 'Hansard,' he said, referring to the appointment of professors:—'Of course they would be chosen not merely on the ground of competence, but also to a great extent on the ground of creed. This was inevitable, and, therefore,

he did not wish to object to it ; but he trusted that, having been chosen, something would be done to give them security of position.

Now it is perfectly obvious that reasons of religion which would prevent a man's appointment as professor, might in given circumstances tell against his continuance in office. But we think that both conditions—namely, absolute security for the interests of faith and morals in the University, and at the same time all reasonable protection for the position of the professor—may be met by submitting such questions to the decision of a strong and well-chosen Board of Visitors, in whose independence and judicial character all parties would have confidence.

4. There only remains the condition which Mr. Morley suggests, of the application of 'the University of Dublin Tests Act' of 1873. With reference to this we have to say that, with some modifications in the Act, in the sense of the English Acts of 1871, and the Oxford and Cambridge Act of 1877, we have no objection to the opening up of the degrees, honours, and emoluments of the University to all comers.

We have to add that in putting forward these views we assume that, if Government deals with the question, it will be by the foundation, not of a College, but of a University : and we venture to express our belief that by so doing they will best provide for all interests concerned, especially for those of higher education.

These are our views—and we trust they will be considered clear and frank enough—upon the fundamental principles which, as far as we can gather, the leading statesmen on all sides regard as the governing factors in the problem.

Should Her Majesty's Government desire any further statement from us, we shall at all times be quite ready to make it.

In conclusion, we may express the hope that, in the best interests of our country, material as well as intellectual, the question will not be again allowed to drop back from the position which it has reached, and that Government will remove this great grievance under which we labour, and, with it, one of the few remaining disabilities still attaching to the Catholic Church in Ireland.

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
Primate of All Ireland.

✠ WILLIAM, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.

✠ THOMAS WILLIAM, Archbishop of Cashel.

✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.

- ✠ FRANCIS JOSEPH, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh.
- ✠ THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Cork.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Ferns.
- ✠ ABRAHAM, Bishop of Ossory.
- ✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Dromore.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Raphoe.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Achonry.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Kilmore.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Kerry.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Killaloe.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Derry.
- ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Killala.
- ✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Cloyne.
- ✠ RICHARD, Bishop of Clogher.
- ✠ JOSEPH, Bishop of Ardagh.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Elphin.
- ✠ HENRY, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- ✠ DENIS, Bishop of Ross.
- ✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canaan.

IMPORTANT STATEMENT OF THE IRISH BISHOPS, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN POLITICAL QUESTIONS

At a General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on the 23rd ult., all the Irish Prelates being present, with the exception of the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, who was unavoidably absent, the following authoritative statement was unanimously adopted :—

Some dangerous errors, utterly subversive of Catholic truth, especially in relation to the teaching authority of the Church in what are called political matters, have recently been put forward by certain prominent Irish politicians. The Bishops of Ireland, as the divinely-appointed guardians of the faith and morals of their flocks, have read these utterances with deep regret, and all

the more as most of them have emanated from persons who call themselves Catholics. Hence we feel it an urgent duty to point out these errors to our flocks, to warn them against the danger of being misled by such guides, and at the same time to set forth the true teaching of the Church, which all loyal Catholics are bound to believe and follow, in their public, no less than in their private conduct.

The errors to which we refer are the following:—That political acts are outside the sphere of morals, and that consequently they are not subject to the rules of morality, nor to any control on moral grounds, so that it is an invasion of civil rights if the pastors of the people, in the exercise of their pastoral office, pronounce upon the lawfulness of such acts in their moral aspect, or venture to condemn them, if necessary, as in conflict with the moral law. The public men now engaged in disseminating amongst our Catholic people these pernicious doctrines make formal claim to ‘absolute freedom of thought and action in political matters in Ireland,’ and assert that civil and religious liberty, as they phrase it, involves complete freedom from all moral control in their public action and political conduct.

They utterly repudiate all clerical interference in such matters, and deny that they are amenable in respect of their political action, either to the moral censure of their own pastors, or even of the Pope himself. As a natural consequence, their language, both in public and in private, regarding the clergy, is oftentimes highly offensive and unbecoming, so that there can be no reasonable doubt of their deliberate purpose to seduce our Catholic people from the loyalty and obedience which they certainly owe, and which hitherto they have always yielded, both to their local pastors and to the bishops of their respective dioceses.

Such teaching and such conduct cannot be any longer passed over in silence. These errors are in clear opposition to the teaching of the Catholic Church and to the observance of Christian morality. As our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. has declared in his Encyclical *Immortale Dei*, ‘the true mistress of virtue and guardian of morals is the Church of Christ;’ ‘to exclude her influence from the business of life, from legislation, from the teaching of youth, from domestic society, is a great and pernicious error.’ Real freedom, he adds, is exercised in the pursuit of what is true and just: absolute freedom of thought and action, untrammelled by the laws of morality, is not liberty but licence.

There are, no doubt, many purely political matters about which the wisest and best men may disagree, and in which the pastors of the Church, as such, have no desire to intervene, nor to restrain freedom of thought and action, except when the means and methods employed are such as cannot be deemed conformable to the principles of Christian morality. Questions, for instance, about the best form of local or national government, the extension of the franchise, the operation of commercial and industrial laws, belong to this class. But there are many other questions—mixed questions as they are called in Canon Law—which have a moral and religious, as well as a political or temporal aspect, and in some of which the religious or moral question at issue is the predominant one. Such, in the past, were the Emancipation question, and the Disestablishment of the Protestant Church, and such, at the present time, are the Education question, Poor Law legislation, and many kindred subjects. To say that the clergy have no right to intervene in such questions, where oftentimes the highest interests of religion are at stake; that they ought not to point out to their flocks the line of conscientious duty, and call upon them to follow it; that they cannot and ought not to advise them in such political matters to choose as their leaders men of high character and sound principles, is, indeed, a great and pernicious error, involving a manifest denial of the teaching authority of the Church.

The commission which the Apostles received from Christ Himself, and which their successors inherit, was to teach the nations—politicians as well as private persons—all the truth of the Christian revelation—dogmatic truth and moral truth—and to condemn everything which, judged by that code, is untrue, immoral, or unjust. All this the Bishops are authorized to do, and this they mean to do, when the spiritual interests of their flocks require it, whether there be question of public or of private conduct, of the rulers, the politicians, or the people. The opposite principle is utterly subversive of Catholic truth, and would be fatal to Christian morality.

We venture to hope that by this word of warning, given in all charity, the politicians whose erroneous teaching has made the warning necessary may be moved to withdraw from their present reprehensible attitude. But if, unhappily, they should persist, by their speeches, newspapers, and manifestoes, in advocating the same erroneous principles, we shall feel it our duty to exercise to the

full our pastoral authority in order to protect our flocks, and eradicate this great and growing evil.

We also most earnestly implore our faithful people to close their ears against the hearing of such anti-Catholic teaching, and to yield a willing and loyal obedience to the pastors, who are responsible to God for their souls, and whose supreme concern is to promote their spiritual and temporal welfare.

- ✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
Primate of All Ireland.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.
- ✠ THOMAS WILLIAM, Archbishop of Cashel.
- ✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.
- ✠ FRANCIS JOSEPH, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh.
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- ✠ HENRY, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- ✠ DENIS, Bishop of Ross.
- ✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canea.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION: THE CATHOLIC CASE.

By his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin:
Browne & Nolan, Ltd.

WITH an energy that commands the admiration of friends and foes, his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin has fought the battle of Catholic education in Ireland during the past twenty years. In season and out of season he has kept the grievances of Irish Catholics in the matter of University education in the very front of all actual and even burning questions. In speeches, in articles, and in letters he has met every opponent, and has practically made the denial of Ireland's claims for many years longer an impossibility. It was only a few years ago that the Archbishop published an exhaustive review of the whole situation as regards University education in this country, in which he laid bare before the eyes of the world the monstrous injustice from which the vast majority of the people of this country suffer in their own land.

In the present volume many new phases of the question are discussed, and everything that the Archbishop himself has recently said on the points of contention is embodied. Taken in connection with the former work published by his Grace this new volume will be found to contain a complete and exhaustive treatment of the whole subject in all its phases. The Archbishop is so thoroughly versed in every aspect of the question that he has been able to avoid, throughout, the faults of the indiscreet and injudicious advocate on the one hand, and of the timorous champion on the other. Indeed, it is very easy for anyone not thoroughly equipped for the discussion of this subject to do more injury than service to the claims for which he pleads; and one of the difficulties the Archbishop evidently had to contend with was the energetic and audacious attempt that was made by unauthorized and utterly unrepresentative writers to set themselves up as exponents of the Catholic grievance and the Catholic claim. His Grace is evidently determined that if we are to have a Catholic university in Ireland it must be a thoroughly national institution, and not the stronghold of any

section or party ; that the services of the best men must be secured for its various faculties and chairs ; and that some other proofs will have to be given of ability and capacity than flippant speech and superficial titles. His Grace has in these pages given vigorous expression to the views of the great majority of Irishmen ; and in working out the realization of these views he will have the whole country at his back. J. F. H.

REPORT OF RELIGIOUS EXAMINATIONS OF SCHOOLS IN THE
DIOCESE OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE FOR THE YEARS
1895 AND 1896. Waterford: N. Harvey & Co.

THE system of religious examination in primary schools which for the past twenty years has been gradually spreading among the dioceses of Ireland was introduced into the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore in the year 1895, and the Rev. Michael P. Hickey was appointed first examiner. The present interesting and exhaustive report is from his pen. The appearance so late as the middle of 1897, of the report of examinations held in 1895 and 1896 is accounted for by the fact that Father Hickey was called upon in October, 1896, to take up the arduous duties connected with the Chair of Celtic in Maynooth College, and, as a consequence, had not leisure to compile the report for publication at the proper time. We learn that there were in 1896 as many as 22,407 children on the rolls of the various schools in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. In the tabulated list of schools are given the numbers on rolls in each school, the average attendance, the attendance at the religious examinations, and the proficiency of the children in the varied programme on which they were examined. But by far the most important section of the report is the fourth appendix which deals with the religious training of the teachers in the De la Salle Training College, Waterford. From this appendix we learn that the candidates for the high office of instructing the youth of the country undergo a searching half-yearly examination in Christian doctrine and Bible history. 'The Bishop,' says the report, 'holds the oral examinations in person, sets the papers for the written examinations, and adjudges the certificates, which are also signed by his Lordship, as well as by the brother director.' The certificates are first, second, and third class, to correspond with the certificates given by the National Board. It is obvious that these examinations, conducted by the Bishop in person, must be a great stimulus to

the candidates to acquire a thorough knowledge of the subjects, and thus to fit them to efficiently instruct their pupils afterwards. The Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford, to whom is due the introduction of the religious examination in the schools of the diocese, as well as in the Training College, is to be congratulated on the good which must necessarily flow from both the one and the other. Father Hickey is also to be congratulated on the form, as well as on the fulness of his report.

MISSAE PRO DEFUNCTIS AD COMMODIOREM ECCLESiarUM
USUM, EX MISSALI ROMANO DESUMPTAE. Accedit
Ritus Absolutionis pro Defunctis ex Rituali et Pontifi-
cali Romano. Editio Quarta post Typicam. Ratis-
bonae, Neo Eboraci, et Cincinnati, Sumptibus, Chartis
et Typis Friderici Pustet. 1897.

WE have received from the eminent publishing firm of Pustet two copies of the above. The larger copy measures fourteen inches by ten (14×10), the smaller twelve inches by nine ($12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$). Both display to the fullest that beauty and excellence for which the liturgical books of this great Catholic firm have long been famous. The frontispiece—a crucifixion study—of the larger edition is a real work of art. The addition of the prayers, &c., used during the last absolution will be found extremely convenient.

THE OLD ENGLISH BIBLE AND OTHER ESSAYS. By F. A.
Gasquet. London: John C. Nimmo.

WE are glad that these valuable Essays, published as they are without any preface or introduction, have been collected and produced in a volume well worthy, in every respect, of the title which it bears. It is quite unnecessary for us to say anything more than we have already said in various former reviews, in praise of Dr. Gasquet's great gifts as a writer of history. His labours have received the crowning acknowledgment of the Pope himself and all Catholics in these countries have rejoiced at the well-merited encomiums he has received.

The present volume deals mainly with a subject with which Don Gasquet is thoroughly familiar: and it is greatly to be hoped that it may be widely read by the Bible-loving Protestants of England, as well as by Catholics everywhere. To many

Protestants we are sure the scholarly essay on the 'Pre-Reformation English Bible' will come as a revelation; whilst to Catholic students of history the many new and interesting items of information regarding the early English versions of the Bible will afford genuine pleasure. The Essays on 'Religious Instruction in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' on 'The Canterbury Claustal School' and on 'Hampshire Recusants' are full of interest, and remind one very much both in style and matter of Janssen's *History of the German People*. This volume, though by no means the most important fruit of Dr. Gasquet's labours, adds very considerably, nevertheless, to his already well-established reputation.

J. F. H.

ST. NICHOLAS DE TOLENTINO. Par le Rev. P. Antonin Tonna-Barthet, O.S.A. Société de St. Augustin; Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1896.

THIS last production of the Société de St. Augustin which we have received enhances the already well-established reputation of the publishers for artistic printing and illustration. It is not, however, to the cover and the letterpress that we desire to draw attention, but to the contents of one of the most interesting biographies that has appeared in recent times. As a priest, a preacher, a wonder-worker, and an apostle, St. Nicholas of Tolentino was one of the prodigies of his age. This new biography cannot fail to make him better known and more revered than he has ever been.

POPULAR HISTORY AND MIRACLES OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA. Translated from the French by the Rev. Father Ignatius Beale, T.O.S.F. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

THE devotion to St. Anthony of Padua is now so wide-spread that this popular account of his life, and of the wonderful miracles attributed to him, should have a very large circulation.



A BATCH OF LETTERS

I HAVE reason to believe that in many Irish presbyteries, and also in the hands of laymen, there are lying old letters by deceased prelates, and other documents of some ecclesiastical interest and value. Sometimes a priest of antiquarian tastes will make a collection of such materials, which at his death will probably be scattered and lost. I have known some cases of the sort. It would be very desirable to confer upon as many of these papers as possible the immortality of print, for which numerous facilities are afforded nowadays. If the Editor of the I. E. RECORD should now kindly allow me to make an attempt in this direction the example might have a good effect on priests who have more precious papers in their keeping.

As I have already urged that the chief object to be aimed at is, in the first instance, to transmute frail and illegible manuscript into immutable print, I will neglect chronological order, and abstain rigidly from comment and illustration.

Though some of the materials lying beside me belong to early years of the century, let us begin with an unpublished letter of Cardinal Newman. The Cardinal's literary executor, Father W. P. Neville, kindly gave me leave on a previous occasion to print letters addressed by the great Oratorian to Dr. Russell of Maynooth; but the letter which follows was written to an English lady who, after her conversion, joined Mother Macaulay at an early stage of the wonderful

development of the Irish Sisterhood of Mercy, and who, nevertheless, is still at this present moment the Mother Superior of the Convent of Mercy at Birr. At the date of the following letter, more than thirty years ago, Mother Anastatia Becket already occupied this position :—

THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM,
January 18th, 1865.

DEAR REV. MOTHER,—I return the letter which you have allowed me to read ; but I am puzzled by it, as you have been. By which I do not mean that the writer differs from many others whom one meets with, in her views of religion, but because all those cases—that especially *Anglican* view of doctrine is difficult to deal with. Anglicanism is a theory which is tolerably consistent with itself, and comes home to sensible minds as being very likely and sensible. Its fault is—its fatal fault—that it is not borne out by historical facts. But what can the bulk of people know about historical facts? One man says one thing, another another. And of those who know them, some will look at some facts, others at others. Some make these the rule, and that the exception ; others make those the rule, and this the exception. The two parties are like the knight who fought about the shield, which on one side was gold and on the other silver.

I am not for an instant supposing that the Catholic side is not right in point of historical facts, and the Anglican wrong ; but the question is how is this to be brought home to any except the few who have the means of historical research? The best proof that Catholics are right is that unbelievers like Gibbon, who are on neither side, but are profound students, give the decision in favour of Catholics. When these people defend themselves by reference to ‘rubrics,’ the ‘fathers,’ and ‘the mode’ of the Real Presence, and have not the means of learning, except from Anglican clergymen, the facts of the case, as history discloses them, I do not see the good of pursuing the argument.

I should be rather inclined to attempt another way. If men have lived in the world, and lived as other men, then they are often most powerfully affected by the question, ‘What shall I do to be saved?’ Their sins stare them in the face, and thus they recognise the superiority of a religion which so strikingly carries out our Lord’s words, ‘Whose sins ye remit,’ &c., over others which either do not profess, or do not practise, the ordinance of absolution.

Again, supposing a person once can be brought to see that the Bible does not answer some of the most important questions of religion, then he will necessarily be led to look for a teacher elsewhere.

This last seems to me the best ground to take against this

lady's defence of herself. *Who* taught her her creed? Did she gather it from the Bible? Impossible! Did she gather it from the Anglican prayer book? If so, why should the prayer book be infallible? Who taught her that there were two Sacraments and two only, &c., &c.?

Till she is *in doubt* whether she is in possession of the very truth as our Lord gave it, of course a Catholic can do nothing with her. She ought to be put on her defence, how she knows—since our Lord *must* have given us a teacher—how she knows that the Bible is that teacher? How she knows, even though the Bible be the teacher, that she has really mastered all that, and nothing but what the Bible teaches.

My ordinary judgment is that a person at a distance who attempts to convert, does more harm than good. He is sure to use the wrong arguments. Persons often write to me and say, 'Do say a few words to so and so,' whom I do not know; and I have so constantly found, when I have attempted it, that I have been worse than unsuccessful, that now my rule is to refuse to do so.

In writing thus to you now, I am (I grieve to say) induced by no hope that anything I say will be useful, but because you ask me. I pray God you may have every success; but you must watch the times and the moments, which are in His hand.

I shall be much pleased at anything which you are kind enough to tell me about Father Spencer.

Begging your good prayers,

I am, dear Rev. Mother,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

The following letter may be preserved as one of the few references that are likely to be made to an Irish ecclesiastic of great ability, whom circumstances did not allow to acquire as wide a reputation as his friends desired for him. Dr. Michael Kieran was considered by many excellent judges to be the most effective preacher of his time in Ireland, full of massive thought, and very earnest in his delivery. He became Archbishop of Armagh on the death of Dr. Joseph Dixon, in 1866; but his health was so unsatisfactory that his medical adviser, Dr. John Gartlan of Dundalk, strongly urged him not to accept the new responsibility, and in fact he died in less than three years, September 16th, 1869. He obtained leave to retain as his mensal parish Dundalk, where he had laboured so long, and was so much loved and

reverenced. From his residence about a mile distant from that flourishing town this letter was written to the President of Maynooth, in the last year of the Primate's life :—

FORTHILL,

February 17th, 1869.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL.—I feel great pleasure in approving of anything you may think it necessary to do in order that you may be able to attend to the important business to which you refer in your last letter.

The favourable opinion you have been pleased to express of my Lenten Pastoral for 1869 is extremely gratifying to me, as there is no ecclesiastic in these Kingdoms on whose opinion in matters of the kind I would place a higher value than yours.

I think I am able to say that I am on the whole better, notwithstanding the severity of the season since the beginning of the winter ; and, when the weather becomes milder, my health will, please God, undergo a corresponding improvement.

I remain yours truly,

✠ M. KIERAN.

The following letter will have no interest for those who are unacquainted with the great reputation that Father Peter Kenney, S.J., enjoyed amongst the priests and people of Ireland in the first half of this century, which is now hastening to its close. An emphatic testimony to that reputation has just come under my notice in another manuscript, which I hope to be allowed to print in these pages—namely, the letter which the priests of the diocese of Dromore addressed to Cardinal Somaglia, Prefect of the Propaganda, in January, 1826, proposing three names out of which a successor might be appointed to Dr. Hugh O'Kelly, who had died after a short episcopate of five years. They named in the first place Dr. Thomas Kelly, a dean and professor of Maynooth, who was actually appointed, but promoted six years later to his native diocese of Armagh, which he governed only two years. The second was Dr. Arthur McArdle, Vicar-General of Dromore; and the third was Father Peter Kenney, S.J., 'de quo loqui ut meretur perdifficile est, quia res ab eo gestae religionis ergo tam multae tamque praeclarae sunt ut laudem nostram superent.'

It may seem a little unfair to give as a relic of this

'sacerdos magnus' a trivial letter which has chanced to survive; but the judicious reader will be edified as well as amused by the Johnsonian dignity of style with which the Rector of Clongowes College, then recently founded—for this undated letter is now some eighty years old—refused the request of a lady who had craved permission for her son, a Clongowes pupil, to attend his sister's wedding.

MY DEAR MADAM,—It is impossible for me to consent to a *monstrum* which I cannot think religious in itself, or advantageous to the child in present circumstances. To-morrow is one of the days on which the scholars compose themes in their respective schools, and contend with each other for priority of place. Were he allowed to be absent, he would be deprived of all his chance of the best compositions, made on Monday and Wednesday last, and be obliged to remain in the last place in his school, without any chance of rising to a higher one before next Easter. I am sure that his sister would not allow him to purchase the honour of being present at the marriage by such a degradation. The examination soon follows this exercise, and a day's absence would materially retard his efforts.

So much for his particular case. May I beg to remind you that it is expressly required in the prospectus that the children *be not taken from the College during the academical year?* The vacation is the only time at which it is optional with the parent to take the pupil home; at other times of the year it is not allowable.

I hope that these reasons will plead my apology for begging that you will not urge the request contained in your letter.

Yours truly,

P. KENNEY.

If a similar application were made to-day to the Rev. Matthew Devitt, S.J., *nunc feliciter regnans*, as Father Kenney's successor, I wonder would his reply be much the same. Whatever the substance of it might be, the form would probably be different; it would be condensed into three sentences on the first page of a sheet of notepaper. The age of letter-writing is gone, and Johnsonese is out of fashion.

Here are the terms in which Dr. Robert French Whitehead, the well-remembered Vice-President of Maynooth College, submitted to some bishop, probably to his devoted friend Dr. George Butler of Limerick, his Latin ode on the

laying of the foundation-stone of the beautiful College Church, which the President, Dr. Russell, issued in the form of a handsome brochure, along with the sermon of Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, Mr. Aubrey de Vere's trio of sonnets on the same subject, and the stately blank verse of the Rev. Joseph Farrell, C.C., the gifted author of "The Lectures of a Certain Professor." We print this letter from Dr. Whitehead's most legible and careful manuscript. He ought to have dated it "St. Patrick's Day."

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH,
March 17th, 1875.

MY DEAREST LORD,—Yesterday, after dinner, I had the impudence to read the accompanying ode for the superiors and professors at table. They found no fault with it, except the rather complimentary one that it is too short. It goes on the supposition that the College has hitherto been lamenting the want of a suitable place of worship, and it is to be intoned the moment the first stone is laid. I intend to get copies of it printed for all the students, so that they may know it, and be accustomed to sing it when the occasion arrives. Before doing so, I submit it to your judgment, that you may tell me of any change it may require. It is so long since I heard from you that I am glad of an opportunity of inducing you to write to me.

Ever most respectfully and affectionately yours,

ROBERT FRENCH WHITEHEAD.

Nothing certainly of great importance is contained in these letters; but I hope they will be considered to possess some interest as reminding us of two or three notable Irish priests. Of Cardinal Newman no one needs to be reminded.

MATTHEW RUSSELL.

ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE PELAGIANS¹

IT is not intended in this paper to discuss Pelagian doctrines, but merely to vindicate, against Anglican misrepresentation, St. Augustine's Church principles in dealing with it. Readers of the I. E. RECORD who have not had their attention specially directed to the subject, could not imagine that respectable public writers would be guilty of the barefaced falsifications of history which have been resorted to in this matter. Although some of the writers to whom we allude are not very recent, and have been again and again refuted, their works are still the great authority on this subject among Anglicans.

St. Augustine gives a summary of Pelagian doctrine in his work, *De Haresibus*; and Peronne briefly describes it in the following words:—

As in the Pelagian system the first man was neither elevated by sanctifying grace above his natural condition, nor endowed with the gift of integrity, Adam neither fell by sin from such a state, nor contracted any infirmity; that is, he was neither deprived of supernatural, nor wounded in his natural endowments. Hence his children are born without sin, and in the same state in which the first man was made by God, with that native imbecility which belongs to human nature, subject to ignorance, concupiscence, and death. From this it was easy to infer, that neither Adam after his sin, nor his posterity, need any supernatural help to be restored to a supernatural state, nor anything by which their understanding might be illuminated or their will strengthened to do any good or to overcome the force of temptation. But if God should grant such aids, it could only be to lessen man's labour in his efforts to arrive at truth or do good.²

Pelagianism was therefore the very opposite of Calvinism, and was almost identical with our modern Naturalism.

A word now about Pelagius himself. He was a British monk named Morgan, who towards the end of the fourth century, travelled into the East in quest of knowledge, little

¹ *Opera S. Augustini*, t. x, Ed. Migne.

² *De Gratia*, Art. i.

thinking what a seed plot of error all that region had become, owing to the long Arian troubles of the preceding half-century. We find him at Constantinople in the time of St. John Chrysostom—398-405—with his name changed to Pelagius, the Greek synonym for Morgan (of the Sea). So great was his reputation at this time for study and austerity of life, that he attracted the attention of St. John himself, always a great patron of monks. We must bear in mind, that in those days it was no unusual thing to see learned and holy men wearing the monastic habit, without being attached to any particular community; just as philosophers wore the *pallium*. Although we have no reason to question the sincerity of Pelagius, at this time, an incident which took place reveals to us a serious flaw in his character: he deserted his patron and friend St. John, in the celebrated court persecution raised against him.

We next find him at Rome, where he spends five years—405-410—with the same reputation for study and austerity of life; making converts to his monastic profession, among whom was a rich and learned young man named Celestius, whom St. Augustine calls long after *homo acerrimi ingenii*.¹ There was then at Rome a Syrian priest named Rufinus who made the acquaintance of Pelagius; he was deeply imbued with strange errors, but dared not endeavour to propagate them himself, probably on account of his position in the family of Pammachius, a Roman senator, very dear to St. Augustine.² He soon found in Pelagius a soil already prepared, and having deeply imbued him with his novel doctrines, committed the cause entirely to his keeping. Pelagius soon began to indoctrinate his disciples, probably with no worse intention than that of urging them to greater energy in their efforts to attain greater perfection in their monastic state; for, at first he seems quite unconscious that he is broaching a heresy. His character is still so high that he can count among his admirers such men as St. Paulinus of Nola, and St. Augustine. But the narrow circle of his disciples was too restricted for his zeal; he began

¹ *Ad. Bonif.*, ii. 5.

² *Ep.* 58.

to teach the new doctrine more openly, and even to write books, which, although primarily on subjects of piety, contained new ideas on almost every page. All this reached the ears of St. Augustine, but such was his esteem for Pelagius that he resolved to abstain from all criticism until he could procure more ample information.¹ For some time before the sack of Rome, by Alaric, in 410, there was great alarm in the city, and many fled for safety to Africa. Pelagius landed at Hippo; but, as St. Augustine was absent, he went on to Carthage.

Being obliged to go to Carthage in 411 for the great conference with the Donatists, St. Augustine had a friendly but very brief interview with him, and seems to have invited him to Hippo, to talk matters over at leisure, the great conference not leaving a moment to spare for anything else. Pelagius never came to Hippo, but went on immediately to the East, leaving Celestius at Carthage to evangelize the Africans.

We next hear of Pelagius in 412, earnestly engaged in spreading his ideas in Palestine. Celestius laboured quite as earnestly at Carthage, but not as cautiously, for, endeavouring to get ordained to the priesthood, he only succeeded in attracting the attention of the Primate Aurelius, who in 412 called a synod to examine his teaching and ended by excommunicating him. To evade the force of the excommunication Celestius appealed at once to Rome, and then went on to Ephesus, where he must have succeeded in getting ordained, as we find him ever after called a priest. Pelagius was never ordained. After a few years Celestius quitted Ephesus, and settled down at Constantinople; but the patriarch, Atticus, although by no means blameless himself in other respects, soon put a stop to his propagandism, and even had him expelled from the city. Constantinople had harboured many a heresy, but it refused to tolerate Pelagianism; in all the East it never had but one open defender of any note, the notorious Theodore of Mopsuesta.

¹ *De Gestis Pelag.*, 46-53.

At this time Pelagius wrote a letter to St. Augustine, which we know only from the following brief answer written in 413.

Domino dilectissimo, et desideratissimo fratri Pelagio, Augustinus, in domino salutem.

Many thanks for your condescension in sending me your refreshing letter, and informing me that you are well. May God reward you, and may this reward be always with you; may you live with Him for ever, most beloved sir and brother. Although I can see in myself no ground for the praise contained in your letter, I cannot be ungrateful for your very kind sentiments towards one so insignificant as myself. Pray rather to the Lord to make me such as you imagine me to be already. Remember me; may the Lord keep you, and may you be pleasing to Him, sir and most beloved brother.¹

Speaking of this letter in 417, he says² that when writing it he was quite aware of Pelagius' teaching, and therefore abstained from praising him; while showing him all the ordinary civilities in order to induce him to discuss matters in a personal interview. He also says, that without explicitly raising the question, he endeavoured to instil proper ideas about grace indirectly. All this time he was actively engaged in refuting the Pelagian doctrines, by letters, sermons, conferences, and even by two important works, *De Peccatorum Meritis*, *De Spiritu et Littera*, and yet he never mentioned the innovators' names, hoping against hope to soften their obduracy, and save them from the fate that awaited them.

Things went on in this way until 415, when Augustine received a letter from two gentlemen, named Timasius and Jacobus, former disciples of Pelagius at Rome, who had been greatly scandalized at his doctrine; with their letter they sent a work of his which Augustine, without naming him still, refuted in his work, *De Natura et Gratia*. About the same time he received from two bishops some writings of Celestius, which he refuted in his work *De Perfectione Justitiæ Hominis*; in this work he names Celestius for the first time. In this same year he sent Orosius to Bethlehem

¹ Ep. 146.

² *De Gestis Pelagii*, 51.

to consult St. Jerome on quite another subject; but Orosius found all Palestine in commotion about the new heresy, and St. Jerome up in arms against it. Urged by his clergy, John, Bishop of Jerusalem, had to call a synod to discuss the subject; Orosius was specially invited by the clergy; Pelagius was summoned to answer the charges made against him, and when Orosius produced a letter of St. Augustine's on the subject, he simply answered, 'What is Augustine to me?' This insolence towards so great a man raised a storm of indignation in the assembly, and Orosius seeing the bias of John in favour of Pelagius, proposed that as the accused was a Latin the whole matter should be referred to Pope Innocent. John gladly acceded to this, imposing silence in the meantime on both parties, and saying, 'that whatever Pope Innocent might decide should be final for all.'

This diocesan synod had no appreciable effect on the course of events, and a few months later the bishops of Palestine met in Provincial Synod at Diospolis (Lydda). There were fourteen bishops present, under the presidency of the Metropolitan Eulogius of Cesarea. Pelagius pleaded his own cause in fluent Greek; his judges were Greeks; his writings were in Latin, the extracts selected from them were in Latin; the interpreter was incompetent or worse. No wonder the accused had an easy victory; the heretical propositions attributed to him were indeed condemned, but he left the assembly with a certificate of personal orthodoxy. St. Jerome calls this Synod 'the miserable Synod of Diospolis,' but St. Augustine always quotes it against Pelagius, constantly reminding him of all the retractations and professions by which he extorted his fraudulent certificate.

But it was this victory that contributed to wreck his fortunes at last; it simply turned his head, and drove him to such extremes, that no moderate or respectable man could stand by him. He defied all his enemies, laid aside his austerities, lived an easy and luxurious life, roused the passions of the mob, and stopped at no calumny or untruth. His fanatical followers sacked and burned the monasteries of St. Jerome and St. Paula of Bethlehem. When all this

reached Hippo there was an end to St. Augustine's reserve; although Pelagius, anticipating the publication of the *Acts*, had sent him a *chartula*¹ containing a distorted account of what had taken place at the Synod; this *card* had been also sent to the ends of the earth already.

Short as was their stay at Carthage, the two innovators succeeded in forming a party, active, insolent, and intolerant, as such parties always are. In 413 the Primate invited Augustine to preach against them; in concluding this sermon, he says:—

Let us therefore try to induce our brethren no longer to call us heretics, an appellation which we could perhaps bestow on them, if we liked, for these disputes; but we do not inflict it on them. May their Mother still bear with them in her maternal tenderness, to be healed and taught, lest she should have to deplore their death. We know to what excesses they go; very great, almost unendurable, and demanding the greatest patience. Let them not abuse this patience of the Church; let them correct themselves; it is their own interest. We do not dispute with them as enemies; we exhort them as friends. They calumniate us, and we bear with it; but let them not calumniate the rule; let them not calumniate the truth; let them not calumniate the Holy Church which labours daily for the remission of original sin in children. This is a settled question. Should anyone dispute about other points not yet fully discussed, not yet settled by the full authority of the Church, his error may be endured, but he must not go so far as to try to shake the very foundation of the Church.²

Writing about them a year later, he says:—

Nor do I think we are entirely free from them as yet, especially at Carthage; but they now whisper in secret, dreading the immovable faith of the Church. . . . However, we prefer to see them healed in the Church, rather than cut off from her body as incurable members; unless the necessity of preserving others should require it.³

Nothing in Pelagianism alarmed him so much as its tendency to introduce laxity regarding infant baptism; again and again he returns to this subject, entreating the faithful 'to have pity on these helpless little ones.'⁴

¹ *De Gest. Pelag.*, 57.

² *Serm.* 294.

³ *Ep.* clvii. 22.

⁴ *Serm.* 174, 176, 293, 294.

But there was as yet no manifest *contumacy*; the innovators explained, denied, retracted, like Pelagius at Diospolis; they were inconsistently zealous for the baptism of their children, and above all they protested that they were ready to *hear the Church*. Even Donatists he did not regard as formal heretics without *contumacy*; thus writing in 398 to some well-disposed Donatist gentlemen who were seeking for light, he says:—

The Apostle tells us to avoid a man who is a heretic, &c.² But those, who, without any *pertinacious* spirit, defend their opinion, though false and perverse, are by no means to be accounted heretics, especially when this opinion is derived not from their own audacity or presumption, but from the teaching of parents who had been seduced themselves; and when they anxiously seek the truth, intending to be corrected when they find it. Did I not think you to be such, I should perhaps not have written to you at all.³

But we are now about to witness a great change in his attitude towards the Pelagians. In 416 two African synods took up the question: the Provincial Council of Proconsularis, at Carthage, with sixty-eight bishops; and the Provincial Council of Numidia, at Milevis, with sixty-one bishops including St. Augustine. Both sent synodical letters to Pope Innocent. The Council of Carthage asks him, ‘to confirm by the authority of the Apostolic See the decrees, *statuta*, of their mediocrity.’ Yet the synodical letter contains no formal decrees, but merely states, discusses, and condemns in an informal way the Pelagian errors against grace and original sin. It recites the sentence pronounced against Celestius, at Carthage, in 412, the certificate of orthodoxy granted to Pelagius by the Synod of Diospolis, and prays that even though both should be found personally worthy of absolution, their errors might be condemned under *anathema*. The Numidian synodical letter goes over the same ground, urges immediate action, hopes the mere weight of the Pope’s authority will prevent the necessity for severe measures, and says ‘they would consider themselves guilty of great negligence had they omitted to suggest what

¹ Ser. 171-174.² Ep. 43.³ Tit. iii.

the needs of the Church demanded.' It mentions also another question, but without pressing for an answer; both letters teem with expressions of filial reverence. These letters were accompanied by a third, signed by Aurelius, Alypius, Augustine, Evodius, and Possidius; much longer on all the points, but unofficial and purely confidential. These four bishops were Augustine's bosom friends, and among the most distinguished in the African Church. This letter, like the others, abounds in expressions of filial reverence, and concludes thus:

The rest your Beatitude will find in the *Acts*, and will no doubt judge. Your kind and gentle heart will surely excuse this letter, which is perhaps longer than your Holiness would desire. Our intention is not to replenish your great fountain from our own rivulet, but to see in those troubled times whether our little stream comes from the same source as your own abundance; hoping to be consoled by your rescripts in the participation of the same grace.

While awaiting these rescripts, Augustine had to give a letter of introduction to a gentleman named Palladius who was going to Narbonne; he takes advantage of the occasion to inform the Bishop Hilary of what had been done in the two councils, saying that 'Pelagianism is a new heresy which is striving to arise against the Church of Christ, and opposed to the grace of Christ; but not as yet evidently separated from the Church; *sed nondum evidenter ab Ecclesia separata est*.'¹ This was after its condemnation by four Provincial Synods, to say nothing of all the bishops and theologians, including St. Jerome and St. Augustine himself.²

¹ Ep. 178.

² This letter, so explicitly worded, puts an end to the old Gallican pretence that St. Augustine thought local councils capable of *finally* deciding such controversies. In his work *De Gestis Pelagii*, No. 30, he calls Pelagianism a *damnata hæresis* after the sentence of the Council of Diospolis, which St. Jerome called 'the miserable Synod of Diospolis'; it is manifest that *damnata* is taken here in an informal sense, and *quantum vaieat*. The same explanation applies to other instances noted by the Benedictine editors (Ep. cexv. 2, *note*), who wrote in a very Gallican atmosphere. The other instances noted by them, were actually posterior, not only to the rescripts of Innocent, but to the more comprehensive Encyclical of Zosimus.

At last, after a delay of about six months, the rescripts arrive in the spring of 417. The answer to the five bishops is merely a letter of confidence and friendship like their own; the two other rescripts contain the official answer, and are manifestly intended to supplement each other. The Pope's decision had been asked on two points—grace and original sin: and on these he pronounces a *doctrinal* decision, condemning the errors of Pelagius regarding them. To this was added a *judicial* sentence of excommunication against Pelagius and Celestius and all others who might endeavour *pertinaciously* to defend the same errors. He gives the bishops *power* to absolve the delinquents whenever they should be found to have sincerely repented; but in the Numidian document he adds an *express command* to this effect. These official rescripts are more in the tone of one having supreme authority, than of a theologian obliged to give his reasons; indeed he says that the bishops themselves had so exhaustively furnished the reasons, that it would be superfluous for him to spend much time in directing their attention to them. He also praises their great zeal and vigilance; as well as their fidelity to sacerdotal duty in conforming to the decrees of the fathers, 'who had decided, not by human, but by divine authority, that nothing should be concluded even in the most distant provinces without the knowledge of this see.' All these documents can be seen among the letters of St. Augustine.¹

The tone of the controversy is now completely changed. Preaching at Carthage in the autumn of this year, St. Augustine says:—

My brethren, share in my compassion for them [the Pelagians]. When you meet with any, do not conceal them through a pernicious kindness: no, absolutely no, do not conceal them. Reprove them, and if they resist bring them to us. For, already the deliberations of two councils on this matter were sent to the Apostolic See: rescripts have thence arrived; the cause is ended: would that the error were ended at last. We, therefore, advise them to reflect: we make known to them the truth; let us pray for their conversion.²

¹ Ep. 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 183.

² SERM. cxxxii. 10.

Writing at this time to his friend St. Paulinus, of Nola, and sending a copy of the rescripts, he says: 'They are just such as become a bishop of the Apostolic See . . . This new and pernicious error is now so crushed by ecclesiastical authority, that it is astonishing how anyone can still hold erroneous opinions about the grace of God.'¹ Henceforth, Pelagianism is to him a condemned heresy, and its teachers *contumacious* heretics.

Pelagius and Celestius, dreading the effect of the excommunication, at least on their fortunes, appealed at once to Rome for the absolution promised by Pope Innocent to all who should be found to deserve it. Having already² given the details of this appeal, I shall now only ask my readers to recall the following points about which no doubt can be raised. (1) There never was any question of revising the *doctrinal* decision of Pope Innocent. (2) On the contrary, Pope Zosimus, from first to last, sternly enforced that decision on the innovators. (3) The only question at issue was whether they had given sufficient satisfaction to be absolved from the personal censure. (4) There was not a shadow of *doctrinal* difference between Carthage and Rome; the whole difference was about the *sufficiency* of the satisfaction, for the security of the faithful against the wiles of the innovators. (5) As a matter of fact, they never were absolved. (6) Pope Zosimus solemnly republished the decisions of Innocent, both doctrinal and judicial, in an Encyclical directed to all the bishops in the world. (7) This Encyclical had been already published when the great African Council of 418 met.

Let us now hear the most authoritative Anglican versions of the matter. Dean Milman's version, in 1854, runs thus:—

Once at this period, and but for a short time, the Bishop of Rome threw himself across the stream of religious opinion. Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, was by birth a Greek, and seemed to treat the momentous questions agitated by the Pelagian controversy with the contemptuous indifference of a Greek. Whether from the uncongeniality of the Eastern mind

¹ Ep. 186.

² *The Dublin Review*, July, 1890.

with these debates : whether from the pride of the man, which was flattered by the submission of both these dangerous heresiarchs to his authority ; whether from the earnest and well-intentioned, but mistaken hope of suppressing what appeared to him a needless dispute, Zosimus annulled at one blow all the judgment of his predecessor, Innocent, and absolved the men whom Innocent, if he had not branded with direct anathema, had declared deserving to be cut off from the communion of the faithful.¹

Archdeacon Farrar's version, in 1889, runs thus :—

Celestius hastened to Rome where Innocent had been succeeded by Zosimus, who, being a Greek, had little taste for these questions, accepted the favourable view of their opinions, and held with them that original sin was not a recognised doctrine of the Church, and that other points at issue were mere school problems. . . . Another African Council of two hundred bishops, in 418, anathematized the views of Pelagius. Thereupon, Zosimus, in sudden alarm, turned completely round, and declared strongly against Pelagius in an *Epistola Tractatoria* [the Encyclical].²

This is the way history is *cooked* for Anglican palates whenever Rome is in question. But, we must say a word about this African Council of 418, which plays so important a part in Anglican versions of this appeal. Unfortunately, all that remains to us of its *Acts*, is the date, the final signatures, and its eighteen or nineteen canons : nor have we any outside account of its proceedings. We are, therefore, in complete ignorance about its debates ; we do not know who spoke, what was said ; much less how it was said. The canons are so evenly divided between the Donatists and the Pelagians, that it is impossible to say for which of these questions it was assembled. Anglicans take care to remind us that it was a *plenary* council ; but such councils were not at all unusual in Africa, even for general business ; and some of the canons of this very council, which we must remember met at the usual season, have reference only to general discipline.³

¹ *Hist. Lat. Christ.*, vol. i., p. 121.

² *Lives of the Fathers*, vol. ii., p. 554.

³ In Africa there were two classes of National Councils, the *Plenary* and the *General* or *Univ. sal*. The former consisted of all the bishops, the latter, of deputies from each of the six provinces, as arranged by the Council of Hippo in 393, which enacted that the National Council should meet annually.

There is no evidence to show in what spirit this Synod was called, in what spirit the bishops assembled, or in what spirit they conducted their debates; nor do we know what Augustine said, or how he said it, although we may assume that he spoke. But we have ample evidence, that anything like an anti-Roman spirit would be thoroughly un-African.

Let us now listen to another Anglican writer, Julius Lloyd, M.A., the mouthpiece of the Christian Knowledge Society:—

Numerous as was this Council [of 417,] it was not sufficiently representative of the whole African Church, to carry the united weight of the entire body, and another Council was summoned in the following year. At this Plenary Council, as it was called, the numbers were not greater than before, but the members, drawn from the most remote districts, gave an extraordinary importance to their assembly which met on May 1, A.D. 418. Along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean for more than a thousand miles, from the sultry land of Tripolis, the home of the lotos-eaters, to the slopes of the western Atlas, which faced the open Atlantic, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the prelates of all the African provinces left their homes to meet together for deliberation at Carthage . . . Every cause which could tend to excite deep and strong emotion in human hearts, was abundantly supplied by the circumstances under which the Council was assembled. The question to be debated was one which had arisen on their own African soil, and had since filled the world with controversy. It had assumed the form of a dispute between the ancient rivals, Rome and Carthage. The Bishop of Rome had unexpectedly shown a disposition to stand by men whom the Synods of Africa had repeatedly condemned as heretics. Nor were more private grievances wanting; for, the tone of Zosimus

of course every *plenary* council was *general*, but not *vice versa*. All the *plenary* councils, as far as we can judge at present, ended by being merely *general*, deputies being elected to dispose of the ordinary business. Of the *Acts* of most of these councils, known in Ecclesiastical History as *The Councils of Carthage*, we have only a few fragments; but, we have nearly all their canons, and some of their synodical letters to the Popes. As far as can be made out now, the lowest legal number of deputies was sixteen, which, with the six metropolitans, who were members *de jure*, makes twenty-two. The distinction between *plenary* and *general* Synods is not observed in our great *collections*, but it was well understood among the Africans themselves; thus, St. Augustine always calls the great Donatist Synod of Bagaia, consisting of 310 bishops, *plenarium concilium vestrum* (Ep. li. 2; *De Baptis.* iii. 3); just as he does similar Catholic Synods (Ep. cexv. 2; *Retract.*, i. 17). During all St. Augustine's time, he and Alypius and Possidius were almost invariably the deputies for Numidia; and, as a general rule, only the most distinguished bishops of each province were elected deputies.

and his predecessor Innocent in writing to the Bishop of Carthage, and betrayed an arrogance which the Africans hotly resented. Zosimus had told them they were hasty: Innocent had addressed to Aurelius, a few years before, a letter of reproof for ordaining illiterate men. Bishops, he said, were elected so carelessly, that complaints were in everyone's mouth. With such words fresh in their memory, the Bishops at Carthage were in no mood to bear Roman domination on a question of a doctrine on which they felt, with legitimate pride, that the ablest living defender of the faith was their own Bishop of Hippo. . . . Two bishops presided over the Council, Aurelius of Carthage and Donatus of Telepte, the Primate of Byzacena. The object of this arrangement was, no doubt, to allay the ancient jealousy, which was felt in the rural districts, where the clergy were always in fear that Carthage might become what Rome actually became. It was not, however, to either of the two presidents that the Council looked for guidance, so much as to Augustine. Most of those present had seen him before, and had heard him argue, point by point, against the Donatists with admirable temper and skill in the conference of A.D. 411. He stood before them now with the augmented dignity of a reputation which the Universal Church had learned to confer. His voice, his language, his gestures were trained by long practice to convey effectively to his hearers the emotions of his own fervid soul; and the theme on which he had to speak was one on which he had more cause than most men to feel intensely. . . . His hearers were men of the most various degrees of culture. Some were highly educated and had a large share of the artificial refinement of the declining empire. Others were uncivilized bishops from the hill country, who could neither read nor write, untutored savages. Educated and uneducated alike were carried along by Augustine's eloquence; and the articles of the Council [nine in number], relating to Pelagianism bear the impress of his mind in almost every word. . . . The Acts of the Council of Carthage arrested the advance of Pelagianism at a moment when both the eastern and western Churches of Europe were inclining to approve, or at least to absolve, Pelagius and those who held with him. From that moment a new turn was given to the controversy; and the main definitions of the African Church were recognised before long as part of the doctrine of the Church Universal. Zosimus did not wait for the official report of the proceedings of the Council. . . . He pronounced sentence without delay, confirming the judgment of his predecessor Innocent, against Pelagius and Celestius.

The only authority quoted for all this is Fleury. We turned at once to the pages of the celebrated Gallikan,² fully

¹ *The Story of Africa*, 1886, p. 209.

² 4th Ed. Caen., 1781.

prepared to find him guilty and give him his deserts, but what was our astonishment at finding that he does not say a single word about 'uncivilized bishops who could neither read nor write,' nor about 'mitred savages,' nor about 'the hill country,' nor about 'the Conference of Carthage,' nor about 'Roman dictation,' nor about any 'speech of St. Augustine's,' nor about 'hot resentment,' nor about 'private grievances,' nor about 'the jealousy of the rural clergy,' nor about the Council having been called for the Pelagian question, or in any anti-Roman spirit, nor about any anti-Roman spirit in the debates, nor about its canons having finally settled the Pelagian controversy. No, some one else has invented all this. Fleury seldom makes such easily detected assertions: he deals more in sly hints and *suppressio veri*; thus, in his account of this transaction he entirely suppresses the letter of Zosimus to the African bishops, dated March 12, 418, and received at Carthage, April 29, just on the eve of this very Council, which was opened May 1, 418, and continued for a month in its second or *general* form, as we learn from St. Augustine in his work *De Peccato originali*,¹ written during the month. He also suppresses what remains to us in Prosper's *contra collatorem*,² of the answer sent to the Pope, most probably at the close of this Council.³ In his letter, the Pope says:—

The tradition of the fathers has attributed to the Apostolic See an authority so great that no one would dare to question its judgments, and has always observed the same in its canons and rules. . . . Such then being the authority derived from Peter and confirmed by the respect of all antiquity, and the Roman Church being sustained in it by all laws, human and divine, over which Church, beloved brethren, you know we are placed with all the powers and authority attached to the name. Nevertheless, although our authority is such that no one can reform our sentences, we have done nothing which we have not communicated to you of our own accord, in order that we might consult together in the spirit of fraternal charity. . . . A sovereign sentence is not to be pronounced without great deliberation. Know then, my brethren, that since the date of your letters and ours, in accordance with your request, nothing has been changed.

¹ N. 24.² N. 15.³ *Pagi. Gest., Rom. Pont., ad An. 417*

To one sentiment expressed in this letter, and repeated in the Encyclical, which they must have received before the close of the Council, they respond in these words:—‘What act of yours was ever more free than that by which you communicated all this to our littleness.’ All this can be seen at the end of vol. 10. of St. Augustine’s works.

Another of Fleury’s convenient omissions is, that with this letter Pope Zosimus sent another which appointed a commission of bishops to try some important case—an appeal, of course—in Mauritania, and that at the end of the Council St. Augustine, as a member of the commission, set out on his long journey in presence of the Primate, and absented himself for five months from his dear flock at Hippo, ‘because of an ecclesiastical necessity laid upon us by the venerable Pope Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See.’¹

From all this the reader can see that Fleury had a very convenient Gallican memory. But this is not all; he is also a master in the art of sly insinuations. Thus, not daring on this subject to swear like his Anglican followers, he contents himself with the sly hint, *on croit que ces canons furent dressés par S. Augustin qui étoit l’ame de ce concile*. Anglicans have taken the hint, and invented the fiction so graphically set forth by Mr. Lloyd. In this fiction St. Augustine and the African bishops are made to march, as we have seen, under the No-Popery flag; the other false assertions are but props for this. Now, as to the main error, we cannot imagine how any honest writer, acquainted with the events of the three years—416-419—within which this Council took place, could possibly have fallen into it. In 416 we find the Councils of Carthage and Milevis—one hundred and twenty-nine of these very bishops—sending to Pope Innocent the synodical letters already mentioned. In 419 a Plenary Council of two hundred and seventeen bishops met at Carthage; its *Acts* were signed by the two presidents, then by the Papal Legate, Faustinus, then by the other bishops, and finally by the two Roman priests who

¹ Ep. 190.

accompanied the Legate; they were then handed over to the Legates to be brought off to Rome. They contained the celebrated *Coder Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae*, compiled at this synod from all previous collections, so that the whole Canon Law of the African Church is now submitted to Rome. They concluded by a synodical letter which begins thus:—
 ‘Domino beatissimo et honorabili fratri Bonifacio, Aurelius, Valentinus, primae sedis provinciae Numidiae et ceteri qui presentes adfuimus numero. cexvii. ex omni concilio Africae.’

Since it has pleased the Lord that all that has been done between us and our holy brethren, our fellow-bishop Faustinus, and our fellow-priests Philip and Asellus, should be reported by our humility, not to Bishop Zosimus of holy memory, whose commands and holy letters they brought us, but to your venerability divinely substituted for him: we feel bound to state briefly what has been amicably arranged between us, not what is contained in the voluminous *Acts*. . . . How all this would have gladdened the heart of Zosimus were he still alive. . . . But, we had already intimated to him this past year *that to avoid all want of respect for him* we should permit these canons to be observed pending the inquiry, &c.¹

¹ Not a word of this preamble does Fleury give, although he quotes the document. For the words out of respect *for him*, he has *pour le respect d'icce concile* (Nicea), How are honest Anglicans to guard themselves against the wiles of such a man? The synod of 418 is known to us only from this synodical of 419; of this Fleury was well aware when giving his account of it under its proper date, but he does not indicate the source of his information.

As this Synod is almost the only African Synod of which we have the complete *Acts*, we take a few additional extracts from its synodical letter, to enable our readers to compare a genuine African document of this kind with the spurious one of the Synod of 424. Its conclusion runs thus:—‘Quod donec fiat, haec quae in commonitorio supradicto nobis allegatar sunt. . . . Nos usque ad probationem servaturos esse profitemur, et beatitudinem tuam ad hoc nos adiuturam in Dei voluntate confidimus. Cetera vero quae in nostra synodo gesta vel confirmata sunt, quoniam supradicti fratres nostri, Faustinus Coepiscopus, Philippus et Asellus presbyteri, secum ferunt si dignatus fueris, tuae nota facient sanctitati.

The signatures are often repeated in the *Acts*; here is a specimen:—

Aurelius Epus, his gestis subscripsi. Valentinus primae sedis epus provinciae Numidiae his gestis subscripsi.

Faustinus Epus ecclesiae Potentinae provinciae Piceni, legatus ecclesiae Romanae, his gestis subscripsi.

Alypius Epus Thagastensis, legatus provinciae Numidiae; his gestis subscripsi.

Augustinus Epus Hipponensis, legatus provinciae Numidiae, his gestis subscripsi.

Possidius Epus calamansis legatus provinciae numidae his gestis subscripsi.

The *deputies* of 419 are nearly the same as those of 418, and are as usual the first men in the country. The date is also most precisely given.

And these ultra-Papists of 416 and 419 are the No-Popery fanatics of 418.

There is no excuse for the offensive words 'mitred savages,' for Roman Africa was one of the most civilized provinces in the empire, and the uncivilized Moors and Getulians had no bishops, being still Pagans, as St. Augustine tells us,¹ about the year 420. Fleury does not even speak of illiterate bishops or priests, he does speak of illiterate deacons, and on very slight grounds. The Bishop of Carthage in 401, asked Pope Anastasius to permit the ordination of Donatist converts, as there were churches without 'even an illiterate deacon.' Fleury does speak of 'the careless election of bishops;' but he is quite mistaken; for the complaint sent to Rome was, that some bishops ordained to the priesthood, *worldly men*, in preference to deserving clerics; and the letter sent by Pope Innocent to the Bishop of Carthage, to be communicated to the other bishops, had reference only to this abuse.² There is no trace in African history of any friction caused by this letter.

The only excuse I can see for these fictions is, that Anglicans lose their senses when Rome is in question. Thus, Dr. Salmon, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*,³ denies that Peter was Bishop of Rome; while admitting⁴ that he lived and died at Rome. Now, his chief witnesses for the authenticity of the Gospels, &c.,⁵ are just as strong for Peter's Roman episcopacy; and Christian tradition, on which he has to rely so much,⁶ is just as strong, if not stronger, for the episcopacy. He, therefore, blindly gives away his case against his adversaries, 'the destructive critics,' for the poor consolation of having a fling at Rome.

Why are Anglicans so anxious to prove that the popes were aided by the African bishops in this matter? St. Augustine thus expresses the relative positions of popes and councils. Thus speaking of himself he says:—

After the Pelagian heresy with its authors was refuted and condemned by the Bishops of the Roman Church, Innocent first,

¹ Ep. 199, n. 46.

² Baron ad., An 416.

³ 4 Ed., p. 15.

⁴ Page 48.

⁵ Pages 33, 41, 51, 89, &c.

⁶ Pages 129, 190, 398, 443, 454.

and then Zosimus, the letters of African councils co-operating, I wrote two books against them, one *On the Grace of Christ*, the other *On Original Sin*.' ¹

Again, writing to Optatus, a Mauritanian Bishop, in 418, and sending him copies of the rescripts and the Encyclical, he says:—

Through the vigilance of episcopal councils, aided by the Saviour who protects His Church, Pelagius and Celestius have been condemned over the whole Christian world by the two venerable bishops of the Apostolic See, Pope Innocent and Pope Zosimus . . . In these words of the Apostolic See, the Catholic faith is so ancient and firm, so clear and certain, that it would be criminal (nefas) for any Christian to question it.' ²

Writing about the same time to a bishop named Asellicus, he says:—

These men had for leaders Pelagius and Celestius, the most strenuous propagators of this impiety: who, by the recent judgment of God through His diligent and faithful servants, have been deprived of Catholic Communion.³

Thanking the Roman priest Sixtus for his early news of the Encyclical, he says: 'This pestilence is now condemned by a most manifest judgment of the Apostolic See.'⁴

This was his formula in speaking to Catholics, and therefore in expressing the pure Catholic doctrine; the councils *co-operating*, the Pope's *pronouncing final judgment*. Of course, this formula will not do for *contumacious* Pelagians who have to be fought upon their own ground, with his familiar weapon, the *argumentum ad hominem*.

In St. Augustine's estimation, the Encyclical added nothing to the rescripts as far as they went; but they had only decided two points, and others had been since raised in the course of the controversy. These the Encyclical now embraced, while reaffirming the decisions of the rescripts. It was also more effective, by its greater publicity, and its more solemn promulgation. Of this Encyclical we have only some fragments preserved by St. Augustine and others:

¹ *Retrac.*, ii. 50.

² Ep. exc. vi. 22, 23.

³ Ep. exevi. 7.

⁴ Ep. exci. 2.

but we know that it was a very long and complete document, and that it was directed to all the bishops of the world, and demanded their unqualified acceptance attested by their signatures. These signatures were given by all, except by eighteen Italians headed by Julian of Eclanum (Avellino); these were deposed by the Pope and banished by the Emperor. They complained 'that the signatures of simple bishops had been extorted in their own homes without assembling a synod;' and Augustine answers:—

Was a Synod required for the condemnation of an open pestilence? Was no heresy ever condemned without assembling a Synod? Is it not rather the fact that heresies requiring such a remedy have been very rare? By far the greater number have been condemned where they arose, and have thus become known to the other lands that had to avoid them. But, the pride of these men [Pelagians] must have the glory of a Synod of the East and the West, specially summoned for themselves. As they cannot pervert the Catholic world, they must try at least to disturb it. But a competent judgment having been pronounced, pastoral vigilance and zeal must now drive away these wolves, wherever they may appear; thus providing for their conversion and salvation; as well as for the security of others; the pastor of pastors aiding, who seeks the lost sheep even among the lowly.¹

These are the concluding words of his *Books to Boniface*, written in 420, at the special request of the Pope himself. In sending him the work, he says: 'They are sent to your Holiness, not to teach, but to be examined, and corrected if necessary.'² It is manifest that in speaking of heresies being 'condemned where they arose,' he supposes the concurrence of Rome, as in the case of the rescripts.

Having failed with pope and bishops, the Pelagians turned to the Emperor Honorius for the Council; but he gave them no encouragement. They then demanded such a conference as he had granted to the Donatists in 411. To this Augustine replied:—

Your cause is ended, having been already treated by a competent assembly of bishops. There can be no further question of treating with you about the right of discussion.

¹ Ad. Bonf. iv. 34,

² i. 3.

What you have to do, is to accept peacefully the decision already given. If you refuse this, your turbulent and insidious movements shall be restrained. You are just like the Maximianists, who, wishing to console themselves for their insignificance, and to make some show before those who despised them, endeavoured to enter into a contest with us; but we contemptuously rejected all their proposals. . . . If then you now boast of being the victors, merely because further discussion is denied to you, remember the Maximianists made the very same boast before you. The Catholic Church gave you a full and proper hearing, and your cause was ended; but to them she gave none, because their separation was from the Donatists, not from us . . . It should be enough for you, that the Catholic Church having long borne with you in her maternal tenderness, has at last condemned you, more from medicinal necessity than from judicial severity.¹

We here enter upon his *argumentum ad hominem*. They clamoured for an assembly of bishops, and he answers, that even if the decision were to rest with synods and assemblies of bishops, the cause is already ended. They kept up this demand for a synod to the end; thus, in his very last work against Julian, he says: 'Why do you still look for an examination which has been already completed at the Apostolic See? completed even in the Episcopal Council of Palestine.'²

Here we have a perfect specimen of his *argumentum ad hominem*; which he never scruples to use when there is no danger of being misunderstood. Julian knew well that he had no idea of placing the Apostolic See on a level with 'the miserable Synod of Diospolis;' he also knew that with Augustine *factum apud sedem Apostolicam* meant *causa finita est*. Modern writers often mistake his meaning, by not adverting to his habit of taking the adversary on his

¹ Cont. Jul., iii. 5. To understand some of the allusions in this passage, we must remember that in '391 the main body of the Donatists split up into two factions, called after their respective Primates, Maximianists and Primianists. The Maximianists held a Council of one hundred, the Primianists, one of three hundred and ten bishops. By the aid of the Civil power, the Primianists had so weakened their rivals, that in the Conference of Carthage in 411, their claim to be recognised as a distinct party was rejected. We do not know how many bishops they had at this time; but we know that the Rogatists, Claudianists, and Urbanists, were treated in the same way, and that the Rogatists had at least ten bishops. (Ep. xciii. 21.)

² *Opus Imperf.*, ii. 103.

own ground ; but his contemporaries do not seem to have ever misunderstood him, probably because all the circumstances were present to their minds, especially his avowed principles and teaching. The Pelagians complained, that he relied on Rome, not on Synods ; and he answers by quoting against them, as quite sufficient, the very least of the Synods that had examined their cause.

Having completely failed in the West, Julian and his party beset the Court of Constantinople about the Council ; but they failed there too, until Nestorius became Patriarch ; he went so far as to write to Pope Celestine in their favour. Nestorius was anxious for a Council, because he hoped to be able to use it in favour of his own heresy ; Julian longed for a Council in which the whole Pelagian question could be re-opened. Well, the General Council met at Ephesus in the Summer of 431 ; everyone knows how it dealt with Nestorius ; but it is not so generally known that the Pelagians too got a hearing. It was, however, a terrible disappointment for them ; the Council refused all *re-examination* of doctrine, and simply promulgated the Roman decrees passed against them. And this, be it remembered, was an almost exclusively Greek Council. So much for the Anglican assertions that Pelagianism had a special attraction for the Greek mind ; it certainly had, but only for Arian and Nestorian minds.

How all this would have gladdened the heart of Augustine were he still alive ; he had been specially invited to the Council, but died before it met. Had he lived a few months longer, he and Julian might have met on one of the most solemn occasions in the history of the Church ; met, after twelve years of incessant controversy ; met, perhaps with some good result for Julian himself, who died as he had lived, nearly twenty years later.

Julian and his party were never able to organize their schism : they scattered themselves as Propagandists over the East and West. So opposed and detested were they in the East, that even Theodore of Mopsuesta deserted them. In the West, their chief success was in Britain, whither Pope Celestine sent St. Germanus of Auxerre against them.

in 429, as we see in his *Life*, July 26, and in Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, chap. i.

After their final condemnation by Pope Zosimus, Pelagius and Celestius gradually disappear, but not without a struggle. We last hear of Pelagius in 420, when he was banished from Palestine. Celestius being a much younger man was able to hold out longer, and to traverse the East and the West. He was banished from Rome by the Emperor Constantius, in 421; and yet we find him about 425 asking an audience of Pope Celestine. When or where he ended his career is unknown.

In this contest the following points of St. Augustine's teaching stand out clearly: (1) In a doctrinal controversy, no Synod, or number of Synods, would be final with him, without the confirmation of Rome. (2) Once Rome had spoken, the cause was ended. (3) What was endurable before, was rank heresy after Rome had spoken. (4) The decision of Rome was binding on all Christians. (5) From the decision of Rome there was no appeal.¹

But did St. Augustine regard all this as *de jure divino*? Most certainly; for by what other right could the Roman Pontiff bind the consciences of all Christians in the Pelagian question? By what other right could union with Rome be obligatory on Donatists on pain of salvation? That these were his doctrines I have already shown in the *Historical Study* and elsewhere. This was the doctrine preached to the Africans by his favourite Popes, Innocent and Zosimus.

¹ The only passage in all his works that could at all be urged against this is where he says (Ep. xliii., n. 19), in discussing the origin of their schism with some Donatists, that after their condemnation in 313 by the Council of Rome under Pope Melchiades, there remained to them an appeal *ad plenum Ecclesie Universale Concilium*. And in the same letter he reminds them of all the irregular appeals they had made, and that this was the only one which they took care to omit. Now, this Roman Council refused to discuss at all the doctrinal question they had raised as an excuse for their rebellion, and simply decided the judicial question regarding the validity of Cecilian's ordination. And even as regards this, they acted only as a Court of Appeal on the appointment of Constantine. As to the way being still open for an appeal from this Court, it is not clear that he regarded it as anything more than one of the concessions of the Pope and the Emperor to cure their madness, and leave them no excuse. This letter mentions (n. 16) an *ultima sententia* of the Pope himself; but it consists entirely of extraordinary concessions to enable them to recede from the schism, and has nothing to say to this appeal.

So well was all this understood by his contemporaries, friend and foe, that no question was ever raised about it. That the Bishop of Hippo regarded the Roman Pontiff as the heir of Peter, was as well known as that his name was Augustine.

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

III.

TOWARDS the opening of the second half of the seventeenth century two Irish exiles of particular note took refuge in Brittany, and became figures of mark in its annals. They were splendid types of the Irish ecclesiastic, and by their virtues and nobility of character won the respect and esteem of both clergy and people. The high opinion even still prevalent here in regard to our countrymen may be, perhaps, largely attributed to the influence of these confessors of the faith, who were so severely tried in the crucible of persecution, and who so triumphantly proved the sterling gold of their piety and faith. The honour and respect shown to them during their stay reflects eternal credit on the Breton character, and should not be forgotten by us in making our estimates of this noble people. The kindness and hospitality shown these pilgrim bishops bind with links of gold two sections of the Celtic race, and indicate their never-failing kinship in blood as in the supernatural brotherhood of faith.

Monsignor Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, arrived in Nantes towards the opening months of 1652. His city had been captured by Ireton on August 6, 1650, and the Bishop received orders to quit the country within three months.¹ He had but to obey, as there was no hope of successful resistance to this decree which divorced him from his diocese; and he turned his footsteps towards Brittany,

¹ Cardinal Moran, *Persecution of Irish Catholics*, pp. 163, 169.

where he arrived at San Malo at the close of August. Dr. Comerford was not a stranger to continental life, as he had had long-sustained relations with many parts of Europe, in whose schools and monasteries he had been educated, and whose influences had largely shaped his character, and given a fixed determination to his life. He was born in Waterford, in the year 1586, and within the walls of the *Urbs Intacta* passed his early years. He went abroad for his studies, and finished his classical course at Bordeaux. On their conclusion he proceeded to Lisbon, where he became a member of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. The outline of his life is well preserved in the annals of his order, which really give us all the evidence now to be had concerning his character, studies, and the various duties which marked his very active career. We read of him, in this authentic collection, enough to give us a high opinion of his disposition and ability. His talents would seem to have been very extensive; he was Professor of Eloquence, poet and preacher of note, while attaining the highest honours in the dryer studies of sacred science. His service to his institute was mainly given abroad, and in this he followed the fortunes of so many others of his countrymen of that age who found on the Continent a use for their talents or their swords which was denied them at home. It will serve good purpose if we transcribe here the section of the annals of his order which treat of this gifted and remarkable Irishman. The Latinity is indeed very plain, but the careful preservation of facts and dates indicates with what security the religious institutes preserve the *res gesta* of their more distinguished sons. In their present form they were published at Rome in 1875, by Father Joseph Lanteri, O.S.A., who was a born chronicler, and who devoted himself to the preservation of the history of the order of which he was himself a distinguished member. He devoted one volume to the lives of the brethren who from the year of the union of the Hermits of St. Augustine, 1256, had been elevated to the episcopal office, and in this work, page 19, we read the following:—

Fr. Patritius Quemerfort, alias ab Angelis cognominatus, nobilis Hibernus, Waterfordiae, honestis Catholicisque parentibus

natus, ex parte patris ex familia Quemertfordorum et Wascheorum, ex parte vero matris ex progenie Whiteorum, et Butleorum affinitate S. Thomam Cantuariensem attigentium, vir fuit magnae et insignis staturae, eloquens et suavis, qui amoenas litteras didicit Burdigalae in Gallia, et philosophiam Ulyssipone in Lusitania ubi Augustiniano Ordine nomen dedit. Coimbriae S. Theologiae operam navavit, ac postea in Tertiarias insulas missus fuit eloquentiae publicam cathedram moderaturus. Fuit etiam poeta atque orator praecellens necnon S. Theologiae doctor Florentinus. In Lusitania P. Provincialis secretarium egit, atque pro insulis Tertiariis consiliarium. An. 1618 Bruxellis in Belgio nostrates alumnos philosophiam docebat. Romae postea fuit suae provinciae definitior ac procurator. A Paulo V. pro fide propaganda missionarius et Coenobii Kellensis Prior perpetuus in Hiberniam remittitur. Tandem ab Urbano VIII. an. 1629, die 12 Feb. creatur episcopus Lismoriensis et Waterfordiensis in provincia Casheliensis, et per manus Cardinalis Bentivoglio, eodem anno die 18. Martii Romae in ecclesiae S. Sylvestri ad montem Quirinalem Consecrationem accepit. Interfuit an. 1648 celebri synodo Waterfordiensi cui praefuit Nuncius Apostolicus. Io Baptistâ Rinuccini et in qua damnatae fuerunt *conditiones pacis* ab Ormondæ Anglo duce tempore belli civilis propositae, quippe quae injustae videbantur atque perniciosae cum religioni tum patriae Hibernorum.¹

In this passage we have a sufficiently graphic story of this scholar and priest, who was a type of his times in many ways. He was one of many whose love of letters made them eat the bread of exile in order to accomplish their task which was become impossible at home, and whose love of religious life burned with heroic flame during that dark period when the monk's habit was in Ireland a mark for the worst fury of the enemies of our race. If one had the gift of word-painting it would be a pleasant task to follow this gigantic Celt in his search for knowledge through the cities of the Continent. How he must have towered above the diminutive Gascons at Bordeaux, and the sound of his rich Irish voice must have been sweet to hear as he spoke the sweet languages of the South! Whether any of his poems remain to attest his genius for song, we cannot say: but it is safe to assert that he must have accomplished

¹ Lanteri: *Le mi Sacra Augustiniano*, pars altera, p. 19.

something above the ordinary level of amateur verse to have merited any mention of this gift being linked with his name. It is a curious fact that his theological studies were made in the same University, where, nearly two hundred years after him, another Irish Augustinian, who in his turn became a great Irish bishop, also made his course of the sacred sciences. Our country owes a great deal to the educational institutes of Southern Europe; they gave our students asylum during the passion-tide of our history; but to none are we more conspicuously indebted than to Coimbra, in Portugal, which moulded the minds and hearts of Bishops Comerford and Doyle.

It would be an agreeable work to sketch even a short period of Dr. Comerford's life in immediate connection with Brittany; the opportunity would then be given us to make a critical estimate of him in regard to some one side of his character at least; but, alas! we have only to tell that he came, not for life and signal deeds, but simply to die and find a grave worthy of his genius and his virtues. Arriving at St. Malo, as we above noted, about the close of August, 1650, he came to Nantes in the early part of 1652, and died in this city on March 10 of that year.¹ His death so soon after his arrival hindered any honours being paid to this most distinguished prelate; but we may assume that, had he lived, he would have been the object of the most marked solicitude on the part of the clergy and citizens, who at his death showed him extraordinary marks of their pious consideration. We read in the archives of the Cathedral Chapter that the canons felt themselves honoured by celebrating his obsequies in the Cathedral, where every rubrical resource was exhausted in manifesting their appreciation of the dignity and worth of the deceased prelate. The minutes of the Chapter remain to attest the solemnity of the burial functions, and a few extracts will not be without interest to our readers. The first mention of the bishop's death and burial occurs on March 11, 1652, under the title :—'Le XI

¹ I. E. RECORD, December, 1887, p. 1082, *et seq.*

Mars. Enterrement de l'evesque Comerford, Irlandois ;' and proceeds to say :—

Le chapitre a arresté de faire demain solennellement l'enterrement du Révérend Pere Patrice Comerford, de l'ordre de S. Augustin, evesque de Waterford et Lismore d'Irlande exillé de son pays pour la foi, decedé dimanche dernier, à la Fosse. Et pour ce, on sonnera à Midy toutes les cloches, comme est de costume des enterremens solennels. Et au soir, et demain, on dira tout le service avant le sermon. Immédiatement à l'issue du dict sermon aller processionnellement à la Fosse quérir le corps qui sera conduit en cette eglise où sera chantée la Messe des defuncts. Et après les cérémonies faictes le corps sera inhumé dans l'enfen desoubz les marches devant l'autel S. Charles : et le sacristie sera adverti de faire sonner à cinq heures, le Mercredi 13 Mars. 1652.¹

If the exiled Bishop had died in his own palace on the banks of the Suir he could hardly have received more honours from his own people than came to him from those stranger hands. His friends who had accompanied him abroad, and whose loving care had sweetened his last hours, were not untouched by the pious generosity of the Canons, and we find in the same collection cited above, and on the following page, this notice of their gratitude :—

Les parentz du feu Révérend Evesque Patrice Comerford, enterré hier, en cette Eglise, sont entrés au chapitre, qui ont remercié Messieurs d'avoir honoré le defunct, d'avoir fait ses obsèques et funeraillies (et) qui en ont promis le faire en son service d'octave.

This promise was honoured by the observance, as is proved by the following page of the chapter record. From this we gather that the Canons again met to consider what further measures should be taken with respect to Monsignor Comerford, and the result of this meeting is recorded in the following entry :—

Le chapitre a arresté de faire le service d'octave du defunct Révérend Evesque Patrice Comerford et Lismore, et pour ce, on sonnera un appeau d'une grosse cloche pendant Vespres ; et à l'issue, on dira la messe solennelle, au Grand-Autel, qui sera chantée en musique et pendant ladite messe on sonnera un glas de toutes les cloches. Le Mercredi, 20 Mars. 1652.

¹ *Archev. du Chapitre.* Nantes : 1652, p. 76.

These extracts leave nothing to be desired in determining the facts they concern; they are plain and direct, as such records ought always be. Some of the particulars given are worthy of note. We see what a conspicuous place the bells play in these funeral functions; the number to be rung and the various forms to be followed are carefully determined by the authorities. Another point in the last entry may need explanation. It is ordered that a mass be solemnly sung *after* Vespers, and this may seem to many an extraordinary proceeding. But the wonder will cease when it is remembered that these ceremonies took place in Lent, when the chapter was *bound* to recite Vespers *before noon*, and consequently the mass would commence before or at 12 o'clock, which is not at all an unusual custom in France even in our own time. Having laid the bishop in his tomb these generous strangers were unwilling that his grave should be forgotten. They placed above it a slab on which was written the following inscription:—

Ici repose révérend père en Dieu, Patrice de Comerford, évesque de Waterford et de Lismore en Irlande. Persécuté dans son pays par les factieux d'Angleterre, il se retira en France où il trouva sûreté et protection. Plein de confiance dans les bontés de l'Eternel, il vécut avec patience et supporta les malheurs de cette vie avec resignation. Il mourut l'an du Seigneur 1652.¹

It is a remarkable fact, and worthy of special mention here, that when his grave was opened ten years after, in order to place beside this confessor of the faith the bones of another exiled Irish bishop, the body of Dr. Comerford was found intact, and without the slightest trace of corruption.² In this we may see a testimony to the sanctity of a life whose holiness may yet receive a still higher sanction from the Church he served so well.

At this period Nantes gave a home to another Irish bishop who had been constrained to abandon the administration of his diocese by circumstances precisely similar to those which drove the Bishop of Waterford into exile.

¹ This slab was removed to a more conspicuous place in 1779, 'pour perpetuer la mémoire du dit Seigneur évêque.' During the reign of terror, however, it was destroyed together with many other monuments in the Cathedral, and of it there is now no trace. (*Archives du Chapitre*, 29 October, 1779.)

² Gardinal Moran, *Persecutions of Irish Catholics*, vol. i., p. 279.

Monsignor Robert Barry, Bishop of the united dioceses of Cork and Cloyne, was born in the parish of Brittway, in Cloyne, in the year 1588. His early studies were made with the Jesuit fathers, in their College at Bordeaux, but we have no evidence that might enable us to fix the place of his theological training. He would seem to have returned immediately after his ordination to Ireland, where he became chaplain to the Countess of Ormond, and in this position did some good service to the cause of religion. Dr. Brady, in his work on *Episcopal Succession in Ireland*, attests to the active ministry of this young priest, who laboured in the cause of the faith in England, Dublin, and other places. This would seem to have been the testimony of no less authority than Rinuccini, through whose favour, no doubt, at the age of thirty-two Dr. Barry was appointed by Paul V. Vicar Apostolic of Cork and Ross. His career was singularly active, and he would seem to have played a leading part in the political events of which that period was so notably fertile. He was appointed delegate to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics, and as such undertook journeys to England and France. From these political associations he was obliged to take sides in the urgent controversies of his times, and as a natural consequence was compelled to oppose the opinions of many others who differed from his views and policy. This explains the determined opposition made to his nomination as bishop of Cork and Cloyne, to which see he was, however, preconized in 1648, and received consecration at the hands of his staunch friend the Apostolic Nuncio. His zeal in his new office justified the choice of the Holy See; his labours were multiplied, and at the constant risk of his life he discharged the duties of the pastoral office. The vigilance of the enemies of the faith was at that time almost impossible to evade; but, disguised, the Bishop lived with his people, held his pastoral visits, confirmed the persecuted flock by his example, and consoled them by the ministry of the sacraments. This successful defiance of the law made him a marked man among the many who fought the good fight at that time, and he was signalled out for especially

hard treatment. The faculty given to others to leave the country was withdrawn from him, and he was compelled to hide in fens and marshes in order to escape the fury of the Cromwellian officials. At length he found means to leave Ireland, and turned for his place of refuge to the shores of Brittany. He arrived in San Malo, during the residence there of Monsignor Comerford; and having in vain waited for signs of better times at home, he came to Nantes, in 1652.

His life here was a fitting sequel to his record at home. Of him it may be truly said that, having crossed the seas, he changed only his climate, and amid the peaceful surroundings of a Breton city, preserved all the ardour and zeal of his youthful ministry spent in the service of Ireland.

It is really pleasant to read of his life in Nantes; on his side and on that of his new friends the record is of the most honourable description. He was received by bishop and people with hospitality similar to that which greeted the Bishop of Waterford; but he was happier in that God gave him some years of further life which were consecrated to the paying off the debt he owed to Catholic Brittany. The Bishop of Nantes at this time was Monsignor Gabriel de Beauveau, who exhausted every means within his power to honour his persecuted brother, and sweeten the bitterness of his exile. Dr. Barry became practically coadjutor of the diocese. Cardinal Moran tells us¹ that he discharged various functions of the pastoral office, and the archives of the see testify to numerous ordinations held by the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne.² This fact is also attested by the historian Lynch, who calls him choreveque de Nantes; and in the Carte papers this mention of him occurs:—'Muneribus episcopalibus, praesulis Nanetensis vice, saepius fungens Chorepiscopus Nanetensis, prisco more, dici poterit.'³

In the midst of these new duties Dr. Barry never forgot his own people, and administered his diocese through his vicars. His correspondence with them is said to have been

¹ *Persecutions of Irish Catholics*, p. 169.

² *Insurrections, archives de l'évêché de Nantes*, années 1656, and *seqq.*

³ 172 (p. 516), Bodleian Lib., Oxford.

frequent, and while we have not at hand any extracts from his letters, his active and apostolic character makes it easy to believe with what zeal and pastoral charity he provided for the spiritual good of the flock from which the enemies of his country and faith divided him. But the end came very soon to this double ministry. Consumed by the labours of his early career, and worn out by the fatigues and hardships of his life as a bishop, the constitution which had stood so many trials at length gave way, and he died at Nantes on Friday, July 7, 1662. For ten years he had borne the lengthening chain of exile, and in that interval had won the love and reverence of all who had known him. He was buried in the Cathedral, and lies beside his friend and brother exile, Dr. Comerford; so that they whom a similar dignity and common sorrows had united during life, in their death and long rest were not divided.

The municipal archives of Nantes contain the following notice of Dr. Barry's death :—

Le sept de Juillet mil six cent soixante et deux, le corps de Révérend Père en Dieu, Robert évêque de Corq (Irlande) réfugié à Nantes pour la persecution des hérétiques d'Angleterre, depuis huit ou dix ans, fut sépulture en l'église Cathédrale devant l'autel S. Charles. Décédé près la chapelle de Toussaint de Nantes.

The last wish of this great confessor of the faith was that he be buried in the Cathedral of the city that had become so dear to him. With what willingness this wish was acceded to by the Chapter may be gathered from the following extract from their archives. Under the date Juillet, 1662, we read :—

Enterrement de Monsigneur l'evesque de Cork, Hibernie. Robert Barry évesque de Cork et de Cloyne en Hibernie, exilé pour la foy catholique.

Estant entré en chapitre a représenté que ledit seigneur évesque estoit decédé aujourd'hui sur les trois heures du matin et que durant sa vie il avoit temoigné grand desir d'estre inhumé dans cette église pourveu que Messieurs du Chapitre leussent agréable. Et cela estant, supplié mes dits sieurs d'ordonner l'heure et la solennité de l'enterrement comme il leur plairoit. Sur quoy le chapitre après avoir delibéré a arresté de faire demain le dit enterrement a l'issue de la grande messe avec toute la solennité accoutumée des enterrements solennels. Et pour ce, on sonnera

aujourd'hui trente gobets de la plus grosse cloche depuis Midy jusqu'à Midy et demy, et ensuite un glas de toutes les cloches jusqu'à une heure et demie: et autre semblable glas ce soir a huit heures et demain a six heures du matin suivant le coustume. Plus demain après la grande messe l'on ira processionnellement en la maison où est decédé ledit Seigneur Evêque, près de Sainte Radegonde pour lever le corps lequel sera conduit par la rue de chasteau et par la grande rue en cette eglise où sera chantée solemnellement la messe des defuncts. Et après les cérémonies faictes le corps sera inhumé dans l'enfeu qui est sous les marches devant l'autel de S. Charles. Et pour faire l'office audit enterrement, est deputed Monsieur Robin chanoine.

Le Vendredi, septiém jour de Juillet, 1662.¹

With such fitting pomp, and in the midst of general sorrow throughout the city, the Bishop was laid to rest beside the Bishop of Waterford, and a second slab above the tomb bore the following inscription:—

Messire Robert (Barry) par la grâce de Dieu et du Saint Siege apostolique evêque de Cork (et de Cloyne) on Hybernîe, réfugié à Nantes par la persecution des heritiques en Angleterre, lequel mourut le 7 Juillet, 1662.²

The fact that it holds such precious relics of these remarkable exiles, adds for us a new solemnity to the magnificent Cathedral of Nantes. It should be a place of pilgrimage to every Irishman whose fortunes bring him towards this ancient and most Catholic city. It has other titles to our admiration in the beauty of its architecture and the many monuments that bind it with the past, and make it 'familiar with forgotten years;' but to the eyes of the Irish pilgrim it is above all sacred, because these two glorious exile bishops rest beneath its vaulted roof, and mingle their ashes with its consecrated soil.

A lasting monument to the piety and zeal of Monsignor Barry remains to this day in the devotion to the Mother of Mercy, which is one of the most popular religious exercises of the City of Nantes. Its origin goes back over six hundred years to a time when the people were delivered from a great public calamity through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. In recognition of her goodness to them a chapel was built in her honour, and for a long period a special

¹ *Archives Chapitre*, vol. 1659-1666, p. 67.

² *Mallinat Commune de Nantes*, tome i., p. 282.

cultus was given her under the title of the Mother of Mercy. While this act of gratitude was a great religious feature of the city, yet there was long wanting to it the peculiar strength which comes to every pious practice when the Church officially recognises its worth and accepts responsibility for its administration. In point of fact, it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the diocesan authorities formally accepted their devotion, and undertook its direction; and this was done, according to all authorities, at the instance of an Irish bishop, who can, according to the historical evidence of the case, be none other than the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne.

The foundation of the Novena in honour of the Mother of Mercy dates more probably from the year 1654, when Dr. Barry had already begun his Apostolic labours in the diocese. Through his initiative the Chapel of the Madonna in the parish of St. Similien was renovated and restored to more than its ancient splendour, and it soon became the centre of a magnificent movement which affected every section of the people. The Novena takes place during the interval between the Ascension and Pentecost, and commemorates, according to an ancient writer, 'the eleven days spent by the Blessed Virgin in the desert after the Ascension of our Lord.'¹ The devotion is as active now as at any time in the past, and from eight to ten thousand people make the Novena every year. I have before me as I write the elenchus of the feast for a recent year, and it would seem that the whole city took part in it. The students of the Petit Seminaire came on the first day; later on those of the Grand Seminaire, and in their turn all the schools and colleges of the city. To the programme the following touching words are added:—

Au milieu des difficultés de l'heure actuelle, le secours certain, efficace, est aux pieds de Notre Dame de Misericorde. Venons tous frapper à la porte de son coeur maternel faire appel à sa puissante protection.²

¹ En mémoire de ce que la Sainte Vierge resta onze jours dans le desert, apres l'Ascension de Jésus Christ. Ogée, édition *Martville*, vol. xii., p. 196.

² The Novena now takes place in the magnificent new Church of St. Similien. The arms of the Bishop of Cork are worked into the stain-glass windows above the Altar of the Mother of Mercy.

That Monsignor Barry was the first promoter of this great religious work cannot be doubted. The following testimony taken from the *Manual* speaks only of an Irish bishop, and does not determine which of the exiled prelates had the honour of this work. But the question is narrowed to Bishops Comerford and Barry, and as the first of these could have done no missionary labour at Nantes, owing to his illness and early death so soon after his arrival, it remains to accept Dr. Barry as the founder of a devotion which, while it sanctifies souls by its blessed influence unites by another tie Catholic Brittany with Catholic and suffering Ireland.

The historical proof of Dr. Barry's action with respect to this devotion is stated in the following extract; the Irish bishop in question can be none other than the zealous and active Bishop of Cork and Cloyne :—

Un Evêque d'Hybernie, exilé de son pays, persecuté pour la foi catholique, et réfugié dans cette ville de Nantes qu'il édifia par les exercices d'une piété exemplaire, établit cette station dans la chapelle dédiée à l'honneur de la Sainte Vierge sous le titre de Misericorde, Mater Misericordiae, dans la paroisse de Sainte Similien, rebatie dans l'année 1544 (1554 ?) sur un plan plus orné que l'ancienne, alors en partie tombée de vétusté. Cet évêque ayant communiqué ses intentions à Gabriel de Beauveau, Evêque de Nantes, célébra la Sainte Messe dans cette chapelle, et s'y rendit tous les jours, depuis l'Ascension jusqu'à la fête de la Pentecôte, accompagné de quelques ecclésiastiques et de plusieurs personnes de piété avec qui il recita les prières analogues aux pieux motifs qui les rassemblaient. Plusieurs villes du Royaume et un très-grand nombre dans l'univers chrétien avaient déjà les unes des confréries, les autres des dévotions semblables à celle-ci : d'autres des exercices particuliers de piété pour préparer les fidèles à la venue du Saint Esprit, lorsque ce digne confesseur de la foi entreprit à Nantes cet établissement. La paroisse de Saint Similien fut honorée par la choix qu'il fit de la chapelle de Misericorde.¹

This closes our record of the Bishop of Cork in Brittany. It is one of which his countrymen may be well proud. It shows him in exile and comparative old age, still active and zealous in the cause of his Master. The energy which

¹ Sele de Gaubert, *Manual*, pp. 37-38.

characterized him in the evil days he spent with his own people followed him abroad, and assures him undying remembrances among the people who honoured him while living, and who treasure still the tomb where his ashes lie awaiting the resurrection of the just.

This chapter would not be complete without a passing mention of some other Irish prelates who sojourned for some little time in Nantes during the troubles of the seventeenth century.

Monsignor Nicholas French, named Bishop of Ferns in 1646, after three troubled years spent in the work of his diocese, at length was compelled to leave Ireland and take refuge in France. He came to Nantes, where he delayed only a short time, proceeding thence to Compostella, in Spain. During his stay in Brittany he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Tuam, then a prisoner in Galway Jail, and this remains as a testimony to his sojourn in this city. It was written on January 30th, 1654, and exhorts the venerable prelate to bear his persecutions in the spirit of martyrdom. The letter is a magnificent composition, and shows the splendid spirit that animated our prelates in these days of trial, when the faith of our people was so severely tested. Dr. French died in Ghent, on August 23rd, 1678; he was then coadjutor to the Archbishop of that city.¹

The Archbishop of Tuam, John de Burgh, who had succeeded in escaping from prison, in his turn sought refuge in this city. He came here in 1654, and remained until 1659. His name is associated in Ireland with a political inconstancy unusual at that period; and in Nantes he has left no trace of his years that were passed in Brittany. The only memory left of him is that he was reduced to the most extreme poverty. He eventually succeeded in returning homewards, and died an edifying death in 1667.²

The last Irish prelate who, at this epoch, came to Nantes, was the Bishop of Killala, Monsignor Francis Kirwan, towards 1655. He had been imprisoned in Ireland, but after a few days of captivity made good his escape through

¹ Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, p. 378.

² Meehan, *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 134.

the help of his friends, and came to Brittany. He arrived in a state of pitiable destitution, and received from the Breton Parliament the sum of fifty pieces of gold. Of this slender pittance he gave a third part to the poor, and spent the rest in procuring food and clothing. It is said of him that he refused to dress in episcopal purple, and always wore the cassock of a simple priest. He was appealed to by the parliament for his opinion concerning the subsidies to be divided among the Irish exiles, of whom many were of noble birth, and had petitioned for succour from the authorities. His reply reflects the best light upon his character. He said the first aid should be extended to the nobles as they had suffered in the same good cause as the clergy, and, further, while in the possession of their fortunes had befriended the priests who were in need. He added that the latter had always the *honorarium* of the Mass to support them, while the nobles were without any resource. This reply, while it did honour to him, was not well received by his brethren of the clergy, who criticized him very severely on this occasion. Monsignor Kirwan remained two years in Nantes, and died at Rennes, on August 27th, 1661.³

We can find no record of other Irish bishops who made any stay in Nantes at this period. The Primate of all Ireland, Edmund O'Reilly, had made some efforts to reach this hospitable and friendly city, but died on the voyage to Brittany. Enough, however, has been said to show how close were the relations between this province and Ireland, during one of the darkest and stormiest portions of our history; and I think anyone who has followed the narrative will agree with me in holding that it honours the country for whose faith and nationality so many of her sons were ready to sacrifice all that is best and dearest in life, and certainly does not discredit Brittany, who so nobly opened her hand and her heart to these helpless and harmless exiles of Erin.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

³ *Pii Antistites Icon.* Auctore Joanne Lynch.

PARIS UNIVERSITY AND THE SCHOOLMEN

I.

THE history of the Paris University and the great theologians connected with it will ever be a subject of the greatest interest to the theological student. It has somewhere been said, that 'to thoroughly understand any scientific system one must study its origin and development.' Such, we think, is also true of theology. To understand its connections, one part with another, and its relations to the different errors it was employed to combat, one must go to its first beginning, and advance with it through its gradual development; one must study the ends the great theologians had in view when they wrote their huge tomes, and enter with them into the spirit of their subject. No one has ever yet been an expert in theology who has not closely studied its history and the history of the great theologians. Paris was the great centre where such men flourished, and the University of Paris is too closely connected with their works to be separated from their history. It is with the view to interest those who devote most of their time to the study of theology in the labours of the great founders of theological science that the following pages have been written.

From the time that Christianity began to take a firm footing in the West under the patronage of the Frankish Emperors the work of education was carried on almost exclusively by the great monastic institutions. The monasteries were the recognised homes of intellectual labour, and outside their stately halls education was little known. Charlemagne endeavoured to establish a school in his court, and with the aid of the famous Alcuin, was to a great extent successful in doing so, but the Court School of Charlemagne was principally intended for the education of the future dignitaries of the Church and State. Yet the Emperor's zeal extended beyond the court. Monasteries that till then

were not devoted to intellectual training were obliged to open schools, and a like obligation was extended to all cathedrals. Bishops, it is true, had always endeavoured to gather round them young subjects, whom they trained in ecclesiastical sciences and liturgical observances, that they might afterwards supply the wants of the dioceses; but such an education was strictly ecclesiastical. The cathedral school, where it did exist, was a school for clerics, and the laity, as a rule, were denied entrance to it. The monastic schools were more liberal, and the monks devoted their time to the education of lay students, as well as of those who intended to afterwards embrace the monastic life.

Charlemagne thus brought about by his influence that all monasteries and cathedrals in his kingdom should have schools attached to them. If teachers could not be had in the cathedrals they were supplied by the monasteries, and thus a great stimulus was given to education throughout the West. Yet the spirit of these schools was necessarily ecclesiastical. Lay students were admitted, but they had to join in the same studies with those who were being prepared for the ecclesiastical state. Holy Scripture and the fathers were the principal subjects taught; other subjects were studied only inasmuch as they were necessary for the well understanding of the former. The division of the Seven Arts, which properly formed the secular course, into two classes called the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium* was an established rule in all the colleges of the ninth and tenth century. The *Trivium*, which included grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, was more insisted on than the advanced course of the *Quadrivium*, which comprised music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. These latter subjects were merely dealt with in a cursory way, though they remained on the curriculum until the renaissance of the twelfth century; the subjects of the *Trivium* were what we might call the only secular subjects then taught in the schools. Grammar included not merely a knowledge of the fixed grammatical rules, but it extended to a systematic study and interpretation of the classical authors of ancient Rome; rhetoric chiefly consisted in a close study of Cicero's

De Oratore, and some other works of the Roman orator; but it was logic that specially attracted the minds of the youths of these ages.

The art of logic was studied ardently and practised unsparingly by the students of the Middle Ages. Dialectics could be no hindrance to the welfare of religion; on the contrary, its practice would sharpen the mind to proceed with ease through the often subtle distinctions of the fathers; and for these reasons dialectics was above all others the one subject to which the monastic and cathedral schools then devoted most of their labour and time. The translations of Aristotle's *Categoriæ* and *De Interpretatione*, and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, by Boethius, were the principal text books of logic then in use. It was the logic of Aristotle that most attracted attention, and though Plato's contemplative mind had exercised much influence over the monastic intellects, still he was little known in the schools, except on account of his controversy on the origin of ideas. Yet, this one question was ever fresh in the minds of the young students, and it was again and again as warmly debated among them as it ever had been in the walks of Athens. The question of Universals which had a close connection with the question of ideas was another leading point of dispute. Porphyry's exposition of the question on the reality of genera and species, which ended in his *dicere recusabo*, was placed as an introduction to Aristotle's logic, and both supplied matter for many intellectual combats. Such was the spirit of the schools from the Carolingian era on to the end of the twelfth century.

A new epoch of intellectual fervour then began. The question of the Universals still continued to be the great subject of dispute, and though unsettled the question led to far-reaching consequences. While kept within the domain of logic no great evil could arise, but when carried on to physics, metaphysics, and theology, grave results were soon found to follow. Roscelin, a canon of the diocese of Compiègne in Brittany, insisting on the non-reality of the Universal, openly taught that nothing was real except the individual, that genera and species were but mere figments

of the mind, *merae voces*, with no external reality whatever : the individual alone was the sole objective reality. This nominalism, as it was called, when carried into the domain of theology was found to clash with the chief doctrines of Christianity. By admitting such a theory the mystery of the Blessed Trinity fell to the ground. If no reality could be common to many, therefore the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity were three separate individuals with nothing common to all. Many intellectual champions appeared in the field to combat the new false theory, foremost amongst whom was William of Champeaux, the Chancellor of the Cathedral School of Paris. Possessed of a keen well-trained intellect, and a comprehensive knowledge of the fathers, William boldly attacked Roscelin's theory, and showed how the Universal could exist in many ; how though inseparable from the individual it pervaded several. Such were the opinions that formed the intellectual atmosphere of the schools, and divided professors and students into separate parties when the brightest genius of the age made his appearance. This was the famous Peter Abelard.

Abelard, who was born in Brittany in the year 1079, became at an early age the disciple of Roscelin. He wandered from school to school eagerly seeking everywhere for knowledge. Dialectics had special attraction for him, and his subtle mind was soon drilled in the art of fine distinctions. Of all the masters he had listened to Roscelin pleased him best, and from him he quickly imbibed the spirit of critical examination, and the practice of applying logic to questions of religion. At the age of twenty he came to Paris to attend the lectures of the famous Chancellor. But he was not long satisfied to hold the humble place of one seeking for knowledge ; he wished to become a master. Hearing William of Champeaux one day exposing his doctrine on Universals, and their essential existence in each individual, Abelard quickly asked : ' If the Universal essentially exists in one individual how is any of it left to exist in another ? ' William, we are told, hesitated before replying, and then offered an explanation. But from that moment his fame was gone. Students who till then had

given full credence to his words now turned their eyes on Abelard, and volunteered to become his disciples. But to become a teacher at Paris was not then a matter of personal choice. Permission to teach should be obtained from the Chancellor of the Cathedral School, and such permission William refused to Abelard. But though hindered from establishing a school at Paris Abelard retired with his students to Melun, where he began to teach. William, seeing many of his students leaving him, and wishing for a quiet and peaceful life, retired to a lonely wilderness not far from Paris where he founded the afterwards famous monastery of St. Victor's. He entrusted his chair to the ablest of his pupils, but the greater number of his students had departed for Melun.

Abelard soon grew tired of his retreat, and returned to Paris in search of greater honours. He attended the lectures of the new teacher in the Cathedral School, and after some questions and distinctions the master offered to change places with Abelard, declaring that he would consider it a privilege to sit at the feet of such a brilliant philosopher. William returned to oppose such a measure, and appointing a man of more determined mind to the office of teacher, Abelard, had to return again to Melun. But he did not long remain at rest. He returned to Paris, and crossing the Seine he established a school at Mount St. Geneviève, a place which was then outside the Chancellor's jurisdiction.

So far, dialectics had been Abelard's principal study; he now resolved to become a theologian. Leaving his school at St. Geneviève he went to attend lectures in theology at the School of Anselm of Laon. There his spirit of criticism soon became apparent. Anselm who had devoted all his lifetime to teaching could bring forward the testimony of the Holy Scriptures and the fathers for every point of doctrine: his method, like the universal method of the time, was strictly positive: reason was then a stranger in the field of theology: authority was the one great basis of doctrine. Abelard listened to his master's lectures, but soon began to make little of them before his fellow-students. He boasted that with a copy of the fathers he could, after one night's

study, explain the Holy Scriptures better than had hitherto been done for them. His companions took him at his word, and next morning Abelard came forth to explain a difficult chapter of Ezechiel. His rich voice, his easy rhetorical flow of words, and his ingenious distinctions captivated the minds of the students. He more than kept his promise, and those who listened to him begged him to become their master. This he refused, and departing from Laon he came again to Paris. The chair in the Cathedral School was now vacant, and William had been appointed Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne. Abelard volunteered to become master, and his friends succeeded in soon placing him in the vacant chair.

While Abelard was thus advancing to the height of intellectual renown, his downfall was fast approaching. His works were being examined by many theologians, and everywhere met with disapproval. William of St. Thierry, a monk of an abbey near Rheims, sent a list of the most manifest errors in Abelard's works to St. Bernard, and besought the saint to come forth from his retreat and impose silence on one so dangerous to orthodoxy. It is not for us to trace here the active part the great saint took in maintaining the doctrine of the Church against the dangerous systems of Abelard. Abelard's appearance at the Council of Sens, in 1141, his appeal from the Council to the Pope, his after reconciliation with St. Bernard and the Pope, his humble edifying life in the monastery, and his pious holy death in 1142, are too well known to be here dwelt upon. Our object is to show the great part he took in the intellectual movement of the beginning of the twelfth century.

Abelard was undoubtedly a man of wonderful intellectual power, but he directed it in a dangerous course. His test of truth was the light of reason: what could not be seen by that light, and subjected to the distinctions of dialectical art, was to be discarded. This was his mistake, and against this the theological teachers of his time loudly protested. His system, too, at the time was a new movement, and sounded strange to ears that till then were accustomed to the voice of authority alone in questions of doctrine; and to some extent that accounts for the perhaps exaggerated

feeling that was raised against him. Much of his system was afterwards adopted by the great lights of the theological schools, notably by St. Anselm, the Lombard, Albert the Great, and St. Thomas; but the difference was that they gave reason but a secondary place, and made it harmonize with the old spirit of authority. Abelard relied too much on reason to the detriment of authority; they made reason go hand in hand with authority, and thus built up the noble fabric of theological science.

When Roscelin's nominalism aided by Abelard's rationalistic spirit began like a burning cancer to extend its poisonous roots into the life-giving principles of theology, it was soon seized and cut out by the famous Abbot of Bee. What William of Champeaux had done to maintain true philosophy, St. Anselm came forth to do in support of theology. After having spent many years in the silence of his monastery in prayer and contemplation, and with a mind well trained to the subtle wanderings of dialectical skill, he faced the poisonous stream of error and stopped its advance. Like a practised specialist who subjects a new disease to a careful analysis, and points out where the danger to health dwells, St. Anselm seized nominalism, cut it in pieces, and showed to the schoolmen the venomous dregs that it concealed under the deceptive name of Reason. He laid bare its component parts, and with his keen intellect pointed out where the poison lay. Yet his method was not wholly destructive. Whatever sound parts he could find in nominalism he carefully retained to be afterwards utilized in the domain of theology; the unhealthy poisonous parts he condemned to the flames.

After giving the death-blow to nominalism St. Anselm laid the foundation of the great work of the theological schools of the Middle Ages, the harmonizing of reason with authority. In his lonely monastery of Bee he had spent years in the close study of Holy Scripture and the fathers, and had learned to subordinate all human authority to the unerring Word of God. His well-known maxim *credo ut intelligam* had been the rule by which he disciplined his mind in the investigation of truth, by which

he made reason submissive to faith. Yet he did not reject reason; he knew too well its importance to eliminate it from the investigation of truth, and it was his appreciation of reason, and his constant application of its principles, that so well equipped him for the bold stand he was able to take against the errors of nominalism. With his mind thus alive to the value of reason he knew how far it ought to go, and where it ought to stop, in the investigation of truth; he saw with one glance that it had exceeded its bounds in the nominalistic and rationalistic theories; then recalling reason to its due limits, he allowed it to enter the domain of theology, and clearly assigned it its place therein. He was the first of the schoolmen that made use of logic in the cause of religion. This system suited the minds of the leaders of the schools, and towards the end of the twelfth century a new theological spirit had sprung up; pious, learned doctors, who had always echoed the voice of authority from their lecture chairs, were now wont to add the *favetur ratione* to show the reasonableness or non-reasonableness of the doctrine they were expounding.

Since the time of Abelard's teaching in the cathedral school of Notre Dame a new movement developed among the Paris students. The intellectual celebrity of William of Champeaux, and his logical rival Abelard gave Paris a world-wide renown. Students came from all countries of Europe, from England, Ireland, and Germany, from Spain, Normandy, and far-distant Constantinople, to attend the lectures of the Paris teachers. This great gathering of students led to one of the most important events of the then intellectual world, the growth of the Paris University.

In the cathedral schools the Chancellor alone had authority to teach, and without his permission or the *licentia docendi*, as it was called, no new master could begin to lecture. If a student wanted to become a teacher in any of the arts, he should first assist for a given time at the lectures of some master, and then with his master's approval present himself to the Chancellor for permission to teach. Without this qualification no one was considered a competent teacher, and it was because Abelard undertook

to lecture to the students at Laon without the sanction of the Chancellor, and without having spent the required time in attending the lectures of his master, that a general cry of the masters was raised against him.

During the second quarter of the twelfth century the number of students in Paris had become so great that it was impossible for all to attend the cathedral school; accordingly many of the most brilliant students received permission to open separate schools, and there give lectures. This gave rise to a number of masters, and all being engaged in the same work of teaching, they soon formed themselves into an organized body. But before any new master received the *licentia docendi* from the Chancellor he had to give an 'Inception' or 'Determination,' by which he showed himself to be fit for the office of teacher; he was then, if successful, enrolled by the Chancellor into the guild of masters, and became thereby partaker of all their privileges. At what exact date the masters came to be formed into a separate body is not known, but from a reference in the life of a monk named John of the Cell, who, it is said, was enrolled into 'the fellowship of the masters' about the year 1170, it has been inferred that the body of masters must have been formed into a united guild between the years 1150-70. This also seems to be the nearest date of the foundation of the Paris University. It was never formally established; it gradually developed into a separate body which by degrees succeeded in securing for itself certain rights and privileges. It was the gradual growth of the acknowledged rights of the masters, and the formalities gone through before one became a member of their guild, that made them appear in the eyes of the students and citizens as the lawful possessors of certain privileges and dignities. Louis VII., towards the end of the twelfth century, is said to have authorized the masters as a body to suspend lectures if any of their rights were interfered with; thus were they, at least, recognised by the crown as a separate body with their own rights.

It was not till the beginning of the thirteenth century that the privileges of the Paris students began to be

acknowledged. They had then none of those large buildings and spacious halls that we now attach to the idea of a University; even outside the lecture hall they had no recognised superior. They generally lived together in tenanted rooms, often whole streets such as the Rue du Fouarre being in their possession. This liberty of the students often led to much disturbance with the citizens open riots were of frequent occurrence, and the repeated 'town and gown fights' were, as later on at Oxford, often the scenes of bloodshed and murder. To prevent such riots Philip Augustus, in the year 1200, granted the privilege of exemption from civil authority to the students of the University. The famous riot that led to granting of this privilege began in a tavern. A German student was insulted by the proprietor, whereupon his fellow-countrymen came in a band to the tavern, and dragging forth the host, so severely beat him that, in the words of a chronicler, he was 'left half dead.' The citizens headed by the chief magistrate rose up to seek revenge; they attacked the hall of the students, and an open fight followed in which several of the students were killed. The masters appealed to the King, and threatened, if redress was not granted they would leave the city. Fearing lest they should depart the King sentenced the magistrate to banishment from the city, and threatened the offending citizens with a like punishment except they got the injured students to intercede for them. This the students did, but with the curious condition, so worthy of students, that they would be allowed to flog the offenders 'after the manner of scholars' in their schools; a condition which the King humanely refused to have fulfilled. When the masters and scholars were thus pacified the King drew up a royal charter in favour of the students. Any of them who should afterwards be arrested for an offence were to be handed over for trial to an ecclesiastical judge, and the magistrate on admission to his office was to take an oath that he would respect the privileges of the masters and scholars. At about the same period the University was formed into a legal corporation by a Bull of Innocent III. (himself a former master of the University), with power to

elect a representative who should maintain its rights. Thus did the Paris University gradually grow into a legal independent body governed by the society of masters, and endowed alike by Papal and Royal privileges, and from its beginning it maintained the reputation of being the chief centre of education in all Europe. In another paper we shall speak of its material and intellectual development, of its colleges and educational course.

Contemporary with the growth of the University was the great Monastery of St. Victor, that institution which helped so much to direct the intellectual course of the Middle Ages, and it is so connected with the history of the University that an account of its foundation and spirit may not be irrelevant. When William of Champeaux ceased to lecture in the cathedral school of Notre Dame he withdrew from the noisy tumult of Paris, and buried himself with God in the silence of a remote wilderness. He found hidden away among rocks and trees a little grotto which was dedicated to St. Victor, martyr, and there he resolved to pass the remainder of his life in prayer and contemplation. Some of his old pupils followed him into his retreat, and joining him in his quiet holy life, they laid the foundation of the congregation of St. Victor. They lived a most austere life, practised long fasts, never ate meat, rarely even fish, and divided their time between prayer, study, and manual labour. The congregation which was called Canons Regular of St. Victor was approved of by Paschal II., and richly endowed by Louis VI. In 1113 St. Victor's was raised to an abbey, and was henceforth governed by an abbot; in the same year William of Champeaux, its first Prior, was appointed to the see of Châlons-sur-Marne. The Congregation which from its beginning was remarkable for men of great sanctity and learning spread with great rapidity; before the death of its second abbot, about thirty years after its foundation, it possessed over forty houses, and had given many abbots, bishops, and cardinals to the Church.

The spirit of the religious of St. Victor's was essentially contemplative. St. Bernard was the intimate friend of William, its founder, and it was the spirit of St. Bernard

that William determined to develop in his new retreat. He had grown weary of the logical displays of the Paris School; he was much averse to the rationalistic spirit introduced by Abelard; he loved the fathers and the Holy Scriptures, and in the quiet study of these he resolved to spend the remainder of his life. Those who came to join him were animated with a like spirit, and soon St. Victor's became renowned for its theological learning. But it was not theology as treated by the new dialecticians that was taught therein, it was more the theology of the fathers, the theology that nourishes the soul rather than puffs up the intellect. St. Victor's was intended as the counter-agent to the intellectual fever of the Paris schools, and while reason and logic were battling for the day in Paris, contemplation and love found a home in St. Victor's. Paris was intellectual, active, and fond of display; St. Victor's was likewise intellectual, but calm, recollected, and jealous of retirement; Paris gave little to theology, or to the Church; St. Victor's gave many great men to the Church, and sheltered within its walls the founders and leaders of theology in its most attractive form—mystical theology. Hugh from Saxony, and Richard from Scotland, were its brightest lights; they were both endowed with extraordinary intellectual power, and they both used that power to build up a systematic course of mystical theology.

To the modern mind mystical theology seems something unreal, something far-fetched, and unpractical; yet of all the sciences worthy of man's consideration there is none that so ennobles man and raises him up from the gross material things of this world as the science of mysticism. The human mind never rests satisfied except in the possession of the Supreme Good; it may interest and worry itself with the things of this world, but it will never rest fully satisfied in their possession: God alone can satisfy man's heart; and to lead man to possess God, as far as He can be possessed in this life, is the primary end of mystical theology. By reason the human mind investigates, divides, and concludes: it, in a way, masters and domineers over the

question put before it for consideration; but in that work it does not find peace and rest: by contemplation, which is the chief act of mysticism, the soul believes, adores, loves, and is happy. In contemplation the soul forgets the world and the senses, it rises high above reason, and with an intuitive glance it sees and possesses God, and in that vision and possession it finds true happiness.

And yet mysticism is practical. Who has such power of doing good, of influencing others, and of leading them safe through the continual struggle of daily life, as he who has his soul fixed firmly on God. Anyone who studies the history of the Catholic Church will easily see that any great work that was ever done for God was not the work of men who relied on reason alone, or on any other human agency, but that it was the work of souls of love, and prayer, of contemplation and reverence; of souls that saw God in all things, that worked for and with God in all things. A soul that is truly anxious to do good will get more strength to do it from one-half hour spent in silent prayer at the foot of the crucifix, or in holy love before the tabernacle, or in devout meditation on the pages of Holy Scripture, than from any means that human agency can supply. If there is anything wanted at the present day to help in promoting God's work it would seem to be the development of the contemplative spirit—the fixing of the soul on God alone—and then aided by His all-powerful grace, boldly and perseveringly setting to work. The rationalistic spirit is not now more powerful than it was in the Paris schools of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, yet it was by prayer and contemplation supplemented by long patient study that it was then combatted and subdued. It was prayer and contemplation that prepared the minds of St. Bernard, St. Anselm, William of Champeaux, and the Lombard, for that deep broad grasp of truth which made them the brave upholders of the doctrines of Christianity; it was a like spirit that afterwards prepared Albert the Great, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure, to enter the arena with the rationalistic schoolmen, and do battle for the

Church; and it is a like spirit that must animate those brave champions who will crush and break in pieces the many erroneous systems of modern times, and show to scientific men the harmony, beauty, and sublimity of the doctrines of our holy faith.

P. T. BURKE, O.D.C.

A POSTSCRIPT TO REMARKS ON ST. CUMMAIN FOTA'S HYMN

I DESIRE to give here a few words of reply to queries touching some remarks in the article on St. Cummain Fota's hymn in honour of the Apostles, which I contributed to the May number of the I. E. RECORD. First, I am asked, beyond the statements of modern Irish Catholic hagiologists, what was my authority for assuming that the Cummain who composed the hymn in question was the one who, according to all accounts, was in his time educated at St. Finbarr's Seminary, Cork? I am reminded that not only were there many forms for the name, both in Latin and Irish, but there were different persons known by it, and each indifferently under its various forms, such as Cummain, Cummian, Cumin, &c. In my article I noticed one other than Cummain Fota, namely, Cummain [Cummian or Comin] Finn, or the Fair. Some count many more, but most likely counted the different forms of the name as representing different persons.¹ Be that as it may, I have never seen it asserted or suggested, nor do I see any reason for supposing that there was any other known by the distinguishing term *Fota* [*Foda* or *Fada*], the Tall. But whether there was or not, I had sufficient

¹ For remarks on the different ways of writing the name, see article in May number, p. 441. Colgan (*Acta SS.*, 59, No. 6) gives a list of twenty-one named *Cummonius*, *Cumineus*, or *Cumianus* (Latin forms), and Mart. Doneg gives one of eighteen named *Cuimin*, *Cummein*, *Cuimmin* (Irish forms). All these, it will be observed, phonetically give the same word, and, as a matter of fact, several are admittedly employed to designate the same person,

authority for what I assumed, and in the way required. Passing by the statements of modern, or even comparatively modern writers, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, who refer to the subject, and who, as far as I have seen, are unanimous on the point, my immediate authority for what I assumed was the short biographical notice [mixed Latin and Irish] prefixed to the hymn itself, and by the same hand that copied it, in the Trinity College MS. '*Liber Hymnorum.*' There, having distinctly declared that it was composed by 'Cummain Fota MacFiachna' and then said something of his early life, the ancient scholiast adds that he 'afterwards studied in Cork until he became *Súí*' (or *Sáoi*), that is, Doctor.¹ Now there can be no doubt that the only school 'at Cork' in which that then highest of academic degrees could have been taken, indeed the only school ever spoken of as 'at Cork,' at the time, was St. Finbarr's. And not Irish Catholic hagiologists alone take that for granted; in Smith and Ware's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (a work mainly composed of articles contributed by English, Scotch, and Irish Protestant clergymen), in the notice of Colman Ua Clusaigh, we read: 'He was Fer-legind or Lecturer in the Theological School at Cork, and is best known as the tutor or master of St. Cummin Foda of Clonfert.'

But, again, I am asked, why assume that the latter was the Cummin (Cummain or Cumminian) who wrote the famous epistle on the Paschal controversy. This having been but a

¹ *Súí*, sometimes written *Súe*, most commonly *Sáoi*, seems to be radically the same word as *Stipens*, our own word *Stipend*, and similar terms in many modern languages, all apparently from the old root *Sa* to *see*, or know thoroughly. It is of frequent occurrence in our oldest annals, and is often translated 'Professor,' but more generally 'Doctor.' In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is a MS. (classed H. 5. 30) said to be a Law Glossary compiled by the celebrated Duaid MacFirbis (circa 650), which purports to explain 'the seven orders of wisdom' (or *science*). These seem to be the received 'classes' or grades in the academic course of ancient Erin. As one passed in each of them he was known by an appropriate name; thus in order—1. *Coogdach* (one of degree—matriculated ?) 2. *Foghlaintidh* (a Student). 3. *Desgibál* (Disciple—Scholar). 4. *Starvidhe* (Narrator or Expounder. 5. *Foirceadlaidhe* (Lecturer or Reader in grammar, enumeration, and the courses of the year, of the sun and moon), 6. *Sáoi Canóiné* (Doctor of the Canons), 7. *Druimelí* (one who has complete knowledge). *Druimelí* would thus seem to mean one who finished the academic course, was fully taught, was the *Doctus*; while *Sáoi* (simply so called) would mean *Doctor* *simpliciter*, 'Doctor,' as such taken from the final grade, but not necessarily one engaged in teaching.

passing remark, and of little consequence to the immediate object of my article, I might well content myself with answering: I assumed he was so, because, having looked the matter up, I believed he was, and I believe so still. There is certainly not the same sort of evidence for this that there is for the previous point, and some modern English Protestant writers refuse to admit it. For instance, take the *Dictionary* I have just quoted. In the notice of Cummain Fota (there written *Cumin Foda*), who, the writer says, 'appears to have been a man of great learning,' and was 'author of a hymn in praise of the Apostles and Evangelist,' we read, 'Lanigan and Butler identify him with St. Cummain who took such a prominent part in the Paschal controversy,¹ but their supposition appears groundless.' The animus of the writer was previously shown by his referring to the latter as 'the Romanizing Cummain.' But in the following article on this 'Romanizing Cummain' it is admitted that, assuming him not to be the same as the author of the hymn on the Apostles, 'there is no account of his parentage or race;' and further on, that 'there is no account of his death.' Moreover, no reason is given either there or elsewhere for the assertion that the 'supposition' of Lanigan and Butler 'appears groundless.' A reason, however, appears to be suggested; it is that the 'Cummain who composed the hymn on the Apostles, and who was previously represented as a man of great learning, as well as other ways praised,' could not be the same as 'that Romanizing Cummain,' who 'took such a prominent part in the Paschal controversy,' and who, it is added,² 'espoused the Roman as against the national or Scotie side.' The writer of those words forgot, if he ever read, the verse of Cummain's hymn in praise of the Apostles, which I quoted, commencing, '*Claviculari Petri primi pastoris.*' No line in the Paschal letter is more 'Romanizing' than that. Furthermore it may be observed that the very unusual and particularly Romanizing title of

¹ So do many other naturally most reliable authorities on such a subject. See Dr. Healy's *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, art. on 'School of Clonfert,' where the supposition of Lanigan and Butler is maintained throughout.

² Page 723.

clavicularis is given to St. Peter in this same Paschal letter. Then, surely it might be said there is no *a priori* reason for assuming, rather every such reason for denying, that throughout this crisis of our national Church's life any ecclesiastic in the land would have proved more 'Romanizing' than one trained in the school of St. Finbarr, whose own teacher, MacGuirp, was a Roman student, taught by St. Gregory the Great;¹ who moreover, when founding his school at Cork, if ancient accounts of him be true, went to thoroughly Romanize his spirit in the City of Rome, most difficult of access, for various reasons, as that city was for a traveller from Ireland in those days.²

For a well-edited text of this Paschal letter, having quoted Migne's Collection of the fathers, I may add, it is there ascribed to Cominus Longus (that is Cummain Fota or the Tall), as distinguished from Cominus Albus (Finn or the Fair). As to the Paschal letter itself, undoubtedly the text as we have it exhibits faults, both of matter and form. With regard to these, I would only remark that a Latin text, written in the seventh century, and in a country situated as Ireland then was in regard to the Continent of Europe, for a document moreover on such a complex subject, at once theological, liturgical, historical, linguistic, and semi-scientific, neither matter or form could fairly be criticized from the standpoint of a savant living at the latter end of the nineteenth century; even supposing its

¹ In one of the ancient MS. lives of St. Finbarr (Codex Marsh.), this 'Sanctus Macguirp' is spoken of as 'sanctissimus vir et sapiens multum discipulusque sancti Gregorii papae et magister Sancti Barri.' Referring to the same in a previous part of the life we read: 'Cum autem (S. Barrus) pervenisset ad aetatem maturam venit ex Roma sapiens vir et sanctus qui fuit discipulus Sancti Gregorii papae et positus in regulis ecclesiasticis. Illi sancti sermone magistri Sancti Barri miserunt cum ad illum ut disceret et legeret apud ipsum.' Another apparently more recently written MS. life (Codex Bodl.) in much better Latin, thus, gives the fact: 'Ex tempore venit quidem sanctus de urbe Roma, discipulus Sancti Gregorii papae ad Hiberniam, qui in divinis scripturis sufficienter erat instructus, ejus formam ut audirent, nutrices Sancti Finbarri dixerunt ei, ut ad illum virum in Sacra scriptura expertum prepararet qui sitem ardentis sui ingenii, tamquam in fonte de novo scaturiente, plenius ipse refrigeraret.'

² 'Alio tempore posteaquam limina visitavit apostolica, redeundo ad propria declinavit ad Sanctum David.' (*Id. Codex Bodl.*)

existing text to be pure, which in several places that of this epistle clearly is not.

One other observation regarding it I wish to notice as being one which is often made by way of comment on the character of its author as a man and a priest. This is that certain passages seem strangely rude to the eminent ecclesiastic to whom it was addressed, as well as to the many learned and holy men throughout the country, who still maintained what has been since honoured with the qualification of 'the national side of the Paschal controversy.' Certainly, some passages, and these the ones generally quoted, if read apart from the rest, and according to our modern notions of propriety, would at first sight seem 'strangely rude' in the sense objected. Reading these, however, in the light of the whole and of the known character of the writer as of his place and time, their apparent rudeness will be seen to be only that of strength of expression; that natural to the writing of a strong man, strong in faith and mind-power and conscious fulness of knowledge touching the subject he was treating; strong, above all, in consciousness of the momentous character of its final issue for Church and country, and the right of the side he had taken. In effect, that meant whole-hearted adhesion to the centre of Christian unity, in spite of all manner of adverse natural tendencies, racial sympathies, national prejudices, strong party-feeling as well as family interests, and, consequently, many forms of persevering local opposition. It meant taking a stand before the country and its people elsewhere that some of the best men of the day could not get themselves to take, and from which those who had been reasoned into taking it had been afterwards induced to recede, but which every ecclesiastic in Ireland and every Irish ecclesiastic abroad felt bound to take up later on. In short, for Church and country, at the time, St. Cummán felt called to take an unpopular stand, and he took it; to speak unpopular truths, and he spoke them. Ever since his day Christendom has felt the force of those outspoken truths, of that in particular which is the term-thought of his Paschal Epistle—*Quid pravius sentiri potest de Ecclesia Matre quam si dicamus; Roma errat,*

*Hierosolyma errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat, soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt*¹. In that question (Irish fashion) is the one all-satisfying answer to sectaries be their sectarianism political, social, or religious. Thus, assuming the author of *Celebra Juda*, that is St. Cummain Fota to have been the writer of this famous epistle, it seems to me that, not merely though he was, but because he was so, Cork has reason to be proud of the 'Romanizing' graduate St. Finbarr's Seminary gave to Ireland nearly thirteen hundred years ago.

Still, as I have said, whether the Cummain who wrote this epistle, and throughout figured so prominently in the Paschal controversy, was or was not the Cummain who wrote the hymn I noticed, but indirectly affects my main assumption as to the latter's character. This was simply that being Cummain *Fota* he was the 'Cummain' educated at St. Finbarr's Seminary, Cork, under St. Colman O'Clusaigh, and so was the learned and holy prelate likened to St. Gregory the Great, by that same St. Colman, in the Rann or commemorative poem which is given as by him in the Annals of the Four Masters. Nor should such a comparison be deemed but the passing compliment of an old poet to the memory of a distinguished pupil. It was acknowledged at the time as his country's verdict, and as such remained. In a popular list of parallelisms or ideal associations of characteristics between the saints of Ireland and those of the Universal Church, a list drawn up about a century after St. Cummain's death, his name appears facing that of St. Gregory the Great as being the name of one wholly like him in life and manner—*unius vitæ et moris*.

Touching my textual treatment of his Alleluiatic Hymn, a learned correspondent while agreeing with my 'conclusions' in regard to it, maintained it was a mistake not to have

¹ In his, on the whole, excellent work, entitled *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), Warren sneers at those famous words from St. Cummain's Paschal Epistle as a parody on 'the Irish position.' Other modern English writers treat them more contemptuously still. Heretical hisses of the sort from Oxford and Cambridge houses, and like places, at the end of the nineteenth century, serve well to accentuate the applause of the Christian schools of the world for over a thousand years.

given the whole of the text, 'so few I. E. RECORD readers,' he observed, 'know it save in name.' It would have been very easy to have given the whole, but, besides that I considered this would be claiming a great deal too much space for my part in the month's number, the immediate object of my article was to stimulate rather than satisfy the reader's interest in its subject. I took care, however, to note that the full text of the hymn is printed in Dr. Todd's annotated issue, or rather part-issue of the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum*. I here note, in addition, I understand that a complete issue of it, most carefully edited and collated with the Franciscan Codex is in active preparation and will soon be published.

At the end of my article, when comparing St. Cummain's with the other oldest alleluiatric hymns at present known to hymnologists, I observed, '*Celebra Juda* is at present to be seen in Dublin MSS. of the ninth or tenth, or, at latest, eleventh century, and is there given, not as an anonymous production or one of uncertain age, but is distinctly ascribed to an author known to have been born towards the end of the sixth century, an inscription that independent data of traditional and documentary evidence fully confirm.' Now, setting aside what may be called data of tradition, I am asked, is there any documentary evidence of the kind in question, previous to or about the *ninth century* among generally accessible MSS. at present existing in Ireland? There is. It is found in the hitherto unprinted MS. known as the *Book of Mulling*, in part a liturgical Codex like the *Book of Dimma*, and with it, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Both these codices are highly interesting from many points of view, theological as well as archaeological. Yet they have been little studied; from the Irish Catholic standpoint, scarcely at all. In Gilbert's list of our national MSS., the one I have here to do with is given as 'ascribed to Mulling, Bishop of Ferns, who died A.D. 697:' thus within the seventh century and about forty years after the death of St. Cummain Fota. This *Book of Mulling*, Gilbert notes, 'is a copy of the four Gospels in Latin with formulary for visitation of the sick.' It has something

more, something which Irish Catholic archaeologists will, I think, yet find the most interesting page in the book. This comes immediately after the Gospel of St. John and, it should be particularly noted, unlike the 'formulary for visitation of the sick,' is evidently written by the same hand that wrote the four Gospels. If there be an older part, therefore, it belongs to that. Upon the page, over a very curious liturgical synopsis, there is what appears to be the *Ordo* of a daily office or form of night and morning prayer. On the first line we now find only the letters *Al*: which we should naturally say stand for *Alleluia* as opening of the Office or 'Invitatory.' Then, among the items prescribed after the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, we find a portion of the Hymn of Secundinus to St. Patrick, and, after that, the last part of the Alleluiatric form of St. Cummain Fota. I should like to say something more about this interesting most ancient *Officium laudis* of our fathers in the faith. But here I must stop, content with having at least indicated original sources of information for that and the other points I touched on.

T. J. O'MAHONY, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

APPLICATION OF A MASS FOR WHICH A 'HONORARIUM' HAS BEEN RECEIVED

REV. DEAR SIR,—Having received a *honorarium* to say Mass for A. B. deceased, I offered a Mass for A. B. and all the souls in purgatory. Have I satisfied my obligation? . . .

C. C.

Viewed in the abstract, the solution of the question depends on the issue of the well-known controversy, regarding the infinite or indefinite efficacy of the fruits of the Mass. Our correspondent, as he gives us to understand, believes that the fruits of the Mass are infinite, and that, therefore, a Mass offered, say, for a thousand persons avails as much for each, as if it had been offered for him alone. No doubt, our correspondent has a right to his speculative opinion. We cannot, however, share his view. To our mind, the practice of the Church has always seemed a conclusive argument against the opinion which he adopts. For, in consistency, he should hold that *every* Mass *ought* to be offered for *all* to whom it may be validly and lawfully applied. And yet, the Church not merely tolerates, but recommends that Masses should be offered for individuals. Surely, this would be senseless and reprehensible, if the opinion of our correspondent were true. The individual for whom the Mass is specially offered would gain nothing additional, while all the world beside would be the poorer, owing to the restricted application: and the bounty of Christ, which might be extended to all, though the celebration of each Mass, would be narrowed down to relieving the wants of a single individual. And, we may ask, in passing, why our correspondent restricts the application of the Mass to 'the souls in purgatory.' Why are the living excluded, if they may be included without detracting from the benefits accruing to the dead?

But even though the speculative probability of our correspondent's opinion were admitted, he would not be justified in attempting to satisfy his obligation towards A. B. by offering Mass for A. B. and all the souls in purgatory. His obligation *ex stipendio* is a certain obligation binding in justice, and it is not to be satisfied by what, at best, is a return of *doubtful* value.

In practice, our correspondent can satisfy at once his obligations and his commendable zeal and charity by means of a **secondary intention**.

In the case proposed, he should offer the Mass, in the first instance, for A. B. But, by a secondary intention, he might offer the Mass for all the faithful departed, in so far as this secondary intention would not interfere with the rights of A. B. or the intention of the person who gave the honorarium. In this way he can, at the same time, avail himself, to the full, of the advantages of his own opinion, without incurring the censure of those who think differently, or endangering the fulfilment of his obligations.

ABSOLUTION FROM HERESY

REV. DEAR SIR,—A penitent accuses himself of formal heresy. Can I absolve without special faculties? The sin of heresy was purely internal. Some to whom I have referred the matter are doubtful. An answer in the I. E. RECORD will oblige.

CHAPLAIN.

If the sin was internal, *i. e.*, extenuated neither by word or act, you can certainly absolve. No censure or reservation attaches to a sin purely internal. Hence internal heresy can be absolved by any confessor.

If the heresy were externally manifested by any grievously sinful word or act, your penitent would, of course, be subject to an excommunication specially reserved to the Holy See.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE PROMULGATION OF THE DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES, AND THE ORDER OF THE PRAYERS IN A REQUIEM MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD. (1) What promulgation is necessary that the decrees of Sacred Congregation be binding on all the faithful? (2) Some months ago I saw by the I. E. RECORD it was decreed at Rome that the prayers of a private Requiem Mass be said in a different order to that in which they occur in the Missal, *i.e.*, that first prayer be for the deceased for whom Mass is said, the second prayer *ad libitum*, and the third *Fidelium Deus omnium Conditor*. (a) Are all priests bound to this order? (b) Is a priest justified in adhering to the old method, disregarding the decree till it is formally promulgated by *his* bishop? (c) What of those priests who do not get I. E. RECORD, and are in ignorance of the existence of such a decree?

SACERDOS.

Decrees of the Congregation of Rites are either *general* or *particular*. The former are addressed to the Universal Church, and bind everywhere; the latter are addressed only to particular churches or countries, and are usually founded on a petition sent to the Congregation in the name of the bishop of a particular diocese, or of the hierarchy of a particular country. Decrees of the latter kind doubtless require some kind of promulgation, but as the decree about which our correspondent inquires does not belong to this class, it is unnecessary to discuss here what special form of publication or promulgation particular decrees require. The decree regarding the order of the prayers in a Requiem Mass is a general decree. *Decretum Generale* is its heading, as a reference to the *Ordo* for this year will show,¹ and consequently the rules applying to the promulgation of general decrees apply to this one.

Now general decrees of the Congregation of Rites require no special promulgation. They bind *in actu primo* from the

¹ Introduction, p. xxxii.

moment that the authentic copy has been signed by the Prefect and Secretary of the Congregation; and *in actu secundo* in the case of each individual, as soon as he becomes aware, through an authentic source, of the purport of the decree. This is the general teaching of theologians, and is thus expressed by De Herit:—

‘Ut autem decreta et responsiones quae a S. R. C. datae sunt, tamquam formaliter editae habendae sint, ac si ab ipso Summo Pontifice immediate promulgarentur, non requiritur ut sint vel Romae, vel ab Episcopis in suis dioecesibus promulgatae, sed sufficit quod sint subscriptae a S. R. C. Praefecto et Secretario, ac ejusdem sigillo munita.

This passage, which is merely a transcript of a decree issued by the Congregation of Rites, on April 8th, 1854,² shows clearly that no formal promulgation is required, in order that general decrees of the Congregation of Rites should have the force of papal laws.

2. (a) All priests following the Roman rite are bound to say the prayers in a Requiem Mass in the order prescribed by the decree of June 30th, 1896. Ignorance, of course, excuses from this obligation on the same conditions on which it excuses from other obligations; but the only ignorance that avails is ignorance of the existence of this decree. Ignorance regarding its promulgation cannot excuse him who knows of its existence.

(b) From what has been already said it follows that a priest who is aware of the publication of this decree is no longer justified in saying the prayers in a Requiem Mass according to the old order. No formal promulgation by the bishop is required, as we have seen, and consequently the decree binds *in actu secundo* from the moment its terms are learned from any authentic source.

(c) We pity the priests who do not get the I. E. RECORD, and we feel sure they are ignorant of a great many other things besides the present order of reciting the prayers in a

¹ *Praxis Liturg.*, tom. i., n. 8.

² See Gardellini, in 5066-5202.

Requiem Mass. Ignorance in matters of this kind in a priest who does not subscribe for the I. E. RECORD, might almost be described as *ignorantia affectata*, and consequently not an excusing cause ; but there is another publication for which all Irish secular priests are supposed to subscribe, and in which all decrees bearing on the recital of the Divine Office and the celebration of Holy Mass are published. This is the *Ordo*, in the copy of which for last year our correspondent and all else concerned will find at a place already indicated the decree in question. The *Ordo* has the formal sanction of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and even though certain decrees did require episcopal promulgation, it would, we think, be sufficient to have them published in its pages.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANNUAL DIOCESAN MASS FOR DECEASED PRELATES

REV. DEAR SIR,—According to a decision given in the last number of the I. E. RECORD, by a very accurate rubricist, the above Mass cannot be said on a festival of a double rite. This decision does not seem consistent with a liberal and fair interpretation of the late legislation in favour of Masses for the dead. The offices of a double rite had so multiplied latterly, and thus shut out semi-doubles that the Holy Father, in June, 1896, gave increased facilities for saying private Requiem Masses on festivals of a double rite: and in the course of the year the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued a decree in regard to the prayers and the use of the Sequence to be employed in the four different Requiem Masses in the Missal. While the three first are privileged—those (1) for All Souls' day—(2) for the death, burial, the third and seventh day—(3) for the anniversary—the fourth Mass or “daily” had and has not as such the privilege of superseding a double rite.

The general decree, S. C. R., issued last year, is given under five sections, as may be seen in the introductory matter in the Latin *Ordo*. (i) The first section decreed that only one prayer was to be said in Masses private and solemn on the following days:—‘*Commemoratione omnium Fidelium Defunctorum, die et pro die obitus seu depositionis, atque etiam in Missis Cantatis et lectis, permittente ritu, diebus iii., vii., xxx., et die anniversaria, necnon quodocunque pro defunctis Missa solemniter celebratur, nempe sub ritu qui duplici respondeat in officio quod recitatur post acceptum nuntium de alicujus obitu, et in anniversariis late sumptis.*’

(ii) The second section dealing with the *Missis quotidianis quibuscumque* requires that three prayers should be said, which are described in this and the following sections according to the person or persons to be commemorated.

The concluding section in reference to the *Dies Træ* runs thus:—

‘*V. Quod denique ad sequentiam attinet, semper illam esse dicendum in quibusvis Cantatis Missis uti etiam in lectis quæ diebus ut supra privilegiatis fiunt, &c.*’

Now the *anniversariis late sumptis* as distinguished from the real, strict *anniversaria die*, mentioned in the (1) section, comprehend our diocesan anniversaries, and, as the I. E. RECORD rubricist states, 'have special reference' to them; and these are privileged according to the decree in Section V.: therefore Mass can be said on them on a day of a double rite.

The position taken by the writer in the I. E. RECORD has led him to say that the Mass said on the *anniversariis late sumptis* is not on a privileged day, though the decree says otherwise—*diebus ut supra* (sec. i) *privilegiatis*.

I may mention that the privileged days mentioned in sec. i. are such as found in the Rubrics of Missal, Sec. V., No. 3, except the *anniversaria late sumpta*; and I am not at all surprised at this addition. For scores of pages are devoted by Gardellini to the petitions presented to the Sacred Congregation during hundreds of years by private individuals and religious bodies to be allowed to treat the *anniversaria late sumpta* as privileged. The favour was granted almost always as a grace, and not as a right. During some time there was an annual commemoration of the deceased of the three Franciscan Orders on a double, but on a fixed day; and it was allowed on the supposition that it was equivalent to a commemoration of all the faithful departed.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—In view of the 'larger volume intended (p. 163), it becomes incumbent to set forth some of the defects which materially mar *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*. That a compilation demands something more than mere industry,—some such acquaintance with the subject as shall ensure due discrimination of the material, is a proposition which needs no proof. This minimum is all the more necessary when one deals controversially with disputed topics: detective treatment must needs damage the most excellent cause.

Chief among the sources of the work is the Bobbio Missal, to which an appendix (p. 225-8) is devoted. The Missal, it is admitted, 'is most likely Gallican;' but, 'it would not be extraordinary if some of the native clergy transcribed and used a Gallican Missal, especially having regard to the connection anciently existing between Gaul and this country' (p. 227). Reasoning of this kind is of ominous import respecting the state of Sacred Archaeology

amongst us. Having regard to the number of Irish missionaries and pilgrims who went over sea, and the recognition there accorded to the superiority of their caligraphy, the question whether any of the numerous works in Scottic hand preserved abroad was executed for native or foreign use has to be decided without reference to the script. To assume offhand that every such document was employed in Ireland, or represents an Irish state of things, would lead to some startling conclusions. Now, to all who have studied the monuments of early Western Liturgy, the omissions and insertions of the Bobbio Missal, taken in connection with the omissions and insertions of the Stowe and St. Gall Missals, are evidence conclusive that the first-named was drawn up for a church in France, most probably in Burgundy. All the citations therefrom (and they total pretty large) must accordingly be omitted as irrelevant.

Similarly, as regards the Penitential 'attached to the Missal' (p. 128). No doubt, the compiler can plead that, according to one of his 'works quoted,' 'of its forty-seven canons there is not one that is not purely Irish' (Moran: *Essays, &c.*, p. 285). But he could have learned from another work on his list (*On the Stowe Missal*, Trans. R.I.A., xxvii., p. 152) that the sole proof of this sweeping assertion was drawn from transforming an *old woman* into a *village*!

Equal importance is assigned to the Penitential of Cummián, amongst the quotations from which are fifteen consecutive items, translation and text (pp. 20-22: 228-30), to prove, 'that in the system of early Irish Christianity there was no latitude for any exhibition of the private spirit' (p. 22). But the fact has been overlooked that, according to Wasserschleben, whose edition is used, every indication denotes decisively that Cummián wrote his work not in his native but in another land, and drew from Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish Penitentials (*Bussordnungen*, &c., pp. 53, 65). This being so, ordinary prudence would suggest what has, unfortunately, not been done here,—to verify the origin before adopting the citation. Nor, in the case of the fifteen enactments in question, would that have postulated any special critical acumen. For, not to mention that every item is traced by Wasserschleben to the source, in the well-known passage which the compiler could scarce fail to quote, St. Columbanus boasts that Ireland produced no heretic. That brings us to the close of the sixth century. Assuredly then it strains credulity (seeing

that Penitentials deal with actual, not supposed, cases) that in the century next ensuing Ireland produced heretical congregations, heretical priests; abbots and bishops favouring heresy; heretics whose relics were venerated as those of saints, and finally Quartodecimans.

To the same lack of discrimination is due a still more aggravated libel on the morality of the Ancient Irish Church. 'Among the St. Gall MSS. there is an ancient Irish Order for the Administration of Penance (*Ordo ad Poenitentiam dandam*),' in which, after questioning the penitent as to belief in the Trinity, Unity, Resurrection, future reward and punishment, and forgiveness of injuries, the priest is directed to inquire diligently whether he is incestuous, and if he is, not to give him penance, unless he be willing to put away the incests; if willing, to hear his confession (p. 107). The 'Ancient Irish Order' is, however, purely Anglo-Saxon! In two Penitentials of that nationality which the compiler had under his hand (*Bussordnungen*, &c., pp. 252, 349-50), two *Ordines* are given: both containing the title, queries, and rubrics; the latter, the title, queries, rubrics, and prayers, of the 'Irish' *Ordo*. And, to anticipate the objection that the last-mentioned was the source of the two first, the proof can be completed from a classic familiar to the world of workers for more than two centuries, but not found amongst the works here 'quoted,' namely, the *Commentarius Historicus de disciplina . . . Poenitentiae* of Morinus (Brussels, 1685).

Ordo of St. Gall (*The Ancient Irish Church*, &c., p. 108).

Et si homo ingeniosus est, da ei consilium ut veniat tempore statuto ad te aut ad alium sacerdotem in Coena Domini, et reconciliaretur [-lietur] sic[ut] in Sacramentario continetur. Quicquid manens in corpore consecutus non fuerit (h.e. reconciliatio), exutus carne consequi non poterit.

Si vero minus intelligens [fuerit], quod ipse non intelligit, in uno statu reconciliare eum potes, dicendo.

Oremus.

Presta, quesumus [etc.] Si infirmus est homo, statim reconciliare eum debes,

Ordo of Penitential of Egbert (abp. of York, 734-766: Morinus, Ap. p. 19A).

Tunc expleta poenitentia, si homo intelligibilis est, veniat ad sacerdotem et reconciliet eum. Si vero simplicem vel brutum eum intellexeris, statim reconcilia eum, ita dicendo.

Oratio.

Praesta, quaesumus [etc.]

Alia.

Omnipotens [etc.]

Si tempus ut [?] tibi] vacet, dic illas alias: si non, istae duae sufficiant, et omni tempore quando ad aegrotum venerit [-is], statim reconcilia eum dicendo.

[Four Prayers.]

It only remains to add that the 'Sacramentary' ceremonial for Holy Thursday is given in Egbert's Penitential, and contains the *Praesta quaesumus* (*ib.*, p. 19, 20).

The Latin excerpts do not afford much latitude for misunderstanding. Withal, one page (89) contains the following :—(1) The Memento of the living in the Stowe Missal has pro . . . actuum emendatione eorum. This is amended by [*? nostrorum*], 'for . . . the amendment of our actions.' A single letter, however, supplies the correction : [*r*]*eorum*, culpable (actions). (2) The same Memento has uti eos in aeterna summae lucis quietae pietas divina suscipiat, 'that the divine piety may receive them into the eternal regions of sovereign light and peace.' Here, notwithstanding 'classified examples' of, and references to authorities on, Irish-Latin orthography (p. 226), we have failure to perceive a commonplace peculiarity,—the *e* sound denoted by *ae*. Read *in eternae quiete*, into eternal rest. (3) The Stowe Offertory has Sacrificium tibi celebrandum placatus intende, 'graciously dispose the Sacrifice to be celebrated to Thee.' But, if one must play the pedagogue, the regimen is the same as in the Vesper hymn of Christmas :—

Intende quas fundunt preces
Tui per orbem servuli.

The meaning is, graciously regard the Sacrifice to be celebrated to Thee.

The *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick reads (with reference to bishop Cairnall of Tauragh, Co. Sligo) quem ordinaverunt episcopi Patricii .i. Bronus et Biteus (Rolls' ed., p. 98). This, it is suggested, could be made to give three bishops at the consecration, 'by a very slight and apparently necessary emendation, thus :—quem ordinaverunt episcopi Patricius Bronus et Biteus' (p. 118). But the corresponding passage in the Book of Armagh has ordinaverunt episcopi Patricii, id est, Bronus et Biethus (Rolls' ed., p. 314).

The testimonies given in Irish, owing to the retention of the arbitrary scribal joining and disjoining of words and the comparatively numerous errors of the press (one page, 231, has as many as thirty), will scarcely afford 'special satisfaction' (p. xiii.) to scholars.

The 'ancient treatise, in Irish, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*' (p. 18), it is well known, is a Latin original, the sentences of which are respectively followed by versions, sometimes literal, sometimes paraphrastic, in the native tongue. In the treatise,

the Scriptures, we learn 'are compared to food . . . But, as food, this simile continues, is innutritious for the body when not prepared for digestion by the teeth, so the Scriptures are unwholesome for the soul, dissociated from the expositions of the Doctors' (*ib.*).

The original (not given by the compiler) is: *Sicut enim sine dentibus caput egrotat, ita [hita, MS.] sine doctoribus ecclesia [ecclesiae, MS.] non valet.* This is expanded thus in the Irish. Since the head is useless without its teeth, by which the foods are minced for the members, similarly, the Church is useless without her learned, who mince the pure mysteries of the Holy Scripture for the faithful (L. B. 196 b, ll. 15-19.)¹

Yet, so confident is the compiler (p. 135), that he does not hesitate to impute folly to O'Donovan for not taking 'in the metaphorical sense' a word which the most elementary knowledge of Irish shows was employed with the primary meaning.

Finally, the statements regarding the Paschal question may, perhaps, lay claim to the doubtful merit of originality. The Quartodecimans 'kept Easter on the 14th day of March, no matter what day of the week it fell upon' (p. 22.)! That this is no mere lapse, is shown by the following. 'In strictness, the Irish were not Quartodecimans. They did not celebrate Easter on the 14th March, unless that day fell on a Sunday' (p. 230)! Now, with respect to the Quartodecimans, 14th day signifies the 14th day of the Jewish lunar month, *Nisan*,—a date which, it is well known, did not fall on March 14,² but fell either in the second half of March, or in April. The Irish, on the other hand, kept Easter (not on March 14, but) on the 14th of the Paschal moon, provided the Sunday on which it fell was not earlier than March 25, inclusive, their earliest Paschal date.

The foregoing, *though not exhaustive*, are, it is submitted, amply sufficient to justify the Horatian counsel relative to the proposed enlarged edition,—*nonum prematur in annum*.

B. MAC CARTHY.

¹ Uair nach tarba in cend cen a deuta, ho minigther na biada do na ballaib, is amal sin nach tarba in eclais cen a heanaide [iu] minigit glanruin na Screptra noibe do na hiresechu[-hib].

² One of the 'works quoted' (Leabhar Breac, p. 85) states that *Nisan* began with the April moon. (The lunar month is named from the solar in which it ends.) Allowing for the present purpose that the April moon had 30 (not 29) days, the earliest *Nisan* would thus begin on March 3; *Nisan* 14 would fall on March 16.

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LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Divinum illud munus quod humani generis causa a Patre acceptum Iesus Christus sanctissime obiit, sicut eo tanquam ad ultimum spectat, ut homines vitæ compotes fiant in sempiterna gloriâ beatae, ita huc proxime attinet per sæculi cursum, ut divini gratiæ habeant colantque vitam, quæ tandem in vitam aeternam coelestem. Quamobrem omnes ad unum homines cuiusvis nationis et linguae Redemptor ipse invitare ad sinum Ecclesiae suae summa benignitate non cessat: 'Venite ad me omnes: Ego sum vitæ: Ego sum pastor bonus.' Illic tamen, secundum altissimorum quædam consilia, eiusmodi munus noluit quidem per se in terris usquequaque conficere et explere: verum quod ipse traditum a Patre habuerat, idem Spiritui Sancto tradidit perficiendum. Atque iucunda memoratu ea sunt quæ Christus, paulo ante quatinus terras relinqueret, in discipulorum coetu affirmavit: 'Expediit vobis ut ego vadam: si enim non abiero, Paradisus non veniet ad vos: si autem abiero, mittam eum ad vos.'¹ Hæc enim affirmans, causam discessus sui reditusque ad Patrem cum potissimum attulit, utilitatem ipsis alumnis suis profecto accessurum ab adventu Spiritus Sancti: quem quidem una monstravit, a se neque miti atque adeo procedere sicut a Patre, eundemque fore qui opus a seetipso in mortali vita exactum, deprecator, consolator, præceptor, absolveret. Multiplici nempe virtuti huiusce Spiritus, qui in præcreatione mundi 'ornavit

¹ Ioann. xvi. 7.

coelos '¹ et 'replevit orbem terrarum,'² in eiusdem redemptione perfectio operis erat providentissime reservata. Iamvero Christi Servatoris, qui princeps pastorum est et episcopus animarum nostrarum, exempla Nos imitari, ipso opitulante, continenter studuimus; religiose insistentes idem ipsius munus, Apostolis creditum in primisque Petro, 'cuius etiam dignitas in indigno herede non deficit.'³ Hoc adducti consilio, quaecumque in perfunctione iam diuturna summi pontificatus aggressi sumus instandoque persequimur, ea conspirare volumus ad duo praecipue. Primum, ad rationem vitae christianae in societate civili et domestica, in principibus et in populis iustaurandam; propterea quod nequaquam nisi a Christo vera in omnes profluat vita. Tum ad eorum fovendam reconciliationem qui ab Ecclesia catholica vel fide vel obsequio dissident; quum haec eiusdem Christi certissima sit voluntas, ut ii omnes in unico Ovili suo sub Pastore uno censeantur. Nunc autem, quum humani exitus adventantem diem conspiciamus, omnino permovemur animo ut Apostolatus Nostri operam, qualemcumque adhuc deduximus, Spiritui Sancto, qui Amor vivificans est, ad maturitatem fecunditatemque commendemus. Propositum Nostrum quo melius uberiusque eveniat, deliberatum habemus alloqui vos per sollemnia proxima sacrae Pentecostes de praesentia et virtute mirifica eiusdem Spiritus; quantopere nimirum et in tota Ecclesia et in singulorum animis ipse agat efficiatque praeclara copia charismatum supernorum. Inde fiat, quod vehementer optamus, ut fides excitetur vigeatque in animis de mysterio Trinitatis augustae, ac praesertim pietas augeatur et caleat erga divinum Spiritum, cui plurimum omnes acceptum referre debent quotquot vias veritatis et iustitiae sectantur: nam, quemadmodum Basilius praedicavit, 'Dispensationes circa hominem, quae factae sunt a magno Deo et Servatore nostro Iesu Christo iuxta bonitatem Dei, quis neget per Spiritus gratiam esse adimpletas?'⁴

Antequam rem aggredimur institutam, nonnulla de Triadis sacrosanctae mysterio placet atque utile erit attingere. Hoc namque 'substantia novi testamenti' a sacris doctoribus appellatur, mysterium videlicet unum omnium maximum, quippe omnium veluti fons et caput; cuius cognoscendi contemplandique causa, in coelo angeli, in terris homines procreati sunt, quod, in testamento veteri adumbratum, ut manifestius doceret, ab angelis

¹ Iob xxvi. 13.

² Sap. i. 7.

³ S. Leo M., *ser. II. in anniv. ass. suae.*

⁴ *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. xvi., n. 39.

ad homines Deus ipse descendit : ' Deum nemo vidit unquam : Unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit.'¹ Quisquis igitur de Trinitate scribit aut dicit, illud ob oculos teneat oportet quod prudenter monet Angelicus : ' Quum de Trinitate loquimur cum cautela et modestia est agendum, quia, ut Augustinus dicit, nec periculosius alicubi erratur, nec laboriosius aliquid quaeritur, nec fructuosius aliquid invenitur.'² Periculum autem ex eo fit, ne in fide aut in cultu vel divinae inter se Personae confundantur, vel unica in ipsis natura separetur : nam, ' fides catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur.' Quare Innocentius XII. decessor Noster, sollemnia quaedam honori Patris propria postulanti bus omnino negavit. Quod si singula Incarnati Verbi mysteria certis diebus festis celebrantur, non tamen proprio ullo festo celebratur Verbum, secundum divinam tantum naturam : atque ipsa etiam Pentecostes sollemnia non ideo inducta antiquitus sunt, ut Spiritus Sanctus per se simpliciter honoraretur, sed ut eiusdem recoleretur adventus sive externa missio. Quae quidem omnia sapienti consilio sancita sunt, ne quis forte a distinguendis Personis ad divinam essentiam distinguendam prolaberetur. Quin etiam Ecclesia ut in fidei integritate filios contineret, sanctissimae Trinitatis festum instituit, quod Ioannes XXII. deinde iussit ubique agendum ; tum altaria et templa eidem dicari permisit ; atque Ordinem religionum captivis redimendis, qui Trinitati devotus omnino est eiusque titulo gaudet, non sine coelesti nutu rite comprobavit. Multaque rem confirmant. Cultus enim qui sanctis Coelitibus atque Angelis, qui Virgini Deiparae, qui Christo tribuitur, is demum in Trinitatem ipsam redundat et desinit. In precationibus quae uni Personae adhibentur, item de ceteris mentio est ; in forma supplicationum, singulis quidem Personis seorsum invocatis, communis earum invocatio subiicitur ; psalmis hymnisque idem omnibus praeconium accedit in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum : benedictiones, ritus, sacramenta comitatur aut conficit sanctae imploratio Trinitatis. Atque haec ipsa iampridem Apostolus praemonuerat in ea sententia : ' Quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia ; ipsi gloria in saecula ;'³ inde significans Personarum trinitatem, hinc unitatem affirmans naturae quae quum una eademque singulis sit Personis, ideo singulis, tamquam uni eidemque Deo, aeterna aeque maiestatis gloria

¹ Ioann. i. 18.

² *Summa, th. 1^a, q. xxxi. a. 2. De Trin., l. i., c. 3.*

³ Rom. xi. 36.

debetur. Quod testimonium edisserens Augustinus: 'Non confuse,' inquit, 'accipiendum est quod ait Apostolus, ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso; ex ipso dicens propter Patrem, per ipsum propter Filium, in ipso propter Spiritum Sanctum.'¹ Aptissimeque Ecclesia, ea Divinitatis opera in quibus potentia excellit, tribuere Patri, ea in quibus excellit sapientia, tribuere Filio, ea in quibus excellit amor, Spiritu Sancto tribueri consuevit. Non quod perfectiones cunctae atque opera extrinsecus edita Personis divinis communia non sint; sunt enim 'indivisa opera Trinitatis, sicut et indivisa est Trinitatis essentia.'² quia, uti tres Personae divinae inseparabiles sunt, ita inseparabiliter operantur:³ verum quod ex comparatione quadam et prope-modum affinitate quae inter opera ipsa et Personarum proprietates intercedit, ea alteri potius quam alteris addicuntur sive, ut aiunt, appropriantur: 'Sicut similitudine vestigii vel imaginis in creaturis inventa, utimur ad manifestationem divinarum Personarum, ita et essentialibus attributis; et haec manifestatio Personarum per essentialia attributa appropriatio dicitur.'⁴ Hoc modo Pater qui est 'principium totius Deitatis.'⁵ idem causa est effectrix universitatis rerum et Incarnationis Verbi et sanctificationis animorum, 'ex ipso sunt omnia;' ex ipso, propter Patrem. Filius autem, 'Verbum, Imago Dei,' idem est causa exemplaris unde res omnes formam et pulchritudinem, ordinem et concentum imitantur; qui extitit nobis via, veritas, vita, hominis cum Deo reconciliator, 'per ipsum sunt omnia;' per ipsum, propter Filium. Spiritus vero Sanctus idem est omnium rerum causa ultima, eo quia sicut in fine suo voluntas lateque omnia conquiescunt, non aliter ille, qui divina bonitas est ac Patris ipsa Filiique inter se caritas, arcana ea opera de salute hominum sempiterna, impulsionem quadam valida suavique complet et perficit, 'in ipso sunt omnia;' in ipso, propter Spiritum Sanctum.

Rite igitur inviolateque custodito religionis studio, toti debito Trinitati beatissimae, quod magis magisque in christiano populo aequum est inculcari, ad virtutem Spiritus Sancti exponendam oratio Nostra convertitur. Ac principio respici oportet ad Christum, conditorem Ecclesiae et nostri generis Redemptorem. Sane in operibus Dei externis illud eximie praestat Incarnati Verbi mysterium, in quo divinarum perfectionum sic emitet lux

¹ *De Trin.*, l. vi., c. 10; l. i., c. 6.

² *S. Aug., de Trin.*, l. i., c. 4 et 5.

³ *S. Aug., ib.*

⁴ *S. Th.* 1^a, q. xxxix., a. 7.

⁵ *S. Aug., de Trin.*, l. iv., c. 20.

ut quidquam supra ne cogitari quidem possit, et quo aliud nullum humanae naturae esse poterat salutaris. Hoc igitur tantum opus, etsi totius Trinitatis fuit, attamen Spiritui Sancto tamquam proprium adscribitur: ita ut de Virgine sic Evangelia commemorent: 'Inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto:' et: 'Quod in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est.' Idque merito adscribitur ei qui Patris et Filii est caritas; quum hoc 'magnum pietatis Sacramentum' sit a summa Dei erga homines caritate profectum, prout Ioannes commemorat: 'Sic Deus dilexit mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret.' Accedit quod natura humana execta inde sit ad coniunctionem 'personalem' cum Verbo: quae dignitas non ullis quidem data est: eius promeritis, sed ex integra plane gratia, proptereaque ex munere veluti proprio Spiritus Sancti. Ad rem apposite Augustinus: 'Iste modus,' inquit, 'quo est natus Christus de Spiritu Sancto, insinuat nobis gratiam Dei, quia homo nullis praecedentibus meritis, in ipso primo exordio naturae suae quo esse coepit, Verbo Dei copularetur in tantam personae unitatem, ut idem ipse esset Filius Dei qui Filius hominis, et Filius hominis qui Filius Dei.'⁴ Divini autem Spiritus opera non solum conceptio Christi effecta est, sed eius quoque sanctificatio animae, quae 'unctio' in sacris libris nominatur: 'atque adeo omnis eius actio 'praesente Spiritu peragebatur.'⁵ praecipueque sacrificium sui: 'Per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo.'⁶ Ista qui perpenderit, nihil erit ei mirum quod charismata omnia almi Spiritus in animam Christi affluerint. Namque in ipso copia insedit gratiae singulariter plena, quanto maximo videlicet modo atque efficacitate haberi possit: in ipso omnes sapientiae scientiaeque thesauri, gratiae gratis datae, virtutes, donaque omnino omnia quae tum Isaiæ oraculis nunciata, tum significata sunt admirabili ea columba ad Iordanem, quum eas aquas suo Christus baptismo ad sacramentum novum consecravit. Quo loco illa eiusdem Augustini recte conveniunt: 'Absurdissimum est dicere quod Christus, quum iam triginta esset annorum, accepit Spiritum Sanctum, sed venit ad baptismum sicut sine peccato, ita non sine Spiritu Sancto. Tunc ergo,' scilicet in baptismo, 'corpus suum, id est Ecclesiam, praefigurari dignatus est, in qua praecipue

¹ Matth. i, 18, 20.

² 1 Tim. iii, 16.

³ iii, 16.

⁴ *Enchir.*, c. xl. S. Th. 3^a, q. xxxii., a 1.

⁵ Actor. x. 38.

⁶ S. Basil. *de Sp. S.*, c. xvi.

⁷ Hebr. ix. 14.

⁸ iv. 1; xi. 2, 3.

baptizati accipiunt Spiritum Sanctum.¹ Itaque Spiritus Sancte et praesentia conspicua super Christam et virtute intima in anima eius, duplex eiusdem Spiritus praesignificatur missio, ea nimirum quae in Ecclesia manifesto patet, et ea quae in animis iustorum secreto illapsu exercetur.

Ecclesia, quae iam concepta, ex latere ipso secundi Adami, velut in cruce dormientis, orta erat, sese in lucem hominum insigni modo prinitus dedit die celeberrima Pentecostes. Ipsaque die beneficia sua Spiritus Sanctus in mystico Christi corpore prodere coepit, ea mira effusione quam Isai propheta iampridem viderat: ² nam Paraclitus 'sedit super Apostolos ut novae coronae spirituales per linguas igneas imponerentur capiti illorum.'³ Tum vero Apostoli 'de monte descenderunt,' ut Chrysostomus scribit, 'non tabulas lapideas in manibus portantes, sicut Moyses, sed Spiritum in mente circumferentes, et thesaurum quemdam ac fontem dogmatum et charismatum effundentes.'⁴ Ita plane eveniebat illud extremum Christi ad Apostolos suos promissum de Spiritu Sancto mittendo, qui doctrinae, ipso afflante, traditae completurus ipse esset et quodammodo obsignaturus depositum: 'Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo: quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.'⁵ Hic enim qui Spiritus est veritatis, utpote simul a Patre, qui verum aeternum est, simul a Filio, qui veritas est substantialis, procedens, haurit ab utroque una cum essentia omnem veritatis quanta est amplitudinem: quam quidem veritatem impertit ac largitur Ecclesiae, auxilio praesentissimo providens ut ipsa ne ulli unquam errori obnoxia sit, utque divinae doctrinae germinare copiosius in dies possit et frugifera praestare ad populorum salutem. Et quoniam populorum salus, ad quam nata est Ecclesia, plane postulat ut haec munus idem in perpetuitatem temporum persequatur, perennis idecirco vita atque virtus a Spiritu Sancto suppetit, quae Ecclesiam conservat augetque: 'Ego rogabo Patrem, et alium Paraclitum dabit vobis, ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis.'⁶ Ab ipso namque episcopi constituuntur, quorum ministerio non modo filii generantur, sed etiam patres, sacerdotes videlicet, ad eam regendam

¹ *De Trin.*, l. xv., c. 26.

² *ii.* 28, 29.

³ *Cyr. hierosol. catech.* 17.

⁴ *In Matth. hom. i.*, 2 Cor. iii. 3.

⁵ *Ioan.* xvi. 12, 13.

⁶ *Ib.*, xiv. 16, 17.

enutriendisque eodem sanguine quo est a Christo redempta : ' Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo.' ¹ Utrique autem, episcopi et sacerdotes, insigni Spiritus munere id habent ut peccata pro potestate delcant, secundum illud Christi ad Apostolos : ' Accipite Spiritum Sanctum ; quorum remisistis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.' ² Porro Ecclesiam opus esse plane divinum, alio nullo argumento praeclarius constat quam charismatum quibus undique illa ornatur splendore et gloria ; auctore nimirum et datore Spiritu Sancto. Atque hoc affirmare sufficiat, quod quum Christus caput sit Ecclesiae, Spiritus Sanctus sit eius anima : ' Quod est in corpore nostro anima, id est Spiritus Sanctus in corpore Christi, quod est Ecclesia.' ³ Quae ita quum sint, nequaquam comminisci et expectare licet aliam ullam ampliorem uberioremque ' divini Spiritus manifestationem et ostensionem' : quae enim nunc in Ecclesia habetur, maxima sane est, eaque tandiu manebit quoad Ecclesiae contingat ut, militiae emensa stadium, ad triumphantium in coelesti societate laetitiam educatur.

Quantum vero et quo modo Spiritus Sanctus in animis singulorum agat, id non minus admirabile est, quamquam intellectu paulo est difficilius, eo etiam quia omnem intuitum fugiat oculorum. Haec pariter Spiritus effusio tantae est copiae, ut Christus ipse, cuius de munere proficiscitur, abundantissimo anni similem dixerit, prout est apud Ioannum : ' Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae' : cui testimonio idem Evangelista explanationem subiicit : ' Hoc autem dixit de Spiritu, quem accepturi erant credentes in eum.' ⁴ Certum quidem est, in ipsis etiam hominibus iustis qui ante Christum fuerunt, insedissee per gratiam Spiritum Sanctum, quemadmodum de prophetis, de Zacharia, de Ioanne Baptista, de Simeone et Anna scriptum accepimus ; quippe in Pentecoste non ita se Spiritus Sanctus tribuit, ' ut tunc primum esse sanctorum inhabitator inciperet, sed ut copiosius inundaret, cumulans sua dona, non inchoans, nec ideo novus opere, quia ditior largitate.' ⁵ Verum, si et illi in filiis Dei numerabantur, conditione tamen perinde erant ac servi, quia etiam filius ' nihil differt a servo,' quousque est ' sub tutoribus et actoribus : ' ⁶ ac,

¹ Act. xx. 28.

² Ioann. xx. 22, 23.

³ S. Aug., *serm. clxxxvii., de temp.*

⁴ vii. 38, 39.

⁵ S. Leo M. *hom. iii. de Pentec.*

⁶ Gal. iv. 1, 2.

praeter quam quod iustitia in illis non erat nisi ex Christi meritis adventuri, communicatio Spiritus Sancti post Christum facta multo est copiosior, propemodum ut arram pretio vincit res pacta, atque ut imagini longe praestat veritas. Hoc propterea affirmavit Ioannes: 'Nondum erat Spiritus datus, quia Iesus nondum erat glorificatus.'¹ Statim igitur ut Christus, 'ascendens in altum,' regni sui gloria tam laboriose parta potitus est, divitias Spiritus Sancti munifice reclusit, 'dedit dona hominibus.'² Nam 'certa illa Spiritus Sancti datio vel missio post clarificationem Christi futura erat qualis nunquam antea fuerat, neque enim antea nulla fuerat, sed talis non fuerat.'³ Siquidem natura humana necessario serva est Dei: 'Creatura serva est, servi nos Dei sumus secundum naturam:'⁴ quin etiam ob communem noxam natura nostra omnis in id vitium dedecusque prolapsa est, ut praeterea infensi Deo extiterimus: 'Eramus natura filii irae.'⁵ Tali nos a ruina exitioque sempiterno nulla usquam vis tanta erat quae posset erigere et vindicare. Id vero Deus, humanae naturae conditor, summe misericors praestitit per Unigenam suum: cuius beneficio factum, ut homo in gradum nobilitatemque, unde exciderat, cum donorum locupletiore ornatu sit restitutus. Eloqui nemo potest quale sit opus istud divinae gratiae in animis hominum; qui propterea loculenter tum in sacris litteris tum apud Ecclesiae patres, et regenerati et creaturae novae et consortes divinae naturae et filii Dei et deifici similibusque laudibus appellantur. Iamvero tam ampla bona non sine causa debentur quasi propria Spiritui Sancto. Ipse enim est 'Spiritus adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater;' idemque paterni amoris suavitate corda perfundit: 'Ipse Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei.'⁶ Cui rei declarandae opportune cadit ea, quam Angelicus perspexit, similitudo inter utramque Spiritus Sancti operam; quippe per eum ipsum et 'Christus est in sanctitate conceptus ut esset Filius Dei naturalis,' et 'alii sanctificentur ut sint filii Dei adoptivi.'⁷ Ita, multo quidem nobilior quam in rerum natura fiat, ab amore oritur spiritualis regeneratio, ab Amore scilicet increato.

Huius regenerationis et renovationis initia sunt homini per

¹ vii. 39.

² Eph. iv. 8.

³ S. Aug., *de Trin.*, I, iv., c. 20.

⁴ S. Cyr. Alex., *Thesaur.* I. v., c. 5.

⁵ Eph. ii. 3.

⁶ Rom. viii. 15, 16.

⁷ S. Th. 3, q. xxxii., a. 1.

baptisma : in quo sacramento, spiritu immundo ab anima depulso, illabitur primum Spiritus Sanctus, eamque similem sibi facit : ‘Quod natum est ex Spiritu, spiritus est.’¹ Ueberiusque per sacram confirmationem, ad constantiam et robur christianae vitae, sese dono dat idem Spiritus ; a quo nimirum fuit victoria martyrum et virginum de illecebris corruptelarum triumphus. Sese, inquit, dono dat Spiritus Sanctus : ‘Caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis.’² Ipse enimvero non modo affert nobis divina munera, sed eorundem est auctor, atque etiam munus ipse est supremum ; qui a mutuo Patris Filiique amore procedens iure habetur, et nuncupatur ‘altissimi donum Dei.’ Cuius doni natura et vis quo illustrius patet, revocare oportet ea quae in divinis litteris tradita sacri doctores explicaverunt, Deum videlicet adesse rebus omnibus in eisque esse, ‘per potentiam, in quantum omnia eius potestati subduntur : per praesentiam, in quantum omnia nuda sunt et aperta oculis eius ; per essentiam, in quantum adest omnibus ut causa essendi.’³ At vero in homine est Deus non tantummodo ut in rebus, sed eo amplius cognoscitur ab ipso et diligitur ; quum vel duce natura bonum sponte amemus, cupiamus, conquiramus. Praeterea Deus ex gratia insidet animae iustae tanquam in templo, modo penitus intimo et singulari ; ex quo etiam sequitur ea necessitudo caritatis, qua Deo adhaeret anima coniunctissime, plus quam amico amicus possit benevolenti maxime et dilecto, eoque plene suaviterque fruitur. Haec autem mira coniunctio, quae suo nomine ‘inhabitatio’ dicitur, conditione tantum non statim ab ea discrepans qua coelites Deus beando complectitur, tametsi verissime efficitur praesenti totius Trinitatis numine, ‘ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum habemus.’⁴ attamen de Spiritu Sancto tanquam peculiaris praedicatur. Siquidem divinae et potentiae et sapientiae vel in homine improbo apparent vestigia ; caritatis, quae propria Spiritus veluti nota est, alius nemini nisi iustus est particeps. Atque illud cum re cohaeret, eundem Spiritum nominari Sanctum, ideo etiam quod ipse, primus summusque Amor, animos moveat agoque ad sanctitatem, quae demum amore in Deum conficitur. Quapropter Apostolus quum iustos appellat templum Dei, tales non expressit Patris aut Filii appellati, sed Spiritus

¹ Ioann. iii. 7.² Rom. v. 5.³ S. Th. 1^a, q. viii., a. 3.⁴ Ioann. xiv. 23.

Sancti : ‘An nescitis quoniam membra vestra templum sunt Spiritus Sancti, qui in vobis est, quem habetis a Deo?’¹ Inhabitantem in animis piis Spiritum Sanctum ubertas munerum coelestium multis modis consequitur. Nam, quae est Aquinatis doctrina : ‘Quum Spiritus Sanctus procedat ut amor, procedit in ratione doni primi : unde dicit Augustinus, quod per donum quod est Spiritus Sanctus, multa propria dona dividuntur membris Christi.’² In his autem muneribus sunt arcanæ illae admonitiones invitationesque, quae instinctu Sancti Spiritus identidem in mentibus animisque excitantur ; quae si desint, neque initium viae bonae habetur, neque progressiones, neque exitus salutis aeternae. Et quoniam huiusmodi voces et motiones occulte admodum in animis fiunt, apte in sacris paginis similes nonnunquam habentur venientis auræ sibilo : easque Doctor Angelicus scite confert motibus cordis, cuius tota vis est in animante perabditā : ‘Cor habet quamdam influentiam occultam, et ideo cordi comparatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui invisibiliter Ecclesiam vivificat et unit.’³ Hoc amplius, homini iusto, vitam scilicet viventi divinae gratiae et per congruas virtutes tamquam facultates agenti, opus plane est septenis illis quae proprie dicuntur Spiritus Sancti donis. Porum enim beneficio instruitur animus et munitur ut eius vocibus atque impulsioni facilius promptiusque obsequatur ; haec propterea dona tantae sunt efficacitatis ut eum ad fastigium sanctimoniae adducant, tantaque excellentiae ut in coelesti regno eadem quamquam perfectius, perseverent. Ipsorumque ope charismatum provocatur animus et effertur ad appetendas adipiscendasque beatitudines evangelicas quae, perinde ac flores verno tempore erumpentes, indices ac nunciae sunt beatitudinis perpetuo mansurae. Felices denique sunt fructus ii, ab Apostole enumerati,⁴ quos hominibus iustis in hac etiam caduca vita Spiritus parit et exhibet, omni refertos dulcedine et gaudio ; cuiusmodi esse debent a Spiritu, ‘qui est in Trinitate genitoris genitique suavitas, ingenti largitate atque ubertate perfundens omnes creaturas.’⁵ Itaque divinus Spiritus in aeterno sanctitatis lumine a Patre et a Verbo procedens, amor idem et donum, postquam se per velamen imaginum in testamento veteri exhibuit, plenam sui copiam effudit in Christum in

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 19.

² *Summ. th.* 1^a q. xxxviii., a. 2. S. Aug., *de Trin.*, l. xv., c. 19.

³ *Summ. th.* 3^a, q. viii., a. 1, ad 3.

⁴ Gal. v. 22.

⁵ S. Aug., *de Trin.*, l. vi., c. 9.

eiusque corpus mysticum, quae est Ecclesia : atque homines in pravitatem et corruptelam abeuntes praesentia et gratia sua tam salutaciter revocavit, ut iam non de terra terreni, longe alia saperent et vellent, quasi de coelo coelestes.

Haec omnia quum tanta sint, quumque Spiritus Sancti bonitatem in nos inmensam luculenter declarent, omnino postulant a nobis, ut obsequii pietatisque studium in eum quam maxime intendamus. Id autem christiani homines recte optimeque efficient, si eundem certaverint maiore quotidie cura et noscere et amare et exorare : cuius rei gratia sit haec ad ipsos, prout sponte fuit paterno ex animo, cohortatio. — Fortasse ne hodie quidem in eis desunt, qui similiter rogati ut quidam olim a Paulo apostolo, acceperint Spiritum Sanctum, respondeant similiter : ‘Sed neque si Spiritus Sanctus est, audivimus.’¹ Sin minus, multi certe in eius cognitione valde deficient : cuius quidem crebro usurpant nomen in religiosis actibus exercendis, sed ea fide quae crassis tenebris circumfusa est. Quapropter quotquot sunt sacri concionatores curatoresque animarum hoc meminerint esse suum, ut quae ad Spiritum Sanctum pertinent diligentius atque uberius populo tradant ; sic tamen ut difficiles subtilesque absint controversiae, et prava eorum stultitia devitetur qui omnia etiam arcana divina temere conantur perscrutari. Illud potius commemorandum enucleateque explanandum est, quam multa et magna beneficia ab hoc largitore divino et manaverint ad nos et manare non desinant ; ut vel error vel ignoratio tantarum rerum, ‘lucis filiis’ indigna, prorsus depellatur. Hoc autem propterea urgemus, non modo quia id attingit mysterium quo ad vitam aeternam proxime dirigimur, ob eamque rem firme credendum ; verum etiam quia bonum quo clarius pleniusque habetur cognitum, eo impensius diligitur et amatur. — Nempe Spiritui Sancto, quod alterum praestandum esse monuimus, debetur amor, quia Deus est : ‘Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua et ex tota fortitudine tua.’² Amandusque idem est, quippe substantialis, aeternus, plenus amor ; amore autem nihil est amabilius : multoque id magis quia summus ipse nos cumulavit beneficiis, quae ut largientis benevolentiam testantur, ita gratum animum accipientis reponunt. Qui amor duplicem habet utilitatem neque eam exiguum. Nam tum ad illustriorem in dies notitiam de Spiritu Sancto capiendam nos exacuet ; ‘Amans’

¹ Act. xix. 2.

² Deut. vi. 5.

enim, ut Angelicus ait, 'non est contentus superficiali apprehensione amati, sed nititur singula quae ad amatum pertinent intrinsecus disquirere, et sic ad interiora eius ingreditur, sicut de Spiritu Sancto, qui est amor Dei, dicitur quod scrutatur etiam profunda Dei;' ¹ tum coelestium donorum copiam nobis conciliabit largiorem, eo quod donantis manum ut angustus animus contrahit, ita gratus et memor dilitat. Curandum tamen magnopere ut iste amor eiusmodi sit qui non in cogitatione arida externoque obsequio subsistat, sed ad agendum prosiliat, refugiat maxime a culpa; quum haec Spiritui Sancto, peculiari quodam nomine, accidat iniuriosior. Quancumque enim sumus, tanti sumus ex bonitati divina; quae eidem Spiritui praesertim adscribitur; hunc benigne sibi facientem is offendit qui peccat, quique ipsis eius abusus muneribus et bonitati confusus, quotidie magis insolescit. —Ad haec, quum veritatis ille sit Spiritus, si quis ex infirmitate aut incitia deliquerit, forsitan excusationis aliquid apud Deum habeat; at qui per malitiam veritati repugnet ab eaque se avertat, in Spiritum Sanctum peccat gravissime. Quod quidem aetate nostra increbruit adeo, ut deterrima ea tempora advenisse videantur a Paulo praenunciata, quibus homines iustissimo Dei iudicio obcaecati, falsa pro veris habituri sint, et 'huius mundi principi,' qui mendax est et mendacii pater, tamquam veritatis magistro credituri: 'Mittet illis Deus operationem erroris ut credant mendacio;' ² 'in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum.' ³ — Quoniam vero Spiritus Sanctus in nobis, ut supra monuimus, quasi suo quodam in templo habitat, suadendum est illud Apostoli: 'Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei in quo signati, estis.' ⁴ Idque ipsum non satis est, indigna omnia defugere, sed omni virtutum laude christianus homo nitere debet ut hospiti tam magno tanque benigno placeat, castimonia in primis et sanctitudine; casta enim et sancta addecent templum. Hinc idem Apostolus: 'Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis? Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus; templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos.' ⁵ formidolosae eae quidem, sed perquam iustae minae. — Postremo, Spiritum Sanctum exorari et obsecrari oportet, quippe cuius praesidio adiumentisque nemo unus non egeat maxime. Ut enim quisque est inops consilii, viribus infirmus, aerumnis pressus,

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 10. — *Summ. th.* 1^a 2^{ae}, q. xxviii, a. 2.

² 2 Thess. ii. 10.

³ 1 Tim. iv, 1.

⁴ Eph. iv. 30.

⁵ 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.

prout in votum, ita ad eum confugere debet qui luminis, patri-
tradinis, consolationis, sanctitatis fons patet perennis. Atque illi
homini in primis necessaria, admissorum venia ab eo potissimum
expetenda est: 'Spiritus Sancti proprium est quod sit donum
Patris et Filii: remissio autem peccatorum fit per Spiritum
Sanctum, tamquam per donum Dei:'¹ de quo Spiritu apertius
habetur in ordine rituali: 'Ipsa est remissio omnium peccato-
rum.'² — Quanam vero ratione sit exorandus, perapte docet
Ecclesia, quae supplex eum compellat et obtestatur suavis imis
quibusque, nominibus: 'Veni pater pauperum, veni dator mone-
rum, veni lumen cordium: consolator optime, dulcis hospes
animae, dulce refrigerium:' eundemque enixe implorat ut eluat,
ut sanet, ut irriget mentes atque corda, detque confidentibus et
'virtutis meritum' et 'salutis exitum' et 'perenne gaudium.'
Nec dubitare ullo pacto licet an huiusmodi preces auditurus ille
sit, quo auctore scriptum legimus: 'Ipsa Spiritus postulat pro
nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus.'³ Denique hoc est fidenter assi-
dueque supplicandum, ut nos quotidie magis et luce sua illustret
et caritatis suae quasi facibus incendat: sic enim fide et amore
freti acriter enitamur adpraemia sempiterna, quoniam ipse 'est
pignus hereditatis nostra.'⁴

Habetis, Venerabiles Frates, quae ad fovendum Spiritus
Sancti cultum monendo hortandoque placuit edicere: minimeque
dubitamus, quin ope praesertim navitatis sollertiaeque vestrae
praeclaros in christiano populo sint fructus latura. Nostra
quidem tantae huic rei persequendae nulla unquam defutura est
opera, atque etiam consilium est ut, quibus subinde modis videbi-
tur opportunius, idem pietatis studium tam praestabile alamus et
provehamus. Interea, quoniam biennio ante, datis litteris 'Pro-
vida matris,'⁵ peculiare preces, easque ad maturandum chris-
tianae unitatis bonum, in sollemnibus Pentecostes catholicis
commendavimus, libet de hoc ipso capite ampliora quae iam de-
cernere. Decernimus igitur et mandamus ut per orbem catholi-
cum universum, hoc anno itemque annis in perpetuum conse-
quentibus, supplicatio novendialis ante Pentecosten, in omnibus
curialibus templis et, si Ordinarii locorum utile iudicaverint, in aliis
etiam templis sacrariisve fiat. Omnibus autem qui eidem noven-
diali supplicationi interfuerint, et ad mentem Nostram rite

¹ *Summ. th.* 3^a q. iii. a. 8, ad 3^m.

² *In Miss. rom. fer. iii. post Pent.*

³ *Rom. viii. 26.*

⁴ *Eph. i. 14.*

⁵ *Cf. Anal. Eccl., vol. iii., p. 193.*

oraverint, eis annorum septem septemque quadragenarum apud Deum indulgentiam in singulos dies concedimus; tum plenariam in uno quolibet eorundem dierum vel festo ipso die Pentecostes, vel etiam quolibet ex octo subsequentibus, modo rite confessione abluti sacraque communione refecti ad eandem mentem Nostram pie supplicaverint. Quibus beneficiis frui pariter eos posse volumus quos publicis illis precibus legitima causa prohibeat, vel ubi non ita commode, secundum Ordinarii prudentiam, in tempore fieri possit: dum tamen supplicationi novendiali privatim detur opera ceteraeque conditiones expleantur. Hoc praeterea placet de thesauro Ecclesiae in perpetuum tribuere, ut si qui vel publice vel privatim preces aliquas ad Spiritum Sanctum pro pietate suae iterum praestent quotidie per octavam Pentecostes ad festum inclusive sanctae Trinitatis, ceterisque ut supra conditionibus rite satisfecerint, ipsis liceat utramque iterum consequi indulgentiam. Quae omnia indulgentiae munera etiam animabus piis igni purgatorio addictis converti in suffragium posse, misericorditer in Domino concedimus.

Iam Nobis mens animusque ad ea revolat vota quae initio aperuimus; quorum eventum summis precibus a divino Spiritu flagitamus, flagitabimus. Agite, Venerabiles Fratres, Nostris cum precibus vestras consocietis, vobisque hortatoribus universae christianae gentes coniungant suas, adhibita conciliatrice potenti et peraccepta Virgine Beatissima. Quae ipsi rationes cum Spiritu Sancto intercedant intimae admirabilesque, probe nostis: ut Sponsa eius immaculata merito nominetur. Ipsius deprecatio Virginis multum profecto valuit et ad mysterium Incarnationis et ad eiusdem Paracliti in Apostolorum coronam adventum. Communes igitur preces pergat ipsa suffragio suo benignissima roborare, ut in universitate nationum tam misere laborantium divina rerum prodigia per alium Spiritum feliciter instaurentur, quae vaticinatione Davidica sunt celebrata: 'Emittes Spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renovabis faciem terrae.'¹—Coelestium vero donorum auspicem et benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero populoque vestro Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die ix Maii anno MDCCCLXXXVII, Pontificatus Nostri vigesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ Ps. ciii. 30.

IN PRAISE OF FRUGAL LIVING

A NEW POEM BY HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII.

PARCO AC TENUI VICTU CONTENTUS INGLUVIEM FUGE

AD FABRICIUM RUTUM EPISTOLA

Quo victu immunem morbis, et robore vitam

Ducere florentem possis, sermone disertio

Sedulus Hippocratis cultor rigidusque satelles

Haec nuper praecepta bonus tradebat Ofellus ;

Multa et de tristi ingluvie gravis ore locutus.

Munditiae imprimis studeas ; sine divite cultu

Mensa tibi, nitidae lances et candida mappa.—

Albana e cella iubeas purissima vina

Apponi ; exhilarant animos curasque resolvunt ;

Sobrius at caveas, nimium ne crede lyaeo,

Neu crebra pigeat calices perfundere lymphæ.—

E munda cerere atque excoctos delige panes.—

Quas Gallina dapes et bos agnusve pararint,

Sume libens ; firmandis viribus utilis esca :

Sint tenerae carnes ; instructaque fercula spissum

Non ius vel siser inficiat, non faccula coa.—

Tum laudata tibi sint ova recentia, succum

Lento igne aut libeat modicis siccare patellis,

Sugere seu mollem pleno sit gratius ore ;

Atque alios sunt ova tibi percommoda in usus.—

Neve accepta minus spumantis copia lactis :

Nutrit infantem ; senior bene lacte valebis.—

Nunc age, et acrei mellis caelestia dona

Profer, et hyblaeo parcus de nectare liba.—

Adde suburbano tibi quod succrescit in horto

Dulce olus, et pubens decusso flore legumen ;

Adde et maturos, quos fertilis educat annus,

Delectos fructus, imprimis mitia poma,

Quae pulcre in cistis mensam rubicunda coronent.—

Postremo e tostis succedat potio baccis,

Quas tibi Moka ferax, mittunt et littora eoa :

Nigrantem laticem sensim summisque labellis

Sorbilla ; dulcis stomachum bene molliet haustus.

De tenui victu haec teneas, his utere tutus ;

Ad seram ut vivas sanus vegetusque senectam.

At contra (haec sapiens argute addebat Ofellus)

Nectere nata dolos, homines et perdere nata

Vitanda ingluvies, crudelis et improba siren.

Principio hoc illi studium ; componere mensas

Ornato vario, aulaeis ostroque nitentes.

Explicat ipsa viden' tonsis mantelia villis ;

Grandia stant circum longo ordine pocula, aheni

Crateres, paterae, lances, argentea vasa :

Mensa thymo atque apio redolet florumque corollis.—

His laute instructis, simulata voce locuta

Convivas trahit incautos ; succedere tecto,

Mollibus et blanda invitat discumbere lectis ;

Centinuoque reposta cadis lectissima vina

Caecuba depromit, cumque vetusque falernum ;

Quin exquisitas stillatos arte liquores

E musto et pomis, ultro potantibus offert.

Convivae humectant certatim guttura, et una

Succosas avido degustant ore placentas.

Ecce autem lucanus aper perfusus abunde

Mordaci pipere atque oleo, profertur edendus,

Et leporum pingues armi, et iecur anseris albi,

Assique in veribus turdi, niveique columbi.

Carnibus admixti pisces ; conchylii rhombi,

Mollia pectinibus patulis iuncta ostrea, et ampla

In patera squillas inter muraena natantes.—

Attonitis inhiant oculis ; saturantur opime ;

Cuncta vorant usque ad fastidia ; iamque lyaeo

Inflati venas nimio, dapibusque gravati

Surgunt convivae, temere bacchantur in aula,

Insana et pugiles inter se iurgia miscent,

Defessi donec lymphata mente quiescunt.

Laeta dolum Ingluvies ridet, jam facta suorum

Compos votorum, et gaudet, memor artis iniquae,

Ceu nautas tumida pereuntes aequoris unda,

Mergere convivas miseros sub gurgite tanto.

Nam subito exsudent praecordia, et excita bilis

E iecore in stomachum larga affluit, ilia torquet,

Immanemque ciet commoto ventre tumultum ;

Membra labant incerta, stupent pallentia et ora.

Corpore sic misere exhausto fractoque, quid ultra

Audeat ingluvies ? Ipsum, proh dedecus ! ipsum

Figere humo, ac (tantum si fas) extinguere malit

Immortalem animum, divinae particulam aerae.

**PRELATES HAVING A RIGHT TO A PRIVATE ORATORY CAN
HAVE PERMISSION TO CELEBRATE ONE REQUIEM MASS
EACH WEEK**

FACULTAS APPLICANDI LITANDI UNAM MISSAM 'DE REQUIE' IN
HEBDOMADA

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., ad levamen animarum quae in Purgatorio detinentur, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi facultatem indulgere dignatus est, qua singulis petentibus S. R. E. Cardinalibus, Episcopis, aliisque Praelatis, quibus Oratorii privati privilegium de iure competit, permitti possit in eodem Oratorio unica Missa privata de Requite, defunctis applicanda, infra hebdomadam diebus non impeditis a Festo ritus duplicis, quod iure translationis pollet, a Dominicis aliisque Festis de praecepto servandis, nec non a Vigiliis, Feriis Octavisque privilegiatis: et servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die, 8 Iunii, 1896.

**NON-LITURGICAL LITANIES MAY NOT BE RECITED OR
SUNG IN A CHURCH OR PUBLIC ORATORY**

MONTIS ALBANI, DUBIUM QUOAD LITANIAS SANCTORUM

Remus Dominus Adolphus Fiard Episcopus Montis Albani a S. Congr. sequentis dubii solutionem humillime flagitavit, nimirum: Utrum prohibitio recitandi aut cantandi in Ecclesiis seu Oratoriis publicis Litanias, de quibus agitur in Decretis S. Rit. Congregationis 6 Martii 1894 et 28 Nov. 1895,¹ complectatur etiam quamlibet earum recitationem, a pluribus coniunctim in Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis publicis, absque ministri Ecclesiae, *qualis*, interventu factam?

Et S. eadem Congr. referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibus mature perpensis, ad propositum dubium respondendum censuit. *Affirmative.*

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 20 Iunii 1896.

G. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *Secretarius.*

INDULGENCES FOR CERTAIN PRAYERS

URBIS ET CRBIS. DECRETUM EX AUDIENTIA SANCTISSIMI DIE
2 FEBRUarii 1897 QUOAD LAUDEM, CUIUS INITIUM EST 'DIO SIA
BENEDETTO'

Iam diu apud Christifideles, praesertim Italos, ea in more est piarum laudum formula, cuius initium, 'Dio sia benedetto': qui religionis actus, praeter quam per se optimus, etiam opportune valet, quemadmodum initio institutus fuit, ad honorem compensandum divini Nominis rerumque sanctissimarum, tam multis quotidie implis vocibus passim violatum. Proximis autem temporibus inductum est multis locis, Episcoporum concessu vel iussu, ut ea ipsa formula recitetur publice in ecclesia, sive ad benedictionem cum Venerabili Sacramento impertitam, sive post divini sacrificii celebrationem. Huiusmodi increbrescentem consuetudinem SS^{mus} Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII. non semel, data occasione, probavit et commendavit. Nuper vero, quo illam vehementius commendaret eoque amplius foveret, constituit, tum eidem formulae laudem interserere in sacratissimum Cor Iesu, tum augere munera sacrae Indulgentiae, quibus ea donata est a Decessoribus suis sa. me. Pio VII. et Pio IX. Alter enim die 23 Iulii 1801 concessit 'indulgentiam unius anni pro qualibet vice laudes eas corde saltem contrito ac devote recitantibus.' Alter vero, die 22 Martii 1847, 'eam ipsam indulgentiam animabus quoque in Purgatorio detentis applicabilem esse declaravit'; tum etiam eodem anno, die 8 Augusti, indulsit 'ut omnes utriusque sexus Christifideles semel saltem in die dictas laudes per integrum mensem recitantes, indulgentiam plenariam, una tantum cuiuslibet mensis die, uniuscuiusque arbitrio eligenda, dummodo vere poenitentes confessi ac sacra Communione refecti fuerint, et aliquam ecclesiam seu publicum oratorium visitaverint, ibique per aliquod temporis spatium iuxta mentem Sanctitatis Suae pias ad Deum preces effuderint, lucrari possint et valeant; facta insuper potestate ipsam etiam plenariam indulgentiam fidelibus pariter defunctus applicandi.'

Itaque SS^{mus} Dominus Noster, quod spectat ad contextum formulae earundem laudum, statuit ut laudi quarto loco positae, scilicet 'Benedetto il Nome di Gesù,' haec subiungatur, 'Benedetto il suo sacratissimo Cuore.' Quod vero ad indulgentiam attinet, benigne tribuit ut, confirmatis indulgentiis partiali et plenaria supra commemoratis, duplicetur ipsa indulgentia partialis, quoties

eadem laudes publice devoteque (quocumque idiomate expressae sint) recitentur vel post divini sacrificii celebrationem vel ad benedictionem cum Venerabili Sacramento ; quae item indulgentia cedere in suffragium possit animabus piis Purgantibus — Praesenti perpetuis futuris temporibus valituro, absque ulla Brevis expeditione.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquis praepositae die 2 Februarii, 1897.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. CARD. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

A. ARCHIEP. NICOP., *Secretarius*.

Hic subiicitur integra laudum formula, de qua supra, in commodum eorum quibus non satis ea sit cognita :

Dio sia benedetto :

Benedetto il suo santo Nome :

Benedetto Gesù Cristo, vero Dio e vero Uomo :

Benedetto il Nome di Gesù :

Benedetto il suo sacratissimo Cuore :

Benedetto Gesù nel Santissimo Sacramento dell'Altare :

Benedetta la gran Madre di Dio Maria Santissima :

Benedetta la sua santa e immacolata Concezione :

Benedetto il nome di Maria Vergine e Madre :

Benedetto Iddio ne'suoi Angeli e ne'suoi Santi.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PAROCHIAL HYMN BOOK. Complete Edition, with Words and Accompaniments. Edited by Rev A. Police, S.M. Boston, Mass.

THIS is more than a hymn book. It is a prayer book, a treatise set to music on the three theological virtues, the end of man and the last things, as well as a complete vespéral. As a hymn book it is intended for congregational singing; and, to obviate the necessity of carrying another book to and from church, the editor, as he modestly styles himself, has added the various prayers and devotions to be found in our best and most modern prayer books. The hymns, with music, occupy upwards of 370 pages, and though the subjects are as varied as could be desired, yet the hymns are classified, and connected together in a manner which displays both originality and ingenuity on the part of the compiler. The collection of hymns consists of three parts, with an appendix. Each part is intended to inculcate and illustrate one of the theological virtues, while the appendix brings before the mind the four last things. It might seem that this apparently restricted scope would have restricted the selection of hymns, and would have made it necessary to omit many that should be found in every collection of Catholic hymns. This, however, is not the case. The compiler views the three virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, from the lofty standpoint of a great theologian, and makes them to include within their ample limits the entire course of doctrinal and devotional teaching.

This book should be in every Catholic school, and, as far as possible, in the hands of every Catholic child in English-speaking countries. We believe if the half hour which is daily devoted to Catechism were, in whole, or in part devoted to singing hymns from this collection, prefaced or followed by a short doctrinal exposition from the teacher, that it would be an improvement on the present system. If it be the ballads of a people that keep alive their love for native land, why should not Catholic hymns make the spirit of Catholicity burn more brightly? Luther, keen-minded student of human nature that he was, well knew the power of hymns in moulding the religious belief of a people,

and relied more on the hymns which he himself composed and set to music than on his sermons, for the propagation of his errors.

The hymns are collected from every source ; some are translations, some are written originally in English, and some have been written specially for the present collection. The music, too, is old, where old, and at the same time suitable music could be found ; otherwise, but only in comparatively few cases, it is the work of Father Police. But in all cases it is a true, simple, and devotional interpretation of the words. The book, we understand, can be had from Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin, direct, or through any bookseller.

D. O'L.

BEATI PETRI CANISII SOCIETATIS JESU EPISTOLAE ET ACTA. Collegit et adnotationibus illustravit Otto Braunsbeyer, ejusdem Societatis Sacerdos. Volumen Primum, 1541-1556. Friburgi Brisgoviae, Sumptibus : Herder.

PETER CANISIUS, who was beatified by Pius IX. on November 20th, 1864, was one of the first followers of St. Ignatius. In company with Lejay, he went into Germany, in 1551, on the invitation of Ferdinand I., and by his zeal in catechizing the people, and the example of his saintly life, he succeeded not only in stemming the tide of Protestant successes amongst the peasantry, but won back many to the true faith. This collection of letters, written to him and by him, when completed, will prove a valuable contribution to the documentary history of the sixteenth century. The publishers promise a yearly volume for six or eight years. When the collection has been completed we shall give it a notice worthy of its importance.

THE INVENTION OF GOD'S LOVE FOR MAN. By Very Rev. T. Brady, P.P., V.F., Coochill. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son.

THIS is an edifying and instructive little book on the Sacrifice of the Mass, by one whose erudition and piety have already added considerably to sound ascetic literature. His asceticism, unlike that of some of the mediæval mystics, is founded on dogma, as the opening chapters of the present booklet amply testify. Everything the laity need to know about this sublime Sacrifice will be found clearly and pleasingly told in these pages.

A SUMMER AT WOODVILLE. By Anna T. Sadlier. Benziger Brothers. New York, &c.

MRS. SADLIER has done so much for Catholic literature that no one will be surprised to hear a word of praise in favour of this latest of her productions. Religious novels and stories are certainly not popular now-a-days. We doubt if they have ever been ; and yet they are welcomed and read by a large circle of readers, who would probably devote their time to more worldly productions if these were not to be had. A "Summer at Woodville" is indeed, professedly a Catholic novel ; but it has none the less on that account a considerable flavour of the world, and may well be read not alone by young people but even by more seasoned lovers of fiction.

MANUAL OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST, CONFERENCES ON THE
BLESSED SACRAMENT AND EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION.
Rev. F. X. Lasance. Benziger Brothers. 1897.

IN the midst of the evils that abound on all sides in modern society the Church unceasingly directs the attention of the faithful to the adorable Sacrament of the Eucharist, that they may derive from it those graces which enlighten the mind and strengthen the heart, and enable men to steer their course in safety and avoid the dangers that lie in their way. Of the many useful manuals compiled for this purpose one of the most useful is undoubtedly that which we have now before us, and which has just been published by Messrs. Benziger Brothers of New York. We recommend it most heartily to all who are interested in sodalities and confraternities.



THE SPIRIT OF THE PRIESTHOOD

AMONG the writings of the late Cardinal Manning, there are two works which stand out conspicuous above the rest—*The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, and *The Eternal Priesthood*. Both of these works have a real worth of their own; for in well-chosen words they tell great spiritual truths of which the world needs to be reminded. But to those who are acquainted with the writer's life and labours, they have a further importance, and bear a meaning which does not meet the eyes of the casual reader. Rightly understood, they throw back a flood of light on the story of that life, and show the spirit working in his years of active labour. In that long, eventful course he had, no doubt, many and varied ends in view at different times; yet it needs no very keen sight, and certainly no far-fetched fancy, to recognise two leading ideas, by which all else was swayed, and ruled and moulded. With whatever change of circumstance, and with whatever measure of failure or success, he was still seeking to accomplish a two-fold task:—to kindle a deep devotion to the Holy Ghost, founded on a right understanding of his office and mission, both in the guidance of the visible Church, and in the hidden hallowing of the individual soul; and to fill the clergy with a keener sense of their high calling, and a fuller knowledge of the dignity and of the duties of the eternal priesthood.

Not that in either case he was standing apart, and advocating anything new or strange. In truth, he was by no means the only worker in this field, and has no claim to the somewhat dubious merit of originality. In his *Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, as well as its sequel, *The Internal Mission*, and other minor writings on the same subject, he does but set forth in his own words and in his own way, the teaching of the early fathers and the great mediæval schoolmen. But if the doctrine, and the practical devotion flowing from it, are indeed as old as the Church herself; there is yet a new and special reason for preaching them prominently at the present day. As the heresies and divisions of the fifth century arose from a denial or distortion of the dogma of the Incarnation; the troubles of the Church in the last three hundred years may be said to have their origin in a like denial or misconception of the doctrine set forth in the third main division of the baptismal creed:—

It would seem to me [says Cardinal Manning] that the development of error has constrained the Church in these times to treat especially of the third and last clause of the Apostles' Creed: 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.' The definitions of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, of the Infallibility of the Vicar of Christ, bring out into distinct relief the two-fold office of the Holy Ghost, of which one part is His perpetual assistance in the Church, the other His sanctification of the soul, of which the Immaculate Conception is the first fruits and the perfect exemplar.¹

And it is surely significant that these two questions of the Church's authority and justification, were, after all, the two main issues at the outset of the Reformation movement.

It is only in keeping with this trend of theological controversy, that we find spiritual writers, such as the blessed Louis Grignon de Montfort, in the last century, preaching a special devotion to the Holy Ghost, and dwelling on the mysteries of His working in the whole Church, and in the souls of her children. And in the present century another

¹ *The Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, p. x.

French writer, the late Abbe Gaume, has written largely on the same theme. Elsewhere, we find the subject treated, in our own days, by Mgr. Otto Zardetti, who has lately resigned the archiepiscopal see of Bucharest. Before his promotion to the episcopate he had helped to spread the devotion in America by means of the Archconfraternity of the Servants of the Holy Ghost, an institution founded by the late Father H. A. Rawes, of the English Congregation of Oblates of St. Charles. How heartily Mgr. Zardetti entered into Cardinal Manning's feelings on this matter, may be seen in some little spiritual works which he published when he was Professor of Theology at the Provincial Seminary of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee.¹

In the very same way, Cardinal Manning's labours in seeking to raise the standard of priestly perfection, have the support of high authorities and weighty reasons. If the errors of modern sectaries are largely concerned with the office of the Holy Ghost, in His guidance of the Church, and in the hidden work of justification, the widespread triumph of these errors in so many nations of Europe was due in great measure to the corruption and worldliness of too many of the clergy. Hence, the council called together to check the spread of the new heresies had to deal *pari passu* with definition of doctrine, and with moral reformation. This same need of the times may be plainly read in the lives or writings of such real reformers as St. Philip Neri, St. Vincent de Paul, and St. Charles Borromeo.

Cardinal Manning was thus by no means striking out a new line of his own in his writings on these two important topics, or in the practical effect which he gave to his

¹ *De Relatione Triplini Sancti Spiritus ad SS. Eucharistiam. De Relatione Triplini Sancti Spiritus ad B. Virginem. De Relatione Triplini Sancti Spiritus ad Verbum Incarnatum. Die Bedeutung besonderer Andacht zu Gott dem H. Geiste für Seel und und für. Constatution des Heilighthums.* In the last-named work, the author pays the following tribute to Cardinal Manning: 'In ihm haben wir den Basilus redivivus, nur gekleidet in den Purpur. Des Geistes Wunderkraft schildern seine Werke, aber verherrlichen noch mehr als in *humana sapientia personabilis* veritas die Werke und Resultate seines Wirkens, in der That einer Wirksamkeit in *spiritu et virtute*. Seine ganze Erscheinung ist das Abbild eines Basilus und die fleischgewordene Bestätigung des Wortes Spiritus vivificat.' s. 9.

convictions. In both cases he did but seize and set forth the teaching and belief of the chief champions raised up to grapple with the evils of the Reformation period.

It is not our present purpose to give a *resumé* of that teaching as it is set forth by Cardinal Manning. Still less shall we presume to criticize it, or attempt the needless task of defending it from the criticism of others. Our readers will, doubtless, prefer to betake themselves to the original works of the Cardinal, which are still easily accessible. It may, however, be worth our while to consider these two important questions in a somewhat different way, and see if there is not some simple means of bringing them together in one. In insisting on the importance of sanctity, and perfection of life in the Christian priesthood, Cardinal Manning was wont to dwell especially on the Pastoral Office, a phrase which forms the title of a privately printed work in some sense supplementing *The Eternal Priesthood*. To put the matter briefly, in our own words, the argument would seem to be that the parochial clergy and priests engaged on the mission, as sharing in the bishop's pastoral duties, must needs have some share also in the perfection which belongs to the order of bishops. Now, we are in no wise disposed to question the validity of this line of reasoning. Their duties to the flock, on the one hand, and their associations with the pastor, on the other, are doubtless among the strongest motives to lead the clergy to aim at holiness and perfection of life—as even those who cannot agree with all that Cardinal Manning has written on this topic will readily allow. At the same time it may be admitted that the argument lends itself very easily to misconceptions and exaggeration in the hands of indiscreet advocates or captious critics. By some it may be understood as claiming for the priest the fulness of episcopal perfection, or as tending in some degree to lower or disparage the position which belongs to the Religious Orders. While, if it may thus be pressed too far in one way, to some of us it may seem to fall short in apparently limiting the perfection claimed for the priesthood to those who are actually associated in the labours of the pastoral office.

Yet, after all, that office, sublime though it be, is neither the first nor the most fundamental duty of the priesthood. There is another office yet more exalted—and it is common to all who bear the name of priest—the offering of sacrifice. Among the various words by which this title is denoted in the different languages of Europe, that which most happily expresses the true meaning of the priestly office, is the Welsh *officiad* or *offereuner*—one who offers up the Mass.¹

And it is in this same office of sacrificing that we must look for the real source and standard of priestly perfection, and the true spirit which should animate the priesthood.

Much has been written on the subject of sacrifice, and its symbolical character. But the true meaning of this great central act of divine worship has been nowhere more fully and forcibly expressed than in the well-known words of St. Augustine.² ‘The visible sacrifice, therefore, is the sacrament; that is, the sacred sign, of the invisible sacrifice.’ And again, ‘Hence man himself consecrated in the name of God, and vowed to God, inasmuch as he dies to the world that he may live to God, is a sacrifice.’ The outward destruction, the slaying of the victim, or the pouring out of the libation, or the burning of the holocaust, was thus a real or visible word, speaking and declaring the inward sacrifice of heart by which the offerer gave himself to God. Hence

¹ So, the verb *offerere* means to celebrate Mass. In most other European languages, the word used for priest is only some modified form of *priester* and *sacerdos*, e.g., *priester*, *prêtre*, *priest*, *prest*; *sacerdote*, *soggyarth*. There are, however, some notable exceptions, such as the Finnish *pappi*, the Hungarian *pap*, and the Polish *ksiądz*.

² ‘Sacrificium ergo visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est. Unde ille penitens apud prophetam, vel ipse propheta quaerens Deum peccatis suis habere propitium. Si voluisses, inquit, sacrificium, dedissem utique, holocaustis non delectaberis. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit. Intuemur quomodolum ubi Deum dixit nolle sacrificium, ibi Deum ostendit velle sacrificium. Non vult ergo sacrificium trucidati peccatoris, sed vult sacrificium contriti cordis. Illo igitur quod eum nolle dixit, hoc significatur quod eum velle subiecit. . . . Ac per hoc ubi scriptum est. Misericordiam volo quam sacrificium; nihil aliud quam sacrificio sacrificium praelatum oportet intelligi; quoniam illud quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii.’ (*De Civitate Dei*, lib. x., c. 5.) And a little later on: ‘Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus, in quantum mundo moritur ut Deo vivat sacrificium est.’ (*Ib.*, c. 6.)

St. Augustine says, again, that those who think that visible sacrifices belong to other gods,

Surely know not that these are the signs of those [invisible sacrifices] even as sounding words are the signs of realities. Wherefore, as when we pray and praise, we send up words with meaning to Him to whom we offer in the heart those same realities which we mean thereby : so when we sacrifice, we must know that visible sacrifice is to be offered to no other than to Him whose invisible sacrifice we ourselves must be in our hearts.¹

Such is the inward meaning of the sacramental rite of sacrifice. And for this reason the most perfect sacrifice is that in which the priest is himself the victim, not offering some lower being in his stead, but sacrificing himself in deed and in truth. The olden sacrifices were doubly imperfect, in the little worth of the victims, which were as nothing in the sight of God ; and, again, by the very fact that they were but vicarious symbols, and the sacrifice of heart which they betokened was too often wanting. But in the one great sacrifice which these olden rites faintly foreshadowed, there is a victim worthy of God, and the great High Priest who offers is Himself the victim. ‘Per hoc,’ says St. Augustine, ‘et sacerdos est, ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio.’² Or as the Church sings in her Easter hymn :—

Almique membra corporis
Amor sacerdos immolat.

By that one perfect sacrifice on Calvary the debt of mankind was paid ; and by its bloodless renewal on the altar, day by day, its fruits are ceaselessly applied to those for whom it was offered. And, at the same time, men are enabled to give a worthy worship to God by joining in its offering. As of old the priest and people offered themselves in and through the beasts which were their substitutes and symbols, so here do they offer themselves in and through the oblation of the divine Priest who has deigned to give Himself as their Victim. As St. Augustine says once more : ‘This is the sacrifice of Christians : many one body in

¹ *Ib.*, c. 19.

² *Ib.*, c. 20.

Christ: which the Church also frequenteth in the sacrament of the altar which is known to the faithful, wherein it is shown to her, that in that which she offereth she herself is offered.' In like manner, the Church herself says in the *Secreta* on Whit Monday, *et hostiæ spiritualis oblatione suscepta, nosmetipsos tibi perface munus æternum.*

Now, if this self-offering, this inward sacrifice of heart and consecration of life, is the spirit in which all the children of the Church should join in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, it needs no laboured argument to show that a double portion of that spirit should fall on those who are called to a closer share in this supreme act of divine worship. The priest by whose hands and lips the great Victim offers Himself in sacrifice, is therefore rightly set apart by his ordination, and consecrated to the sacred service, like the vessels of the altar at which he ministers. And in his case there is surely a special fulfilment of the words: 'ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus, et Deo votus, in quantum mundo moritur ut Deo vivat sacrificium est.' The spirit of the priestly life is thus found in its true source in the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

We may see an instance of this looking to the pattern shown us on the altar, in the words of the Apostle St. Andrew, when he was bidden to offer sacrifice to heathen idols: 'I sacrifice, every day, to the Almighty God, who is one and true, not the flesh of bulls nor the blood of goats, but the immaculate Lamb on the altar.'¹ And every priest may well find in this same thought a constraining motive for shunning any homage in the temple of Remmon, or any burning of incense at rival shrines. For the idolatrous worship asked of the Apostle is not the only thing that is incompatible with the service of the altar. As St. Augustine says elsewhere, 'non uno modo sacrificatur traditoribus angelis.'

In heart the world is pagan, it is still in evil set,
And offers many a sacrifice at Mammon's altar yet

¹ *Ib.*, c. 6: cf. c. 20: 'Cujus rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit Ecclesie sacrificium quæ cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum dicit offerre.'

² See the Breviary Lessons, and the original Acts of the Martyrdom in Gallandius

But the thought which is thus powerful to restrain from evil, should surely prove an equally urgent motive for doing good deeds, and for striving after greater perfection.

The spirit of the priesthood may thus be regarded as neither more nor less than the spirit of sacrifice, by which the priest daily, nay hourly, gives himself in union with the sacred Victim offered by his ministry. And this offering must surely be kindled by the selfsame fire which consumes the Eucharistic holocaust, the flames of divine love and the living fire of the Holy Spirit. Here we are brought to the bond of union which links the teaching of the *Internal Mission* with that of the *Eternal Priesthood*.

Among the works specially ascribed by appropriation to the Holy Ghost, the consecration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is conspicuous. We may find some trace of this in the Scriptures, for the Apostle contrasts the olden sacrificial rites with the sacrifice of the 'blood of Christ who by the Holy Ghost offered Himself unspotted unto God' (Hebrews ix. 14). And what is here said of the sacrifice of Calvary is repeated by the fathers when they are speaking of the bloodless offering on the altar. 'The priest stands,' says St. John Chrysostom, 'bearing not fire, but the Holy Spirit.'¹ And it is this same Spirit who 'accomplishes this tremendous sacrifice. Comparing this work with the original creation, St. John Damascene says:—

He said in the beginning: 'Let the earth bring forth the green herb': and until now, when the rain cometh, it bringeth forth its own blossoms, impelled and empowered by the divine command. God said: 'This is My Body;' and: 'This is My Blood': and: 'Do this in commemoration of Me.' And by His almighty ordinance, until His coming; for thus the Apostle saith: 'until He come:' and by the invocation, there cometh a rain upon this new husbandry, the overshadowing might of the Holy Spirit. For as all whatsoever God made, He made by the operation of the Holy Ghost, so now also the operation of the Holy Ghost worketh the things above nature which faith alone can receive. 'How shall this come to me,' saith the holy Virgin, 'for I know

¹ *De Sacerdotio*, lib. iii., c. 4., and lib. vi., c. 4. Compare with this, the language of our own St. Bede: 'Lavatur itaque nos a peccatis nostris quotidie in sanguine suo, cum ejusdem beatae passionis ad altare memoria replicatur, cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur.' (*Hom. in Epiphan. Domini, in Joan.*, 1.)

not man?' The Archangel Gabriel answereth: 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the might of the Most High shall overshadow thee.' And now thou askest: How doth the bread become the body of Christ, and the wine and the water the blood of Christ? And I say to thee, the Holy Ghost cometh upon them, and worketh those things which are above nature, reason, and understanding.¹

Yet more significant than these utterances of the fathers, is the prayer of invocation to the Holy Ghost, which holds such a prominent place in all the ancient liturgies. Its venerable antiquity, and the importance attached to it in the earliest ages, may be gathered from the fact that St. Basil cites it as one of the things handed down by unwritten tradition.² So great, indeed, was the stress laid on this invocation by some early writers, that their language has unfortunately seemed to countenance the opinion that the Consecration is wrought by this Epiclesis, and not by the words of institution. Theologians and apologists are naturally at pains to show that the words of the liturgies, and the Greek fathers, do not really bear this meaning.³ And possibly, in some quarters, the little attention bestowed on this matter is mainly spent on this barren controversy. By a very common reaction, the view which exaggerates the importance of the Epiclesis, is followed by one which unduly disparages it; and satisfied that the words do not imply what some Eastern schismatics and Western antiquarians have asserted, we pay too little heed to their real meaning.

That there is some deep significance in this invocation of the Holy Ghost, can hardly be questioned by those who know anything of the teaching of the fathers on this matter. And, it is well to add, this special association of the Holy Spirit with the Holy Eucharist is by no means confined to the Greek, or other Eastern liturgies. Some counterpart of the Epiclesis, if not so prominent, or in the same position or the same form of words, may yet be found in our Roman Missal. It is true that the chief Latin

¹ *In Eccl. Orthodoxa*, lib. iv., c. 13.

² *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27.

³ Cf. Franzelin, *De Eucharistia*, thes. vii. The subject has been treated at length by Orsi in his valuable *Dissertatio de Spiritus Sancti Invocatione Liturgica*.

equivalent of the Greek invocation, the *Quam oblationem*, which comes immediately before the Consecration, is addressed to the Father, and not to the Holy Spirit. But there is another prayer, in an earlier part of the service, in which a special and direct invocation of the Holy Ghost is plainly discernible. After offering the elements, and saying the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis*, the priest calls down a blessing on the bread and wine, saying: 'Veni, Sanctificator, Omnipotens aeternae Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium Tuo sancto nomini praeparatum.' That this is addressed to the Holy Ghost, may be gathered from the title *Sanctificator*, which describes the office generally appropriated to the Third Person. But, as Le Brun has shown, we are not left to conjecture, as there is plain evidence, in other Latin liturgies, as to the original purport of this prayer. The invocation, it would seem, was taken from the Missals of the early Gallican Church. Many of these have the words: 'Veni Sancte Spiritus', or, 'Veni, Creator Spiritus'; while the Mozarabic liturgy has the fuller form: 'Veni Sancte Spiritus Sanctificator.'¹

In these words of the liturgy the Church shows us how the great sacrifice is accomplished by the operation of the divine power, and as a work of love and sanctification it is appropriated to Him who is the Spirit of love and of holiness.² And this, and no other, is the source of that sacrificial fire which should burn in the hearts of those who are called to offer the Eucharistic Victim.

In the admonition addressed to the *Ordinandi* the bishop tells how Moses was bidden to choose the seventy elders to whom he was to impart the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and in these, he adds, the priests were signified, if they live worthily, 'by the sevenfold Spirit.' And again after the laying on of hands, in the prayer of consecration, he calls down upon them 'the blessing of the Holy Ghost and the power of priestly grace.' And in a later prayer he prays that the new priests may live worthily of their calling, and may rise up in

¹ *Explicatio Missae*, tom. i., pp. 159-60.

² Cf. the Secreta for the Friday in Whitsun week: 'Sacrificia, Domine, tuis oblata conspectibus, ignis ille divinus absumat, qui discipulorum Christi Filii tui per Spiritum sanctum corda succendit.'

the day of judgment 'Spiritu Sancto pleni.' So also, during the anointing of their hands, the strains of the *Veni Creator* call down the Holy Spirit, whose grace it symbolizes. The versicle, 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum in vobis Paracletum' is sung in the Responsory after the Communion, and the last imposition of hands is accompanied by the words, 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum;' while the first of the three Votive Masses which the new priest is bidden to say is the Mass of the Holy Ghost. Thus the rite of Ordination agrees with the language of the Missal in associating the Holy Spirit in a special manner with the sacrifice, and with the Priesthood.

Monsignor Zardetti has drawn attention to another place in the Missal which enforces the same lesson. The beautiful prayers of preparation for Mass, ascribed to St. Ambrose, lay great stress on the office of the Holy Ghost in accomplishing the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and pray that His grace may fill the heart of its earthly minister. Thus the prayer for Sunday says: 'Thou didst set this mystery in the night of Thy Holy Spirit;' and, further on, 'Teach me, I beseech Thee, by Thy Holy Spirit.' In the prayer for Thursday, again, we read, 'Kindle in us the fire of Thy Holy Spirit;' and on Friday: 'Descendat etiam, Domine illa Sancti Spiritus tui invisibilis incomprehensibilisque majestas, sicut quondam in hostias patrum descendebat, qui et oblationes nostras Corpus et Sanguinem tuum efficiat, et me indignum sacerdotem doceat tantum tractare mysterium cum cordis puritate et lachrymarum devotione.' These prayers of preparation speak of a special working of the Holy Spirit both in the accomplishment of the sacrifice and the heart of the priest, by whose ministry it is offered. And assuredly no other form of devotion could be more in harmony with the language of the ancient liturgies and with the true ideal of the priestly office. For the priest who offers worthily must have the same mind which is in the great High Priest who is Himself the Victim, and the inward holocaust of the heart must be kindled by Him who lights the flames of the altar—and the Spirit of the Sacrifice is the Spirit of the Priesthood.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

PART II.—LIFE

BEFORE entering on this part of the subject, where wild assertion and sly assumption do most prevail, let us quote a few sentences from a remarkable address delivered at Munich in 1877 by Professor Virchow. The whole address is virtually a condemnation pronounced by the most learned German materialist on the rash and unwarrantable methods of his fellows. The license of assertion and assumption must have appeared to him to pass all reasonable bounds when, to use his own words, ‘it seemed to him high time to enter an energetic protest against the attempts that are made to proclaim the problems of research as actual facts, and the opinions of scientists as established science’:

We ought not to represent our conjecture as a certainty, nor our hypothesis as a doctrine. . . . The objects of our research are expressed as problems or hypotheses; but the problem or hypothesis is not, without further debate, to be made a *doctrine*. . . . ‘*Scientia est potentia*’—not speculative knowledge, not the knowledge of hypotheses, but objective and actual knowledge. Gentlemen, I think we should be abusing our power, we should be imperilling our power, unless in our teaching we restrict ourselves to this perfectly safe and unassailable domain.

A counsel surely more honoured in the breach than the observance! How necessary—and how futile—it was, will more and more appear as we proceed. We start with a typical instance from a typical transgressor:—

To account for the origin, growth, and energies of living things it was usual to assume a special agent, free to a great extent from the limitations observed among the powers of inorganic nature. This agent was called *vital force*; and under its influence plants and animals were supposed to collect their materials and to assume determinate forms. Within the last few years, however, our ideas of vital processes have undergone profound modifications. . . . In tracing the phenomena of vitality through all their modifications the most advanced philosophers of the present day declare that they ultimately arrive at a single source

of power, from which all vital energy is derived : and this source is not the direct fiat of a supernatural agent, but a reservoir of what must be regarded as *inorganic* force. In short it is considered as proved that all the energy which we derive from plants and animals is drawn from the sun.¹

The first thing we notice about this passage is the studied use of the past tense when referring to *vital force*, as if it was now quite out of date and possessed of only a historical interest. In the opening words the foundations of a favourite fallacy are neatly laid. The 'origin, growth, and energies of living things' are classed together as if in all respects on exactly the same level and accountable for in the same way. Now it seems almost superfluous to point out that the 'origin' of a living thing is quite a different process from its 'growth,' and that what may be necessary or sufficient for the one cannot be assumed to be so for the other. Tyndall, in the course of the essay, shows how sunlight is *necessary* for the 'growth and energies' of plants and animals, and then concludes that it is *sufficient for all three processes*. Because plants wither away and die in the dark, therefore sunlight is *sufficient*, not only for the 'growth,' but for the 'origin' of plants! We might just as well say that because moisture is *necessary* for the 'growth' of plants, it is also *sufficient*, not only for their 'growth,' but for their 'origin.' Fresh air too is *necessary* for plants and animals, but it is hardly *sufficient* for either. All this looks like trifling; yet it is by such shallow dodges that 'the most advanced philosophers of the present day' give their fallacies an appearance of truth.

The last sentence of the extract affords an excellent example of the 'scientific method' of cooking facts to suit 'advanced philosophy.' Here we have a colossal assertion—nothing less than that the materialistic theory of life 'is considered as proved'—resting on a misrepresentation of an elementary fact of biology. This is how the trick is done. It is well known that plants derive the material of their solid structures chiefly from the air. The leaves absorb the carbonic acid of the air into their pores. By the combined

¹ Tyndall, *Vegetation*.

action of the sun and the protoplasm of the leaves this carbonic acid is decomposed, the carbon being assimilated and built up into the solid framework of the plant. To make this process serve his purpose Tyndall represents it as entirely the work of the sun:—‘The building up of the vegetable is effected by the sun through the reduction of chemical compounds.’ After this the rest is easy. The animals eat the plants; we eat the animals; and so ‘all the energy we derive from plants and animals is drawn from the sun.’ In the process described the protoplasm of the leaf does not, of course, count for much, and may be neglected. On the same principle it might be ‘considered as proved’ that the chicken is due to the warmth of the sitting hen, the egg not contributing anything worth mentioning! And this is the Philosophy of Science with capital letters! A little further on we shall see that nature’s *only* builder of her organic structures, whether vegetable or animal, is *living protoplasm*. Without that mysterious worker in the living leaf as in the fruitful egg, the sun might shine on seas of carbonic acid for all time and never raise a twig. Other influences may favour its work, may be necessary for its work; but no known influence can *do* its work.

WHAT IS LIFE?

What then is *life* according to the materialists? What is their substitute for that antiquated and unscientific *vital force* with which less ‘advanced’ thinkers were and are satisfied? Life, they tell us, is a purely mechanical phenomenon due to the affinities of ordinary matter. But their own words lend their theory a picturesqueness of which it ought not to be shorn.

Says Tyndall: ‘It is the compounding, in the organic world, of forces belonging equally to the inorganic, that constitutes the mystery and miracle of vitality.’¹

In an important article on Biology in the latest edition (1875) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Huxley says:—‘To speak of vitality as anything but the name of a series of

¹ *Vitality*.

operations is as if one should talk of the horology of a clock.'

Herbert Spencer is sufficiently positive if a trifle inaccurate:—

That the forces exhibited in vital actions, vegetable and animal, are similarly derived [as in inorganic actions], is so obvious a deduction from the facts of organic chemistry that it will meet with ready acceptance from readers acquainted with those facts.¹

And then, wonderful to relate, he goes on to show his own 'acquaintance with those facts' by giving a wholly inaccurate account of the process of plant life above described. Like Tyndall he attributes the decomposition of the carbonic acid *altogether* to the sunlight, taking no account of the protoplasm of the leaf, which is the real agent, the sunlight only favouring its action. Huxley indeed shows that certain vegetable growths get on splendidly *in the dark*.²

Here then are what, in the case of most men, we should be bound to accept as statements of *fact*. Their words leave no room for a second opinion. It is not a question of hypothesis. We are told in so many words that vitality is as mechanical as the force by which a magnet draws iron or a stone falls to the ground.

When we ask for some proof of all this we get misrepresentations of facts of chemistry or biology such as we have just seen in regard to plant growth. From that typical specimen of 'advanced philosophy' Tyndall has no hesitation in drawing the required conclusion. He puts it, no doubt, with an *If*; but the hypothetical character of that *If* is carefully eliminated by its surroundings. 'If then from solar light and heat we can derive the energies which we have been accustomed to call *vital*, it indubitably follows that vital energy may have a proximately mechanical origin.'³ Or we get wholly unwarrantable analogies, as when Tyndall makes out vital force to be little more than a rather complex development of crystalline force, or when Sir R. Ball traces a relationship between animal motion and the supposed

¹ *First Principles*.

² *Yeast*.

³ *Vitality*.

vibratory motion of the ultimate atoms of matter.¹ Or we are treated to a disquisition on the correlation of the inorganic forces, and assured that either vital force is an 'undiscovered correlative' of some of these forces, or else that having no correlation with them it can have no existence at all—which is something like saying that because Tom is not sometimes Jack or Bill, there is no Tom ! Or again, we get assumptions and assertions piled up until the reader loses sight of the fact that the first of them has as little to stand on as the tortoise of ancient cosmology. Or finally, we are led away into the region of prophecy, and bidden to put faith in the power of science to produce in the future evidence which unfortunately, owing to the difficulty of the subject, is not forthcoming in the present.² After a due amount of this sort of 'advanced philosophy' the proposition is 'considered as proved, all reasons to the contrary being classified as ignorance or narrow theological prejudice.

So long as the human mind continues to be constituted as it is it must reject this so-called 'mechanical' theory of life as utterly irrational. It is, in fact, repugnant to one of those intuitions that lie at the root of all certainty. To accept it we must give up our belief in the necessity of adequate causes to produce effects. Natural phenomena of all kinds are simply *effects* which it is the proper business of science to trace to adequate causes. We note that certain of these phenomena are peculiar to living things, vegetable or animal ; that no trace of them, or of anything in the least like them, can be discovered in inanimate nature. Experts on both sides confirm this view. 'The phenomena which living things present,' says Professor Huxley, 'have no parallel in the mineral world.'³ Mivart says: 'Scientific

¹ *Ibid* I. E. RECORD, Fourth Series, vol. i., p. 253.

² Professor Marsh in a presidential address thus preaches a sort of scientific 'salvation by faith' to the American Association—'Possibly the great mystery of life may thus be solved (*i.e.*, by the mechanical theory ; but whether it be or not, a true faith in science knows no limits to its search for truth.' We do not pretend to know what the latter portion of the sentence means, except that it calls for an unlimited and apparently an unreasoning faith in science whether it solves difficulties or not.

³ *Ency. Brit. Biology.*

men are agreed that there is an absolute break between the living world and the world devoid of life.'¹ Dr. Lionel Beale, a veteran authority on this subject, says: 'Surely it is very significant that every particle of living matter of every sort known should manifest phenomena of a particular kind, while no form of non-living matter has been discovered which exhibits any like phenomena.'² And again:—

I have never been able to discover in any non-living bodies whatever any phenomena which can be fairly said to correspond to, or be comparable with [the phenomena of living bodies]. Nor can I discern the faintest analogy between the marvellous changes which affect every kind of living matter in nature, and any changes which have been proved to occur under any circumstances in matter which does not live.³

The characteristic features that thus clearly mark off the living from the not-living are chiefly these:—(1) organized structure, which is quite unlike anything found in lifeless matter; (2) extraordinary chemical complexity; (3) mode of origin, which is invariably from pre-existing life, and in no other way; (4) growth and conservation by the absorption of nutritive material and its conversion into their own substance; (5) reproduction of their own like; (6) healing power in case of wounds; 7) decay and death, followed by the speedy break up of the whole complex organism. These phenomena in one shape or another are common to all kinds of living things; while, as Huxley says, they are absolutely without parallel in the mineral world. We naturally conclude that the same is true of the *cause* which lies behind these *effects*—it must also be something which 'has no parallel in the mineral world.' The effects show this cause to be of the nature of what we call a force or power; and so we name it *vital force*, or *life* in its widest sense.

The point is of such importance that we may be allowed to quote another statement of the argument from a recent work:—

These various features mark off by an impassable barrier the living organism from dead matter. . . . The several processes of

¹ *Origin of Human Reason*.

² *Mystery of Life*, p. 26.

³ *Lumleian Lectures*, p. 5'.

evolution, conservation, and reproduction constitute a group of operations completely transcending the chemical and mechanical powers of matter. The innate tendency to build itself up according to a specific type, to restore injured or diseased parts, to conserve itself against the agencies perpetually working for its dissolution, and to reproduce its kind, manifest an internal principle which dominates and governs the entire existence of the being. On the strength of the axiom that every effect must have an adequate cause, we claim a special ground for vital phenomena in those material substances which possess life. It is true, of course, that life is subject to the conditions imposed on its existence by the chemical and mechanical properties of matter, but this is quite a different thing from saying that life is only the *result* of these properties. Mere aggregation or combination of chemical elements could never be the sufficient reason for the evolution of a plant or animal according to its specific type. Reproduction and uniformity within the same species, and the persistent differences which keep separate species apart, would never proceed from such a cause. We are justified, then, in assuming a new internal energy, a directing force which determines and governs the stream of activities described as the phenomena of life. This force is what is meant by the so-called '*vegetative soul*' or '*vital principle*.'¹

Of course this conception of a special vital force to account for vital phenomena is not of to-day or yesterday. It did not need to wait for modern science to establish it. The broad face of nature lay open to view in the past as in the present, and thinking men long ago noted the chief characteristics which distinguish living from lifeless things, and drew from them the conclusion which we now draw. These observers doubtless had very crude notions of organic structure. They knew nothing of the chemical complexity of organic substances. They were not at all sure of the invariable necessity of antecedent life for the production of life. But they saw quite enough on the surface of things to convince them of the existence of that 'impassable barrier' whose deep foundations science has since partly laid bare. They saw living things grow by the assimilation of other

¹ *Psychology*, by M. Maher, S.J. (1893). For an elegant illustration of the nature of the argument for the existence of a special *vital force*, see Dr. Flam's *Winds of Doctrine*, p. 100 to end of chapter.

substances into their own. They saw them reproduce and perpetuate their own kind. They saw the gashed tree or the wounded animal put forth a wonderful self-healing power. They saw all these vital processes fail, and the living thing die and speedily decompose. They saw that this cycle of phenomena was common to all living things of whatever kind, vegetable or animal, that came under their observation. They saw as clearly as Professor Huxley that it 'had no parallel in the mineral world.' They saw with greater clearness, because with less prejudice than the Professor, that effects so utterly contrasted as were those observable in living and not-living things could not be traceable to the same cause or causes. Not having a pre-conceived 'mechanical' theory to sustain they therefore concluded that there must be some activity, power, principle—call it what you will—at work in the one, of which there was no trace in the other. Further, they concluded that this vital power or principle must, from the peculiar and quite exceptional nature of its effects, be something entirely different from the forces of inanimate matter—something 'apart from the domain of physics, and beyond the empire of physical law.'¹

That is how the argument stood long before the great-grandfathers of 'the most advanced philosophers of the present day' appeared on the scene. That is how it stands now, only still further confirmed by the results of modern research. The microscopist, peering into the living cell, beholds there phenomena as peculiar to, and distinctive of life as those more evident ones already referred to—absorption of nutriment, growth, ceaseless movement—all of which 'differ absolutely from any actions known to occur in any kind of non-living matter whatever.'²

It may be well to notice a sort of pantheistic theory of vitality maintained or approved by some of our 'advanced

¹ Beale, *Lectures on Life*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

philosophers.' We borrow a statement of it from *The Dublin Review* :—¹

Life in this or that living being may be imagined to be a portion of a universal life, which concentrates itself in living organisms, but is yet diffused throughout the universe—which sleeps in the mineral, dreams in the animal, and first wakes to consciousness of itself in man. The starting-point of speculation may be made neither matter alone nor a Divine mind alone, but an obscure synthesis of mind and matter, . . . so that wherever we have matter we have mind in a more or less rudimentary or developed state ; and where in man we have the highest material organisation and complexity, we have also the fullest development of mind. On this opinion the phenomena of life and mind . . . would belong to the same order [as the phenomena of the non-living world]. The difference between the living and what we call the non-living would be one not of kind but of degree. . . . The first appearance and subsequent activity of *recognised* life in the world would be—not an interference with the previous course of nature, not the introduction from without of a new agency, . . . but the self-revelation of the agency which had been at work all along, and had now attained in particular organisms such development that its true character could no longer be mistaken.

We have already seen the way prepared for this view by Bain's 'double-faced' definition of matter.² That definition supplied the requisite synthesis of mind and matter, so that wherever we have matter we have the elements of mind. Development in the direction of life, sensation, and finally consciousness, could then be described as simply keeping pace with chemical complication. Later on we shall see this theory advanced by Hæckel, Tyndall, and others, as one way of accounting for the origin of life. It has, of course, no more solid support than the 'scientific imagination.'

The adoption of this theory of vitality *ought* to mean the abandonment of the purely physical or mechanical theory, which ascribes life to the forces of ordinary matter as commonly defined, without assuming the existence of any extraordinary *mind-matter*. However, our 'advanced philo-

¹ July, 1873, pp. 258-9.

² I. E. RECORD, fourth series, vol. i., p. 345-6.

sophers' show a wonderful aptitude for holding quite contradictory theories; and so we must not be surprised to find them maintaining that life is due to the forces of ordinary matter as we all know it, and also to the properties of extraordinary matter as known only to Professors Bain and Tyndall and a few other 'privileged spirits.'

About the *nature* of vital force science—with whose teachings alone we are here concerned—can tell us nothing. Biology can inform us of the inadequacy of the chemical or physical forces to account for vital phenomena, and so authorize us to affirm the existence of some other force that can account for them; but that is all. What further knowledge we may acquire about it—as that in the case of man the vital principle is an immaterial and immortal spirit—we get from quite other sources.

PROTOPLASM

The manifestations of vital force are always found to be associated with a particular substance which has received various names, but which will probably be best known to the general reader under that of *protoplasm*. As this protoplasm is, so to speak, the physical machinery through which life force does it work, it demands somewhat detailed notice. We shall arrange what we have to say under the following heads:—(1) general description of protoplasm; (2) function or work; (3) differentiation; (4) materialistic difficulties. In such a highly technical matter we shall be careful to confine ourselves to statements for which we can produce unexceptionable authority. No one, we think, will gainsay Dr. Lionel Beale's claim to a foremost place amongst British specialists on protoplasm. For continental opinion we shall refer to a splendid French work published last year, *La Cellule*, by Professor L. F. Henneguy, Lecturer on Embryology at the College of France, &c.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

In every living thing [says Dr. Beale], at every period of life there exist in every part of it portions of *bioplasm* upon which

the life of the being or part thereof absolutely depends.¹ . . . As far as can be ascertained by examination under an amplifying power of 5,000 diameters, living matter throughout nature is colourless and structureless.² . . . If motionless, its presence [under the microscope] can only be recognised by the fact of its being a very little less perfectly transparent than the fluid which surrounds it, and by its refracting property being slightly different from that of the medium in which it lives.³

Writing on the subject as late as last year he still describes protoplasm as 'colourless, structureless matter, consisting largely of water.'⁴ In fact, twenty years of active research by the most eminent histologists of all nations have but confirmed Dr. Beale's description in every particular. Though protoplasm has from time to time during these years been described by different investigators as *striated*, *fibrous*, *reticulated*, *granulated*, &c., yet in the end we find the ablest of all the continental histologists, Kölliker, describing the pure protoplasm found in young cells as 'absolutely homogeneous, without any structure, made up of a mixture of semi-fluid substances.'⁵ With the results of all these investigations before him, Kölliker's description is fully endorsed and adopted by Henneguy,⁶ who also elsewhere describes pure protoplasm in almost the exact words used by Dr. Beale—'a viscous, semi-fluid, colourless substance, insoluble in water, and of higher refracting power than the liquid.'⁷ According to Kölliker the various formations above referred to—*granules*, *fibres*, *net-work processes*, &c.—appear later on,⁸ and hence must be regarded rather as products of the activity of protoplasm than as essential constituents. Some of them are regarded as results of the action of the chemical tests employed,

¹ From a letter of March 21st, 1897. Dr. Beale generally prefers the term *bioplasm* to protoplasm.

² *Lamleian Lectures* (1875), p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ *Lancet*, June 13th, 1896.

⁵ *La Cellule* (1896), p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59. See this confirmed by Nicholas (1892), Saint Remy (1892), and others, *ibid.*, p. 235-6.

or of the coagulation of the protoplasm after death,¹ or as secretions to be afterwards cast out.²

Protoplasm is never found in large quantities together. 'In man and the higher animals it is the exception to find a single mass of protoplasm which measures as much as the one-thousandth of an inch in any direction.'³ These minute specks are nearly always enclosed in a transparent membrane, forming a *cell*. A portion of the protoplasm of every living cell is found to be thickened and altered in some unexplained way, forming what is called the *nucleus* of the cell. Such a nucleus, it is found, is essential to the life and activity of the cell. Hence a living cell may be described as a minute mass of protoplasm containing a nucleus and surrounded by a transparent membrane.

A notable characteristic of living protoplasm is its state of ceaseless movement. The movements are various and peculiar, and include a species of *circulation* within each cell. This state of ceaseless movement is believed to be essential to its life.⁴

As regards the chemical nature of protoplasm it is found to be, not a single, definite chemical compound, but a mixture of several complex bodies, together with traces of simpler ones.⁵ However, the chemical analysis of protoplasm cannot be relied on as deciding the constitution of *living* protoplasm, inasmuch as protoplasm submitted to chemical analysis is necessarily deprived of life; and loss of life means loss of those very characters that distinguish protoplasm from all other substances.⁶ 'The essential character of protoplasm is that it is *living*, and that it loses its properties with its life. Protoplasm that is no longer alive is no longer protoplasm.'⁷ Hennemey entirely agrees with those biologists who maintain that 'living, active protoplasm has a different molecular constitution from dead protoplasm.'⁸ The change,

¹ *La Cellule*, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

³ *La Cellule*, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-36. *La Cellule*, pp. 29-30.

⁵ *La Cellule*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

he admits, may be 'merely an alteration in the grouping of the molecules. We do not know. We know no more of the cause of death than of the origin of life.'¹

FUNCTION

The function or work of protoplasm is the conversion of nutriment into organic tissue. Nutriment when presented in a proper form is absorbed into the protoplasm, converted instantaneously into living matter (*i.e.*, more protoplasm) *by some utterly unknown process*, and finally into *formed material or tissue* of one kind or another—bone, muscle, nerve, flesh, skin, &c.—bark, wood-fibre, pith, &c.

These two processes—the formation of tissue by bioplasm, and the production of new bioplasm by the appropriation of nutritive matters—proceed at the same time.² . . . Nutrient pabulum dissolved in water permeates the capsule of formed material (*i.e.*, the membrane), and comes into contact with the bioplasm within. The non-living matter then undergoes changes most wonderful, in the course of which it acquires the same properties and powers as the bioplasm already existent possesses?³ . . . In the formation of every tissue, in the construction of every organ and of every form of mechanism existing in a living being, bioplasm is the sole essential and active agent.⁴

Its mode of operation constitutes the unsolved 'mystery of life.'—'The field is open for research regarding the internal phenomena of which living matter is the seat—phenomena of which, for the most part, we still know nothing.'⁵ Dr. Beale tells us that 'there is not the slightest reason to think that the nature of the changes which proceed in living centres will ever be ascertained by physical investigation, inasmuch as they are certainly of an order or nature totally distinct from that to which any other phenomena known to us can be referred.'⁶ In fact he tells us that the proper means for investigating them have yet to be discovered.⁷

Note that the function of protoplasm does not stop with the formation of organic *substances* from inorganic or other materials; the chemist can do that to a limited extent. It

¹ *La Cellule*, p. 167.

² Beale, *Mystery of Life*, p. 39.

³ *Lancetian Lectures*, p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60, *et seq.*

⁵ *La Cellule*, p. 465.

⁶ *Mystery of Life*, p. 55.

⁷ *Lancet*, June 13th, 1896.

goes on to build up the converted substances into organic *structures*—a process entirely transcending the powers of chemistry.

No forces known except those operating in living matter have been found competent to effect special structural arrangements¹—(i.e., such as are found in living things). . . . The idea of a particle of muscular or nerve tissue being formed by a process akin to crystallization appears ridiculous to anyone who has studied the phenomena, or who is acquainted with the structure of these tissues.²

We must bear in mind that the *living matter* or *protoplasm* is very different from the *formed matter* or tissue which is its work.

In all parts of all organisms, and at every period of life, we find the greatest contrast between living and formed matter—between the active living matter that selects, grows, forms, and possesses vital movements, and the formed material which, though it performs very important offices, does not grow or reproduce itself, and has no power of selection or construction.³

In fact the difference amounts to this that formed tissue is no longer *alive*. 'The production of the formed material is coincident with the death of the bioplasm. As the formed material is produced, the bioplasm ceases to live.'⁴

Part of the function of protoplasm is to be the vehicle of hereditary traits, and this not merely in the broad sense of reproducing the general characteristics of the species, but the special peculiarities of the individual. 'Hereditary characters can be transmitted by the bioplasm only. . . . Bioplasm is the agent concerned in the transmission of all hereditary structural peculiarities; nay, this living matter alone can inherit.' Family resemblances extending even to the most trivial details are matter of common observation. No one is surprised to see a particular tilt of an ancestor's nose or the curl of a lock of hair reappear in some or all of the descendants. Yet what a wonder such a trifling thing is when we consider the mode of transmission. The

¹ *Lectures*, p. 61.

² *Mystery of Life*, p. 39.

Lancet, Aug. 29, 1896.

³ *Lancian Lectures*, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

architectural power that was to produce not only the specific feature but the special family peculiarity must have been present in the protoplasm of the germ speck, must have lain dormant until the proper time for its operations arrived, must then have woke up to activity, and guided the formative protoplasm to reproduce the plan traced by ancestral protoplasm perhaps centuries before. Needless to say, all this is an impenetrable mystery. The facts are evident, but the cause baffles scientific skill to discover. Even the omniscient 'scientific imagination' has failed to supply a reasonable theory on the subject. 'Certain biologists have attempted to explain the properties of organized matter by its peculiar molecular constitution.¹ . . . But such a hypothesis is powerless to give us any idea of the development or reproduction of living matter, or the manner in which the hereditary peculiarities of parents are transmitted to their descendants.'² All the theories of heredity hitherto put forward, from Darwin to Weismann, are characterized by Henneguy as 'pure conceptions of the mind, . . . fated to disappear.'³ They remind him of Molière's explanation of the effects of opium—'*Opium facit dormire quia est in eo virtus dormitiva!*'⁴

The phenomena of heredity still further emphasize the absolute distinction that exists between living and not-living matter. 'There is nothing in the non-living world, it need scarcely be remarked, that presents any analogy with this marvellous power of inheriting from predecessors definite characters, and transmitting them to those that succeed.'⁵

¹ This, of course, refers to the 'mechanical theory' of life.

² *La Cellule*, p. 480.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 484. It must be admitted that the theorists themselves help vigorously towards the accomplishment of this 'disappearance.' Darwin's theory of heredity is declared by Weismann to be 'inconceivable,' and Weismann's is, in turn, pronounced by Professor Romanes to be if anything still more inconceivable—'a work of artistic imagination rather than of scientific generalization.' Indeed Dr. Romanes impartially declares 'all theories of the ultimate mechanism of heredity hitherto published,' owing to 'the necessary absence of verification,' to be purely imaginary. *Examination of Weismannism* (1893), pp. 119, 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 488.

⁵ *Lumleian Lectures*, p. 67.

DIFFERENTIATION

It was long believed that protoplasm from all sources was in every respect identical. Between protoplasm and protoplasm when pure, the most powerful microscope shows absolutely no difference. 'The highest known form of living matter cannot be distinguished from the lowest.'¹ For neither in dimensions, nor in form, nor in composition, nor in any other essential character, property, or quality, to be demonstrated by physics, chemistry, or observation, does the one particle differ from the other.'² Moreover, when submitted to chemical decomposition, pure protoplasm always yields the same products. These facts were regarded as establishing the complete identity of all protoplasm. Huxley strongly insisted on this complete identity—the protoplasm of all living things was 'substantially the same,' identical in matter, form, and function. In his skilful hands this universal identity of life stuff was made to serve as proof of the common origin and all-round relationship of living things, animal and vegetable. All are made of the same stuff in the same mill. There is no more in any of the products than what the mill has put into them. It is as vain to look for specific differences among the products of protoplasm as among those of a cotton mill.

But there were other facts equally well known that tended to establish the very opposite of all this—to substitute for Huxley's universal identity a universal difference. The varied functional activities of protoplasm indicated the existence of differences too subtle for microscope or chemical test. There was machinery in the mill that could not be detected. Day by day it became more clear that while the identity was only superficial, the differences were fundamental. Thus vegetable and animal protoplasm afford an example of that physical and chemical identity just described; yet that there is some fundamental difference is shown by the fact that while the former will assimilate and work up *inorganic* material, the latter will not—its nutriment

¹ *Lumleian Lectures*, p. 26.

² *Mystery of Life*, p. 29.

must be supplied in an organized form.¹ Then the protoplasm of each kind of living thing shows itself by its work to be in some mysterious way different from the protoplasms of all other kinds. Thus the protoplasm of a fish and that of a man convert the same nutriment into quite different formations. Further, the protoplasm of each particular organ of each living thing is in like manner different from the protoplasms of all the other organs, and is not interchangeable with them. 'Of no one living thing, and of the organs of no one living thing, is the protoplasm interchangeable with that of another.'² . . . There is nerve-protoplasm, brain-protoplasm, bone-protoplasm, muscle-protoplasm, and protoplasm of all the other tissues, no one of which but produces only its own kind, and is uninterchangeable with the rest.'³

Cells which to us, with our present means of investigation, appear to be composed of identical protoplasm have, nevertheless, very different functional properties. Cells from the different salivary glands and from the pancreas of a dog, for instance, are to all outward appearance so much alike that it is impossible to distinguish them, and yet each has its own peculiar function. The most skilful embryologist could not distinguish the ovule of a cow from that of a dog, yet these ovules will produce very different animals.⁴

So also Dr. Beale:—

Here are two minute masses of perfectly structureless, colourless living matter. No difference between them can be demonstrated by physics or chemistry. One placed under certain conditions will become a dog, the other a man; but from the dog-germ you cannot by any alteration of conditions obtain a man, any more than from the man-germ anything but a man can be evolved. Now what is the difference [between the germs] which cannot be distinguished by physical or chemical investigation? I would answer—a transcendent difference, but *in power*.⁵

¹ Reference has already been made to the process of plant growth. The protoplasm of the leaves, aided by sunlight, has the power of forming protoplasm from what we may call its raw materials, viz., carbonic acid, water, and ammonia. Animal protoplasm has no such power. It is a common saying that 'we cannot live on air.'

² *As Regards Protoplasm*, by Dr. J. H. Stirling, p. 4. This pamphlet, though somewhat tough in style, is excellent in matter.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴ *La Cellule*, p. 18.

⁵ *Mystery of Life*, p. 13.

Yielding to the force of such facts as these, expert opinion has veered round to the opposite pole, and is now expressed by the sweeping statement that 'there are in reality as many protoplasms as there are different beings, and organs in each of these beings fulfilling different functions.'¹ In fact protoplasm has come to be regarded as a sort of generic term like *bird* or *mammal*, an expression covering a whole category of more or less different things united by certain common characteristics.²

The only explanation offered of this endless diversity of power in connection with apparent identity of substance is a purely hypothetical one.

Organic chemistry teaches us that certain bodies of absolutely identical chemical composition may have very different properties. Such bodies are called *isomeric*; and the idea is that difference in properties is due to corresponding differences in the grouping of the component atoms, whose number and relative proportions are the same. It may possibly be the same with regard to different protoplasms, their diversity of properties being due to the phenomenon known in organic chemistry as *isomerism*."

No doubt protoplasm, with its wonderfully complex structure, affords exceptional opportunities for the working of the principle here described; but it must be borne in mind that there is not the smallest experimental foundation either for principle or application. They are as purely imaginary as theories of heredity, and suffer from the same 'necessary absence of verification.'

We are now prepared to realize to some extent the difficulty biologists find in framing a definition of protoplasm. As a picturesque and suggestive synonym Huxley's 'physical basis of life' is excellent. Few could name or, when it suited him, misname a thing more aptly than the versatile Professor. However, in accepting his expression we must be careful not to accept the theories he founded on it. Many of Dr. Beale's references to protoplasm are almost definitions, as, for instance, when he speaks of it as

¹ *La Cellule*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*

'living matter which throughout nature is devoid of structure, exhibits spontaneous movement, and consists of comparatively few elements.'¹ This serves very well to recall some of its leading physical and chemical characteristics. But, as we have seen, all such characteristics are of secondary importance, and 'its essential character is that it is *living*, and that it loses its properties with its life'—to which may also be added 'that it can only come from pre-existing protoplasm.'² These are the only characteristics that are entirely peculiar to protoplasm, and in comparison with them its physical and chemical properties must be regarded as of only secondary importance.³ Hence little of any moment can be added to the bare statement that 'protoplasm is organic living matter.'⁴

Protoplasm once dead, whatever be the nature of the change that takes place in it, can no longer be called 'life-matter.' There is a fallacy hidden in such a use of words. It suggests a capacity in dead protoplasm to be revitalized. But there is no such capacity. Protoplasm once dead can never again by any process known to science be revitalized 'Under no circumstances can the living thing once dead be made to live again.'⁵ Dead protoplasm simply decays and decomposes like any other organic substance. *Living* protoplasm alone is 'life-matter.'

MATERIALISTIC DIFFICULTIES

The scientific philosophers, as we know, deny that there has been 'any intrusion of purely creative power' anywhere in nature. Tyndall has assured us that that sleepless Cerberus, 'the eye of science,' has hitherto sought in vain for the faintest trace of such a thing. Therefore protoplasm with all its wonderful properties must be a product of the action of the natural forces; and some reasonable account of its development out of

¹ *Lancet*, June 13, 1896.

² *La Cellule*, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ *Mystery of Life*, p. 31. We do not, of course, contemplate miraculous restoration to life.

elementary matter has to be given. The difficulty is three-fold. (1) Looking at it from a chemical point of view, how did such an extraordinarily complex chemical substance as protoplasm ever come to be formed from inert matter by any known or conceivable action of the ordinary forces of nature? (2) Supposing the chemical substance to be formed by some inconceivable combination of circumstances, how did it grow alive? (3) How did it acquire that marvellous diversity of architectural powers which it displays throughout nature?

Most of the leading materialistic philosophers have tried their hands at this three-fold puzzle. The most eloquent of 'lay sermons' has been preached upon it; the 'scientific imagination' has run riot in discoursing of it; chemists have left their crucibles, and geologists their rocks, to talk about it; and at least one astronomer has abandoned 'the high heavens' to favour earth with a solution which had better have been confided in passing to the man in the moon. All the solutions will be covered by one description—the throwing of unlimited verbal dust in the public eye. Of all the scientific jugglers who have attempted this dust trick Professor Huxley may be fairly regarded as the most expert, and his method of disposing of the three difficulties above enumerated supplies a high class specimen of his powers.

1. The first difficulty, viz., the formation of protoplasm from its elements, seems to vanish away before his mere statement, ceasing to be a difficulty at all, and shrivelling up to the dimensions of a beggarly chemical experiment. In his famous essay on *The Physical Basis of Life* he teaches the public the chemistry of protoplasm in this wise:¹—

Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, are all lifeless bodies. Of these carbon and oxygen unite in certain proportions and under certain conditions to give rise to carbonic acid; hydrogen and oxygen produce water; nitrogen and hydrogen

¹ *Lay Science*, 1863, pp. 117-8

give rise to ammonia. These new compounds, like the elementary bodies of which they are composed, are lifeless. But when they are brought together under certain conditions, they give rise to a still more complex body, *protoplasm*; and this protoplasm exhibits the phenomena of life.

Nothing simpler, you will say. The non-chemical reader must feel perfectly helpless in face of such a statement from such an authority. In fact, he must feel prepared to admit the probability of protoplasm becoming an article of commerce, opening up new and delightful possibilities for the pictorial advertiser! The vague little phrase 'under certain conditions' would not attract attention, and might mean anything—boiling, or pressure, or ignition, as in the production of carbonic acid or water. A little farther on we are told in a passing way, as if it was of no great consequence, that the *condition* is '*the influence of pre-existing protoplasm*'—surely a most unexpected condition for the production of this very substance from its constituents! If 'pre-existing protoplasm' is a 'condition' of the production of protoplasm, how was the *first* protoplasm produced?

Professor Huxley sees 'no break in the series of steps in molecular complication,' and is unable to understand why the language which is applicable to any one term of the series may not be used to any of the others. Does carbonic acid, or water, or ammonia require 'the influence of pre-existing' carbonic acid, water, or ammonia for its production? If not, what an enormous change must be made in the 'language applicable' in the two cases!

Nor does Professor Huxley think it necessary to tell the non-chemical reader that, while the making of carbonic acid, water, and ammonia are mere elementary experiments, *no known chemical process can produce from these under any conditions any substance ever so remotely resembling protoplasm!* What is to be thought of the man who, with full knowledge of all this, could still tell the unsuspecting public that there was 'no break in the series of steps' from lifeless elements to living protoplasm?

Professor Huxley goes on to take advantage of whatever slight knowledge of chemistry his readers may have, to make his reasoning still more crushing:—

When hydrogen and oxygen are mixed in a certain proportion, and an electric spark is passed through them, they disappear, and a quantity of water equal in weight to the sum of their weights appears in their place. Is the case in any way changed when carbonic acid, water, and ammonia disappear, and in their place, under the influence of pre-existing living protoplasm, an equivalent weight of the matter of life makes its appearance?

Here we have 'the language applicable to one term of the series' applied to another with a completeness that leaves nothing to be desired. The two processes, viz., the chemical production of water and the chemical production of protoplasm, are, as far as words can do it, placed on exactly the same level. Now the merest tyro in chemistry has seen the first experiment performed, and knows that it is quite easy. With his limited knowledge he can only suppose, from the language used, that to a man of Professor Huxley's scientific eminence the second is equally easy. He is quite unaware of the fact that neither electric sparks nor any other known agency would be of the smallest use in the case; but he naturally supposes Professor Huxley an honest reasoner, and remains confounded if not convinced.

Here is what the leading English chemist of our day, Sir H. Roscoe, has to say of Professor Huxley's chemistry of protoplasm:—

It is true that there are those who profess to foresee that the day will arrive when the chemist, by a succession of constructive efforts, may pass beyond albumen, and gather the elements of lifeless matter into a living structure. Whatever may be said of this from other standpoints, the chemist can only say that at present no such problem lies within his province. Protoplasm, with which the simplest manifestations of life are associated, is not a compound, but a structure built up of compounds. The chemist may successfully synthesize any of its component compounds, but he has no more reason to look forward to the synthetic production of the structure than to imagine that the synthesis of gallic acid leads to the artificial production of gall-nuts.¹

¹ *Presidential Address to the British Association, 1887.*

Professor Henneguy is equally decided :—

In the present condition of our knowledge we must speak of protoplasm as a body *whose synthesis we cannot effect*, and whose origin we do not know. This much we do know since spontaneous generation was finally disposed of by Pasteur and Tyndall—that *protoplasm can only come from pre-existing protoplasm*.¹

Dr. Stirling takes us even a step farther :—

Protoplasm can only be produced by protoplasm, and each of all the innumerable varieties of protoplasm only by its own kind.²

All honest men will endorse Dr. Beale's demand for open and straightforward dealing in this matter :—

If the method by which non-living matter is converted into living matter is understood, by all means let it be explained. If conversion like that effected by living matter can be carried out in the laboratory, let it be done; but if the change can be effected by living matter alone, let this be openly admitted; and let it be clearly stated, and in the most public manner possible, that the phenomena in question are peculiar to living matter, and cannot be shown to be due to physical and chemical changes apart from life.³

One of Professor Huxley's smart sayings is that 'the man of science has learned to believe in justification, not by faith, but by verification.'⁴ He seems to have conveniently forgotten this maxim when writing *The Physical Basis of Life*.

2. It is always quietly assumed that protoplasm, if once formed, would necessarily be *alive*. It always is so when formed by nature's mysterious chemistry under the influence of pre-existing living protoplasm. But there is such a thing as *dead* protoplasm, differing no doubt, as we have seen, in some unknown way from living protoplasm, but still at least the corpse, so to speak, of protoplasm, and still called protoplasm by materialists themselves. They are bound to show that their protoplasm, even if they could make it, would ever get beyond this stage—would ever 'exhibit the phenomena of life.' In the whole range of scientific achievement

¹ *La Cellule*, p. 19.

² *As Regards Protoplasm*, p. 48.

³ *Lambrian Lectures*, p. 41.

⁴ *Lay Sermons*, p. 16.

is there anything to teach them how to make a thing *alive*? Can they learn nature's secret by watching her work under the microscope? Alas! Professor Huxley's despairing answer is that 'the influence of pre-existing living matter is something quite unintelligible,'¹ and therefore not likely to serve as a guide in practical chemistry!

In living centres [says Dr. Beale] proceed changes of the nature of which the most advanced physicists and chemists fail to afford us the faintest conception. Nor is there the slightest reason to think that the nature of these changes will ever be ascertained by physical investigation.

The nearest approach to a solution of this second difficulty which we get from Professor Huxley is a reference to 'subtle influences' which 'will convert dead protoplasm into living protoplasm.' What these 'subtle influences' are, or whence they are derived, or how they effect this important conversion, is not stated. What, by the way, is the difference between these subtle influences and *vital force*? And how comes it that the theory of 'subtle influences' is quite scientific, while that of *vital force* is not?

3. The third difficulty is the specialization of protoplasm in different organisms and in different parts of the same organism. If all protoplasm is 'substantially the same,' how has it learned so to specialize its powers as to weave out of the same material tough muscle here, delicate nerve tissue there—here build an oak, there colour a rose leaf? If it be answered that its position determines its work—in the bone it builds bone, in the muscle it weaves muscle—how, we ask, did it *begin* to form bone or muscle in the course of development from the germ where there was neither? If living protoplasm is merely a peculiar chemical substance and nothing more, how in the name of chemistry can we account for the infinite subdivision and specialization of its powers in the process of development of the germ into the plant or animal? Take the speck of protoplasm in a fertile egg, and try to imagine the subdivision and specialization

¹ *Long Sermons*, 1897, p. 118.

² *Mastery of Life*, p. 54-5.

of its powers as the chicken is developed. Skeleton and skin and feathers—digestive, blood, and nervous systems—bright eye and keen ear—nay, the very cock-a-doodle-doo that will in due time salute the dawn—all must come out of that speck. And they will, and without the slightest confusion or the smallest mistake. Is there any conceivable explanation of this on the supposition that living protoplasm is merely a very intricate chemical structure, and no more? Surely there was every need for Huxley to summon ‘subtle influences’ to his aid—and very subtle indeed they must be? But then, when we get to ‘subtle influences,’ we are entitled to ask—Where are we now? Is this *chemistry* of any kind or sort that ever was heard of? Chemical elements we know, and chemical compounds we know, but what are ‘subtle influences’?

But we have pursued this argument far enough, perhaps too far for the patience of the reader. However, it exemplifies the straits into which the ‘advanced philosophers’ are led by their theory, and the miserable shuffles to which they must have recourse to try to get out of them. It will be worth while to remember that one of the keenest intellects of them all had no more definite theory of life than that it is due to complexity of chemical structure *plus* ‘subtle influences.’

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

PARIS UNIVERSITY AND THE SCHOOLMEN

II.

THE future history of the Paris University¹ is marked by three distinct events—the struggle with the Chancellor, the great dispersion of 1229, and the coming of the Mendicant Orders. All these contributed much to the establishing of the great institution into an organized body. From the beginning the Chancellor of Notre Dame exercised almost absolute control over the masters and scholars of the University; no new master could begin to teach without his sanction, and being at liberty to grant or refuse his sanction as he wished, he often rejected scholars who were judged fit for the teacher's chair by a majority of the masters. He also had the power to suspend masters for any offence, and to inflict punishment on refractory scholars. Such unlimited power in the hands of one not always favourably disposed towards the rising University much displeased the masters, and they determined to use every effort to restrict it. They refused to recognise any teacher appointed by the Chancellor who had not been presented by them for approval; they denied such teachers admission to the Masters' Guild, and persuaded students not to attend their lectures. Thus a system of "boycotting" was continually carried on by the masters; but even that proved ineffectual in limiting the Chancellor's power, and the masters finally appealed to the Pope against him. Their appeal was duly considered in Rome, and in 1212 a Papal Bull was issued by which the jurisdiction of the Chancellor over the masters and scholars was greatly restricted. Henceforth he was not to refuse permission to teach to any scholar whom a majority of the masters judged fit for such an office, and he was not to suspend a master or inflict punishment on any student till after a formal trial. With this Papal recognition and exemption from the unbounded control of the Chancellor,

¹ *Vide* I. E. RECORD, August, 1897, page 139, *et seq.*

the masters began to gradually make statutes for their own government; they also elected one who should represent them in cases of litigation and in any future appeal to Rome. This was the origin of the Rectorship of the University, a step which helped much to make the institution an independent body with its own governing head.

The great dispersion of the masters by which the University had for a time ceased to exist took place in 1229-30. We saw before¹ how the 'town and gown' disturbance of 1200 ended by the obtaining of a Royal Charter granting many new privileges to the University; the dispersion we are now considering arose from a like disturbance, and also ended by obtaining new privileges. Thus the University may be said to have advanced by its misfortunes.

During the Carnival of 1228-29 some of the students who had been enjoying the country air for the day entered a tavern on their way home, and, in the words of the chronicler, found 'good and sweet wine.' They all drank in plenty, but when about to leave a dispute arose with the landlord regarding the payment. From words the disputants came to blows, 'to pulling of ears and tearing of hair,' and the neighbours gathering to help the injured proprietor, severely beat the riotous students. Next day a strong reinforcement of gownsmen returned to seek revenge, and breaking into the tavern, they set the wine taps running, drank in abundance, and then going forth into the streets attacked every citizen they could find. News of the riot soon spread throughout the city, and the magistrate, authorized, it is said, by the queen, marched a number of police to suppress the riot. Filled with rage, the half savage police attacked a party of unoffending students who were occupied in their holiday games, and left many of them dead on the playground. The masters loudly complained of such brutal treatment, and using their privilege of 'cessation,' they appealed to the King, threatening if the offending citizens were not punished within fifteen days they would stop their lectures. The fifteen days passed, and no redress was

¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

granted: the masters then appealed anew to the king, and announced that if justice was not done them in a month they would all quit the city for a period of six years. Even this did not obtain redress, and after the month had expired, the masters dissolved the University and departed in a body for the other great centres of education, many of them coming to the then rising Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, while others went to Toulouse, Orleans, Rheims, and Angers.

Things remained in this unsatisfactory state for over a year, when the Pope interceded for the injured masters, and the court, seeing the prosperity and prestige of Paris rapidly decreasing, easily granted redress. Ample satisfaction was promised by the King; the Pope, Gregory IX., issued a new Bull securing the masters and scholars from any future interference, and in 1231 they returned again to their work. The exemption from civil authority granted by Philip Augustus was henceforth to be strictly observed; the masters were authorized to have their own rector and the power of making their own statutes; in short, the University may be said to have then become fully autonomous.

Yet there was another great crisis through which it had to pass—the coming of the Mendicant Orders. From their first establishment the Mendicants, especially the Dominicans, sought learning as the one great means of carrying on the work to which they devoted their lives. They came as champions of the Church, ready to meet the enemy in open battle-ground, and armed with prayer and learning, they boldly carried on the fight against the Church's opponents. Some of the most brilliant masters of the schools enrolled themselves among them, and every effort was made to perfect their young members in the different sciences. It was with this end in view that they came to establish themselves in Paris at an early stage of the University's existence. At the date of the great dispersion we find the Dominicans and Franciscans having schools in the University: the Carmelites and Augustinians came soon after the masters' return. Other religious orders—the Trinitarians, the old Benedictines, and the Cistercians—

established schools in the city, that their young members might assist at the University lectures.

When the Mendicants first came to Paris they were received with every show of respect by the University authorities; even the Convent of St. James was freely given to the Dominicans, on condition, however, that they would perform some spiritual offices for the members of the University. It was only on the return of the masters after the great dispersion that the Seculars first began to manifest displeasure with the Mendicants. During the masters' absence the Friars had continued to open their schools and give public lectures; to this the masters objected, because the loss caused by their departure was thereby greatly lessened, and when they again began to teach they refused to recognise the Mendicant Doctors as forming part of the University. Not having observed the 'cessation,' prevented them, the masters declared, from any longer partaking in any privileges of the University. The masters then used every effort to prevent students from attending the lectures of the Mendicants, and they ignored any master who had not attended their own course of lectures, and 'incepted' according to their rules. This state of things lasted on till 1250, when an event took place that led to open opposition between the Seculars and the Friars.

The occasion was brought about by another tavern brawl in which one of the students was killed. The masters consequently proclaimed a 'cessation' till satisfaction was made, but the Friars refused to comply with the masters' decision; they even appealed to Rome to be freed from any obligation they might be under to observe a 'cessation.' Reparation not being made, the masters determined to bind themselves by oath to insist on obtaining justice. The Mendicants were again unwilling to bind themselves by such an oath, and though redress was soon obtained by the hanging of two of the offenders, the question between the masters and the Friars still remained unsettled. The masters now drew up a statute according to which no new master should be admitted into the 'College of Masters or Fellowship of the University,' unless he would first bind

himself by oath to obey all the statutes of the University, and to observe a 'cessation' whenever ordered by a majority of the masters. This regulation was primarily intended for the Friars, since their doctors had been always unwilling to be bound by the arbitrary rules of the Seculars. The Friars claimed the right of being free to lecture in their schools and open their halls to all who should come to them for knowledge, and they refused to be hampered in their work by the often whimsical regulations of frivolous masters; but the masters as persistently refused to acknowledge the Friars or to allow them any share in the privileges of the University unless they promised submission to whatever statutes had been or should be made; the great success of the Mendicants, owing to such teachers as Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, and St. Thomas, and the immense number of students who frequented their schools, also helped to rouse the Seculars to limit the liberty of the Mendicants.

The struggle lasted on till 1254, when Innocent IV. endeavoured to bring about a compromise by restricting the privileges of the Friars. But that same year the Sovereign Pontiff died, and his successor Alexander IV. turned the tide in favour of the Mendicants. The Bull of Innocent was immediately revoked, and in April, 1255, a new Bull was issued by which the Friars were secured against the attacks of the Seculars. The Chancellor was in future to grant the licence to teach to as many of the Mendicant students as he in conscience should judge fit; they were exempted from the necessity of requiring a majority of the secular masters in order to be presented to the Chancellor for the *licentia docendi*, and they were at liberty to observe a 'cessation,' except when declared by two-thirds of the masters of each faculty, and even in this they were secure, for the Mendicant masters in theology numbered more than one-third.

The masters now had recourse to another alternative. Though they were recognised as a legal society, and were granted many privileges both by the Pope and the King, they were still, they maintained, a free society, and being such they declared that they could dissolve the University in the same way as they had formed it. By doing so they

would evade the Papal restrictions, and succeed in depriving the Friars of the University privileges they enjoyed. The masters, accordingly, drew up a formal declaration dissolving the University which they forwarded to the Pope. The answer to this declaration, if any answer was ever given, has nowhere been preserved. The Friars, though still unrecognised by the masters, continued to hold lectures and 'inceptions' in their own schools, and so great was the envy raised against them, that they had often to call in an armed force to prevent the mob from entering their halls. It was during this troublesome time that St. Thomas 'incepted' for his degree in theology, and it is said, that while doing so men in arms had to be present to preserve peace. The appearance of a Friar in the streets was the signal of a general uproar equalled only by the after degrading scenes of the Paris Commune of later days. But such persecution of the Friars was only weakening the cause of the Seculars. Reports of their mode of acting soon reached Rome, and Bulls were issued commanding them under threat of excommunication not to molest the Mendicants, and to admit them to the enjoyment of all the University privileges. By degrees the opposition of the Seculars calmed down: the Mendicant Doctors were again received into the meetings of the University on formal occasions, though many of the rebellious masters still refused association with the Friars. It was not till 1258 that peace was finally restored, and the long-wished-for harmony reigned between the Regular and Secular Masters of the University. The Friars had apparently triumphed, though the Seculars by their stern opposition had succeeded in securing for themselves many of the favours they had so ardently sought for. Nor were they still wholly satisfied; they were ever ready when any occasion offered to endeavour to curtail the Mendicants' favours, and sooner than again begin a new warfare, the Friars consented, in 1318, to submit to the statutes of the University, but with the provision that their own privileges would not be interfered with. The University then got into organized working form; each of the Mendicant Orders had a separate school attached to its convent, and their distinguished

doctors attracted numbers of students to their lectures : the Seculars had their own schools, and secured the attendance of students by the fact that in their schools alone could secular students take out their degrees. The Friars could have 'inceptions' in their own schools, but only for their own students, and no secular student could 'incept' for degrees unless he had attended the course of lectures in the schools of the Seculars.

So far we have been considering but the material growth of the Paris University, yet it is its intellectual growth that principally deserves our consideration. Like every new intellectual movement the new system introduced by St. Anselm into the theological schools remained for a time devoid of systematic order. The system was developed by professors, and eagerly grasped by students who rejoiced at being able to display their logical skill in theological disputes, but it wanted order and method. To establish order in the whole teaching of theology was the next great work to be done, and it was the monastery again that supplied the man—the famous Lombard—who accomplished the task. Peter Lombard (1164), a native of Lombardy, had laboured and studied with the great mystics of St. Victor's. He saw the great hold the system of St. Anselm was taking on the schools: he saw also the defect of the system—its lack of unity, and this he determined to remedy. He ardently set to work on the foundations supplied him by Holy Scripture, the fathers and reason, and worked out a systematic plan of all theological truth. The result of his labours was the famous 'Book of the Sentences,' a work which merited for him the title of Master of the Sentences. He divided all theology into four parts. He first considered God in Himself as the primary object of theological science; and accordingly, he treated in the first part of his work of God and the Blessed Trinity. All things outside of God he considered as effects of God's creative power, and as so many means of tending to Him, and of promoting His glory; and viewed, in that light he treated in the second part of the angels and their fall, of man before and after the fall, of nature and grace: in the third part he treated of the Incarnation and the means

God has given man to attain his ultimate end; and in the fourth part the four last things were dealt with. Such a division brought clearness and precision into the theological course. Masters took up each 'Book of the Sentences,' and commented on it, and students were overjoyed that they could now advance in clear logical order.

It was the systematic unity which the Lombard showed to exist in theology that gained for the Sentences such great popularity, and made them for years the text book of the schools. The method of the Sentences also helped to secure their stay with masters and students. The author first divided each part into a certain number of Distinctions, then each Distinction into several theological propositions in support of which he adduced arguments from the Scriptures, the fathers, and reason. Where the fathers seemed to clash in their opinions he brought about a reconciliation by distinctions and explanations. These collated Sentences of the Scriptures and the fathers with the arguments and distinctions of reason met exactly the intellectual want of the time: those who wished to maintain authority could not but feel fully satisfied by the many authorities adduced in confirmation of the doctrine in question; while the new spirit of allowing reason to enter the domain of theology found full scope for exercise in the arguments, distinctions, and explanations that followed the list of authorities. The Sentences thus became the book of the schools, and were commented on by all the distinguished schoolmen.

But there was another intellectual movement that must not be passed over in an account of the intellectual advancement of the University. The great intellectual contest that lasted on till close on the end of the twelfth century was the growth of the intellectual movement that sprung up among the Churchmen themselves. Roscelin and Abelard, with William of Champeaux, St. Bernard, and St. Anselm, were the chief leaders in the contest, and none of these once thought of rejecting the authority of the Church or the fathers, or of misinterpreting the Word of God. The contest was never intended to in any way belittle the truths of Christianity, though unintentionally the system of the

former had done so ; on the contrary, it was pushed on with the hope of bringing these truths more within the reach of men's minds. But where danger lay it was soon pointed out by the defenders of orthodoxy, and the sound part of the movement was permitted to live, so that the great alarm the use of dialectics in theology had caused in the beginning had almost entirely subsided towards the end of the twelfth century. The scholastic method which may be said to have been the result of the contest suited the logical-trained minds of the age, and it easily found entrance into the schools of theology.

Yet scarcely had the great contest calmed down when a new intellectual movement was set on foot. This time it was caused by the introduction of the unknown works of Aristotle into the schools. The schoolmen were never so happy as when able to find some new doctrines in the examination of which they could display their intellectual skill ; hundreds of students would crowd to hear any doctor who propounded any new system, or undertook to destroy some received one. With ears intent on every word that fell from his lips they would carefully take in the new opinions and go away to fight out among themselves the strong and weak points of the teacher's novelties. Great then was their delight when the hitherto unknown works of Aristotle were presented to them. But few of Aristotle's works, such as the *Catagories* and *De Interpretatione*, were known in the schools up to the end of the twelfth century ; it was only then that his other works became known in the West ; and what added principally to their novelty and their after evil influence was, that they were presented in Oriental dress :

The Nestorian doctors after their condemnation brought with them into their exile in the East many works of the Grecian philosophers. They translated Aristotle into Arabic, and the subtle mind of the Eastern philosophers eagerly took in the systems of the Stagyrte and taught them in their crowded schools of Edessa and Bagdad. Avicenna (d. 1037), the greatest of Arabic philosophers, took each of Aristotle's treatises, and giving equal credence to all his books, he added paraphrases and adaptations in which the true

and false principles and systems of the philosopher were equally set forth, interspersed with many Eastern false ideas. This great love of Grecian philosophy was carried into Spain by the Arabs and Jews. Averroës (1105), of Cordova, studied Aristotle himself in the Arabic translations, and as expounded in the paraphrases of Avicenna. He then took the text itself, added new commentaries on each assertion, and his unbounded belief in the philosopher, who, he said, had never erred, and whose works were perfect, led him into some of the greatest philosophic errors, such as the pantheistic idea of the unity of the human intellect, the denial of God's providence with regard to individual beings, and the negation of individual immortality.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century Aristotle and the paraphrases of Avicenna were translated from the Arabic into Latin, and introduced into the Paris schools ; soon after, the Commentaries of Averroës passed through a like process and one can well imagine the intellectual uproar that met their coming. Aristotle alone would have caused excitement, and would perhaps have been dangerous material in such unsafe hands, but when accompanied by the speculations of Oriental minds, a terrible explosion was destined to follow. Students wished to hear nothing but Aristotle, and proud masters daily appeared to interpret to them the new systems. One master, after endeavouring to use Aristotle in proving the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, proudly boasted that he could as easily overthrow the doctrine on the morrow by equally plausible arguments. The morrow came, but the master when about to begin his discourse was seized by a stroke of paralysis by which he instantly lost his speech and memory. Such like daring attempts to test all doctrine by the new system soon led to the overthrow of Christian truths. Almaric of Bena, and David of Dinanto, two Paris doctors, became the leaders of free-thought and the rejection of authority ; reverence for Holy Scripture and the fathers daily disappeared, and the system of judging by reason alone, fanned by Oriental ideas about the eternity of matter and the universal unity of the human soul, spread like a rapid conflagration among masters and scholars.

This wide-spreading evil soon roused the authorities of the Church, and determined steps were taken to stop the outflow of error. Almaric had died before his erroneous teaching had become known, and now his body was disinterred, and cast with an excommunication into unconsecrated ground. David of Dinanto and many of his followers were delivered over to the secular power for punishment, and the books of Aristotle and his commentators were forbidden to be read either publicly or in private. A new statute was drawn up by the Papal Legate, in 1215, by which masters on 'incepting' were to take an oath that they would not read the works of David or Almaric or the Commentaries of Averroës. To this oath of the masters, Gregory IX., in 1231, added the restriction, 'until these works shall have been examined and purged from all heresy.'

While Aristotle, thus presented in Oriental dress, fared so badly in the schools of Paris, his works found another safer and more lasting introduction to the schoolmen. The conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, in 1204, opened the way to new literary discoveries. Latin scholars accompanied the Crusades, and after spending some time in the East they were able to collect most of the works of Grecian philosophers in the original form. They eagerly sought for every remaining fragment of Aristotle's works, and soon succeeded in being able to present him to the West without the interpolations of Arabic translators and commentators. Translations of his most important works, such as the *Metaphysics*, some books of the *Ethics*, the *Politics*, and the *Magna Moralia*, were made by able Greek scholars, and circulated in the schools. This version supplanted the Arabic translation, though both remained for a time current among masters and scholars.

With the introduction of the Greek version of Aristotle a distinction was soon pointed out between Aristotle himself and his Arabic commentators, and the great object of teachers was henceforth to christianize the Philosopher, as Aristotle was called: to eviscerate his false systems, and make his sound principles become the handmaid of Christian theology. The first who set himself to carry out this idea

was the renowned Franciscan Doctor, Alexander of Hales. He made free use of the Aristotelian treatises in support of the Catholic truths, and his example was followed by other schools of the University. But Alexander was principally a theologian, and as such could not deal with Aristotle to advantage; it was in philosophy that the Philosopher had first to be christianized, and such a work was fully accomplished by the two great Dominican doctors, Albert the Great, and his yet more celebrated disciple, St. Thomas Aquinas. Albert took Aristotle, and, proceeding in a method similar to that of Avicenna, paraphrased each treatise according to Christian ideas; where Aristotle was found to teach any unchristian system he was rejected, and students were warned against him; but where his principles and systems were sound, he was retained and turned to advantage. Such a method of treatment resulted in the production of a vast encyclopædia of development of principles that served as a valuable safeguard against all future encroachment on truth.

St. Thomas, who had studied under Albert the Great, excelled his master in method and precision. He handled Aristotle more after the method of Averroës, commenting on the words of the text itself, and then adding new *opuscula* where required. With clear and accurate distinctions he met the arguments of the Arabic commentator, and showed where the truth and the error lay. His keen intellect was also well sharpened against the dangers of exaggerated Realism and Nominalism, and with a deep, broad grasp of far-reaching principles he succeeded in producing harmony between the divergent systems.

The great success of St. Thomas must be attributed to his clear insight into every system that came before him for consideration. As a rule, every erroneous system contains at bottom some element of truth, and the chief work of the assailant is to clearly grasp how far that remnant of truth reaches, and to point out where it comes in contact with error. This insight into the errors hinging on some misapplied principles, and into the difficulties surrounding each point of true doctrine, was never so clearly or so fully seen

by any human intellect as by the great Aquinas. His method was to meet the opponents of truth on their own prepared ground, to bring with them as many difficulties as possible against a point of doctrine; then by a short quotation to show the sense of Scripture, the mind of the fathers or the philosopher regarding the doctrine in question; next followed a short pointed argument in defence of the reasonableness of the doctrine; and finally, an ingenious answer to each of the difficulties adduced. St. Bernard, perhaps, would have been shocked at any doctor of the orthodox faith bringing objections against any Catholic doctrine; but in the time of St. Thomas such a system was the only means of satisfying the minds of the schoolmen and refuting erroneous opinions. And such a system could not but succeed. Let an upholder of error first bring forth all the grounds of his belief, and his difficulties regarding any truth; then briefly set forth for him the true doctrine, and lay bare the hollowness of the objections and difficulties brought forth, and he must be very obstinate in his belief who will not be convinced of the truth. By this invariable method of proceeding, the Angelical met the wants of his time. The dialecticians had ample scope for exercising their skill by raising difficulties, and by ingeniously answering them with logical distinctions; the rationalist could delight in the free exercise of reason; and the upholder of authority could feel confident that his position was secure and well provided for. The Angelical drew a clear distinction between natural and revealed religion, and where reason could not demonstrate, she was allowed to freely enter and show the reasonableness or non-unreasonableness of revealed truth. This method of St. Thomas and the works that he produced formed the groundwork on which theological science then caught a firm footing, and from which she has not yet been, nor ever shall be moved so long as the method and works of the Angelical are kept alive in the theological schools.

With St. Thomas the Paris University may be said to have reached its intellectual perfection. Other great doctors such as St. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus were bright luminaries of its schools; yet, it is to St. Thomas

is principally due the great renown the University gained as being the first great mediæval centre of theological learning, and it was his fame that made its colleges become an attraction to students from all parts of Europe.

It was not till long after the establishment of the University that any attempt was made to found colleges for its students. University colleges, as we understand them, were unknown when the University began, and students who came to the University had to fare for themselves among the citizens as best they could. They assembled to hear their masters' lecture in large halls in which they were seated on planks, stones, many even on the straw on the floor; heated halls with cushioned seats and carpeted floors were then unknown to students. Outside these lecture halls the only classification recognised among them was their division into nations. Four nations were represented—the French, which included all the Latin races; the English with whom were classed the Germans, Hungarians, and all students from the north and east of Europe; the Picards which embraced all the low countries; and the Normans. With this nominal classification the students were at liberty to live in whatever manner they chose, and when we consider that the number of students thus free to live and act as they pleased was often considerably over twenty thousand, we may well make allowance for the repeated riots and disturbances that occurred. The rich students lived sumptuously with their friends or wealthy acquaintances, and studied little; the middle class lived together in rented houses in which they appointed one of themselves to preside; the poor students, many of whom had travelled on foot from far-distant countries to seek learning in Paris, lived in miserable hovels or garrets with scarcely enough food or clothing to enable them to study and attend the lectures. Many incidents are related of the sacrifices students then made in order to acquire learning. In one room three students lived together and possessed between them but one suit of clothes. While two studied in bed the other went to attend the lecture; the other two succeeded in turn, and each brought home to his indigent prisoners the knowledge

he had acquired from the latest lecture. Another student when dying had nothing but some torn clothes and an old black parchment book, all which he left to his fellow-student, but with the condition that he would get Mass said for the repose of his soul. It was to remedy the sad state of these poor scholars that attempts were first made to establish a college or house where they could live together in common.

The only colleges then in Paris were those of Notre Dame, St. Genevieve, St. Victor's, and the colleges of the Mendicant orders, but these latter were for their own respective students. Only a small number of ecclesiastical students were allowed to remain within the cloisters of Notre Dame; St. Victor's was the home of its monks, though its doors were ever open to poor students who came for help. St. Genevieve, which was then considered outside the Paris boundaries, and which is said to have been founded by Clovis and Clotilda at the solicitation of the saint, was inhabited by canons who were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction; the Mendicants and the other Religious Orders had their own colleges where their masters lectured and their students studied; but beyond these centres there were no other fixed and authorized homes for the students.

The first secular college mentioned in the history of the University is the college for poor clerks, founded in 1180, close to the Cathedral of Notre Dame; it was established by Jocius, of London, who had recently returned from the Crusades. He was so touched by the pitiful state of the poor scholars that he founded and endowed a house in which many of them were to be received and cared for. Two similar institutions were founded in 1186 and 1208, both of which were governed by ecclesiastical authorities. Another early foundation was the College of Constantinople, founded soon after the taking of Constantinople, in 1204, for the education of young Greeks in the orthodox faith. After these foundations and the stimulus given to like institutions by the coming of the Religious Orders, colleges began to rapidly multiply, so much so, that in less than two centuries

after, more than fifty colleges, besides those of the Friars, were established and flourishing in Paris.

But among all these colleges there is one that especially claims attention, the College of Sorbonne. It was founded in 1257 by Robert de Sorbonne, St. Louis's private chaplain. Moved by the inordinately life of the University students, and the many temptations to which they were exposed, Robert conceived the idea of bringing masters and students together, and establishing a house where they would be free to devote all their time to lectures and study, and be secure from the many temptations of city life. Some attribute its foundation as an intended check on the Friars, who on account of their regular conventual life and their large, valuable libraries easily gained the day over the seculars. Robert used every effort to have it a success, to have it for secular doctors and students what the convents were for the Mendicants. He selected the best men he could find to become members of it, and at his request the King favoured it from its beginning, granting a suitable site for its erection, and afterwards contributing richly to its endowment. It was under the control of the secular ecclesiastical authority. Robert, after being its superior for twenty years, died in 1274.

The Sorbonne was intended for secular students who had already taken their Degree in Arts, and who intended to enter on the long course necessary for the doctorship in theology. Sixteen students, four from each nation, were all that were first admitted to residence, but the number was soon raised to thirty-six. Besides this established number of residences new bachelors of theology sought admittance to it, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Sorbonne came to be understood for the whole theological faculty of the Paris University. In its halls or schools were held all the public disputations of the theologians, and from its doctors pronouncements on heresies and decisions of cases were sought from all parts of Europe. Even in modern days the Sorbonne has made itself remarkable for its independent position in questions of theology, and its conniving at Jansenism and Gallicanism often brought itself and its doctors under the censures of ecclesiastical authorities. It is still the theological faculty of Paris.

The college system thus introduced into the Paris University brought about a period of peace and calm in the city, and the riotous 'martinets' were looked on as a thing of the past. Each faculty had its own masters who lectured and held 'inceptions' in their different schools, and the carrying out of the fixed curriculum was much insisted on by the authorities of the University.

By a Bull of Innocent III., given in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a curriculum or university course, and the time required for attending lectures before taking degrees in any faculty had been determined. The faculties then recognised were—Arts, Law, and Theology; the Faculty of Medicine was not introduced till about half a century later. The young student had to spend a certain number of years as a simple auditor attending his master's lectures, then he had to hold a 'determination,' and if successful was admitted to the Baccalaureate, and commissioned to lecture under his master's guidance for some years more, after which he had to hold his final 'determination' before the body of masters. He was then presented to the Chancellor from whom he received the *licentia docendi*, a necessary requirement before he could begin to teach in any public school.

In the Art Faculty the term required before 'determining,' was six years—four as an auditor, and two as a bachelor. The course included grammar, logic, psychology, natural and moral philosophy, and no student could become a Master of Arts till he had attained his twenty-first year. To obtain mastership in theology the course was much longer. A student should first spend six years attending lectures on Holy Scripture and the Lombard; then, provided he had attained the age of twenty-five, he should present himself for examination before four masters, and if successful, he was made bachelor, and admitted to his 'first course.' He then delivered lectures for two years on different books of the Bible, at the end of which term he held his 'principium,' by defending a thesis against a number of young students who were waiting for their bachelorship. After this he began a two years' course of lectures on the

Sentences, and at the end of the course held a theological disputation in the bishop's hall. The Chancellor, the presiding master, and the other masters present tested his knowledge of different theological questions, and if his answers proved satisfactory, the Chancellor placed the *Birretum Doctorale* on his head, and assigned him a place among the doctors. The prescribed age for doctorship was thirty-five, though in this, and in the time required for attending the master's lectures, the University had the power to dispense. St. Thomas, owing to his great ability, was made doctor at thirty-one. The Faculties of Law and Medicine required six years' attendance at lectures, and degrees were conferred in much the same way as in the Faculties of Art and Theology.

Such was the curriculum according to which the intellectual training of the great schoolmen was perfected, and with it we conclude our already too extended, yet incomplete account, of the intellectual life of Paris. It may not be too much to hope that what we have said may lead others interested in scholastic theology to study for themselves the fascinating history of the Paris University and the Schoolmen.

P. T. BURKE, O.D.C.

THE LATIN LANGUAGE IN CONVENTS

THE following lines are the immediate consequence of a visit to a convent where my daughter was to make her final vows. Many and deep were the feelings aroused on that solemn occasion ; yet they did not prevent a lively recollection of an occurrence in my early boyhood taking a particular hold of me. My daughter mentioned, among other things concerning her profession, how she and her two companions had of late, during Lent, had to say numerous and hard prayers in Latin ; how she often would have willingly given up her knowledge of German for an equal amount of Latin. This observation exactly corresponded with ideas and feelings long ago impressed on my mind, and brought them, as it were, to a point.

When I was still at school, now more than half a century ago, I used to spend my Sundays and part of my vacations at the quiet home of an old aunt who had been in a convent in Germany. On the arrival of the French republican armies she had been driven away, and lived ever since with three of her fellow-sufferers in a retired place, keeping up as much as possible the rules of their order. Often I handled their Latin breviary, and once or twice I was bold enough to ask the pert question : How is it you say prayers in Latin when you do not understand the words ? One of the good nuns seemed prepared for such a taunt ; she must have heard it before, for she replied quite readily : Have you not a canary at home that sings a nice tune ? Does the bird understand what it sings ? and yet you are pleased to hear it. So it is with us. Almighty God is pleased with our prayers although we do not understand the words. This reply, uttered with great confidence and self-satisfaction, settled, for the time, the discussion ; yet a feeling remained behind within me that also something else, even something better, might be said on the subject.

Since then the importance of the Latin language for

our Catholic Church has become a favourite theme of my thoughts. I have learned to consider it as a dowry, an absolutely necessary dowry, prepared by Providence, for the spouse of Christ, and thus a powerful evidence in favour of the Catholic against all national Churches. We Catholics cannot esteem and cultivate that language too much. Now, if this is true, the simple conclusion from such a view with regard to the object now under consideration, is the question: Why should not young nuns learn Latin?

The advantages of such a course of study are obvious; the difficulties that may appear at first sight are not serious, and are easily overcome. In former ages, when modern languages, with their noble literatures were not yet developed, Latin and Greek were learned by ladies who pretended to a higher education; everyone knows how Lady Jane Grey, not to mention other historical persons of the same period, was even at her young age an excellent classical scholar. And even now-a-days, ladies here, and more yet in America, have again turned their attention to those ancient languages and literatures. There is scarcely any young person among those classes that enter into convents who has not learned something of German, French, or Italian. Why should not the same persons study a little Latin, just enough to understand such books as in a convent come into their hands? We do not want them to dive, like our students of philology, into all the difficulties of syntax and composition, to study Roman law, constitution, philosophy; to master the obscure passages of historians, orators, or poets; but to read in Latin what they mostly have read already in their mother tongue. The first, and almost only thing required, would be a book specially intended for our purpose, quite different from the manuals used in grammar schools, containing the simplest rules of grammar and syntax, with copious vocabulary, exercises, and suitable extracts. There might be, in the beginning, here and there some difficulty in procuring masters to teach; but when the system has been once generally introduced, there will be in every convent Latin scholars able to impart their own knowledge, and who going thus over the same ground again, will themselves become

more perfect, according to the saying, *docendo discimus*. The cost of such a publication would soon be covered; there will be plenty of copies required every year, especially also when young ladies intending to enter a convent take to these studies as a kind of preparation.

General success for an undertaking like the one here proposed, depends, in our Catholic Church, on action emanating from the centre. What we therefore wish, and the ultimate intention of these lines is, to draw the attention of some one of high position to the subject with a view of getting the approval and encouragement of the highest authorities. Very few words would be sufficient.

PREFACE TO A LATIN GRAMMAR FOR NOVICES

The Latin language is for the Catholic Church, and consequently for each individual member of it, of the utmost importance, more so than is generally thought. People that look on the subject only superficially are rather struck with the opposite view that public worship in an unknown tongue has only inconvenience. But we need not shrink from the controversy: we have a good cause to plead, and can enter boldly on the question. A Church established and intended for one nation only could eventually do without the use of any foreign tongue, without Latin; not so that one Church which is destined equally for all races, tribes, and nations, as well as for all ages. The introduction and general adoption of that language by our holy Church was evidently something more than the result of human calculation and wisdom; we can clearly see how Providence itself prepared, in many ways, centuries before the coming of the Messiah, the spread of His kingdom in many ways; especially also, by getting ready a kind of dowry, a dowry absolutely necessary for His bride the Church, in the shape of a grand, rich unchanging language, fit to express and preserve intact the doctrine and precepts of the Messiah; able to render the loftiest ideas and the deepest feelings inspired by the spirit of religion. It is, therefore, suitable and useful before we begin the study of that language to pursue a little further and deeper these reflections, to examine the

importance and necessity of Latin for our Church, and humbly, adoringly follow the ways of Providence with regard to this subject.

At the time when our Saviour was born, although Rome formed a strong tyrannical political centre, the whole human race was split up into numberless nations, tribes, and classes, each having its own religious belief, moral code and practices; many went to extremes of folly and horror; the most respectable amongst those religious societies were confined to a few select disciples or classes who often guarded timidly and zealously their dogmas from the knowledge of the crowd. The consequence of all this was universal division, contempt, hatred, open enmity; an almost insuperable barrier to general civilization, progress, and happiness. If that state of things had continued, we all would probably be nothing but vile slaves under a few insolent tyrannical masters. God had mercy on poor man.

Christ appeared, and brought from on high a doctrine as different from all existing ones as heaven is from earth: 'Only one God, an infinitely perfect, eternal Being, ye men are His creatures, made to His image, nay, His children, all but one family, brethren bound to esteem and love one another, all alike destined for eternal happiness. Unite therefore to adore and serve Him, in that one Church which I came to establish, and of which I shall always be the head.' And behold, His apostles, contrary to the doings of all other teachers of religion, go out, immediately after the establishment of that Church, in all directions to preach the Gospel, not even knowing how far their mission would carry them, for they had no idea of the extent of our globe. But what would have become of those twelve single men amongst the barbarians if every tribe had been constantly at war with their neighbours? What connection would have been possible between the Apostles or their successors among themselves and with their centre? They would all have miserably perished in an unknown spot and been forgotten. Providence had provided against that.

There was a vigorous race of men in Italy called the Romans. They first conquered their immediate neighbours,

then the whole of Italy, and now the idea came into their heads, that they were destined to subdue all other nations of the earth. By valour and prudent policy they actually succeeded in this. By the time Christ was born the Romans had extended their sway over the whole known globe. There was, for some time, no great war, the so-called Magnificent Roman Peace prevailed; and this, of course, favoured the spread of the Catholic religion; communications between the different parts of the empire and with the capital were kept up; and St. Peter, no doubt guided by Providence, had, in the meantime, made Rome the city of his final abode, the centre of the Church.

But something else was even more necessary than the universal empire, namely, a language. Let us imagine the Apostles going out among the barbarians whose rude language might not be able even to express fully all doctrines, those idioms besides changing every generation. The Apostles themselves had indeed all the same language, that used by our Lord Himself, but their immediate successors had only that imperfect idiom belonging to the spot where they were engaged. Humanly speaking it would have been impossible, under such circumstances, to preserve the Christian doctrine complete and pure. If after a few generations two Christians had met, the one coming from the far East, the other from Ireland, they would not have recognised each other's teaching as being one and the same. But there was one language provided by Providence for the East and West, and this prevented all confusion.

The same Romans who had so firmly persuaded themselves they were destined to extend their empire over the whole globe, and had carried out this idea with admirable firmness and wisdom, insisted also, as one of the means for preserving their universal sway, that no language but their own should be used in dealing with kings or chiefs of foreign nations, or in the courts of justice among them. And that language had, just before the beginning of the Christian era, been brought to its perfection; historians, philosophers, lawyers, politicians, and poets, endowed from on high with eminent talents for their task, had

done their best to render Latin fit for expressing all the loftiest thoughts, and all impulses of the human mind and soul. And the barbarians, especially their leaders, adopted, readily enough, this language; they could not help feeling its superiority, they were partly forced, partly proud, to learn it, to be able to go to Rome on private or on public business. Thus the Latin language spread amongst all nations; it was a means of communication among them, and with the centre of the empire. And this same language was naturally, with more or less consciousness of its utility and necessity, adopted by the Church for the same purpose of communication and union amongst all, and with the common centre.

Yet there was a new danger ahead for that very language, a danger of which the early Christians themselves certainly never thought, but which Providence again foresaw and prevented. All languages change in the course of time. Our modern languages, in spite of the standard works of literature, in spite of schools, and all efforts to the contrary, are subject to that law of change; words and expressions are now used in a different meaning from what they had a hundred years ago: compare the works of Chaucer, with those of modern authors. But among uncivilized people these changes are much more striking. To mention only one example. Some missionaries went to the west of Africa, and established a small colony; they were, however, obliged to leave; and when they returned, after many years, they found the idiom of the natives quite altered. The pure Latin of Rome was exposed even to special danger in this respect. Being taken up by many half-civilized people it got mixed up with the local idioms, and thus spoiled. This corruption went actually so far, the Latin in distant countries became so bad, that serious doubts were raised whether sacraments administered in this way were really efficient. What would have been the end of this? But what does history tell us?

Innumerable hords of savages came from the north, from the east; learned men cannot yet account for this immense inroad; they overran and destroyed the great Roman empire,

and divided it into many independent parts. Terrible ravages occurred; but even in a worldly sense the change proved ultimately a benefit to mankind at large. The Romans had lost their former high national character, riches and power had rendered them voluptuous, tyrannical, a scourge to all nations; the Roman empire had fulfilled its destiny, and went down.

With regard to language, the invaders followed the example of the other nations, and adopted the Latin tongue; but they did so not as docile pupils, but as conquerors and masters; they mixed with it so much of their own, that Latin lost entirely its character, and turned into quite new idioms, Italian, Spanish, French. Latin thus vanished as a spoken language, but its most perfect form of the classical period remained intact in a rich literature, and that is now the Catholic language in which the purity of Christian doctrine is preserved for ever.

Who does not perceive the importance of such a treasure? Who does not distinctly see the hand of Providence, which for ages had been preparing that gift? And not only that. The early fathers of the Church who carefully studied the great Roman authors, and made themselves complete masters of this language, adopted it as a new mother tongue, then used it for higher purposes, and composed prayers and liturgies which no translation can adequately render, and in some of which, as in the preface before the *Sanctus*, the most magnificent language is found that ever issued from human lips.

You who are about to enter on these studies will be rewarded in many ways for the trouble that is always attached to a new beginning. And when you afterwards say, or join in the singing of the *Pange Lingua*, or other hymns, you will be stirred by some of the most sublime and lovely poetry that ever came from and moved a human heart. And then remember that exactly these same words resound all over the globe wherever an altar is raised round which assemble, in union with their brethren all over this earth, the members of the one Holy Catholic Church.

The publication of a Preface to a Latin Grammar for Novices, implies, of course, that the writer has completed, or at least has on hand, a sketch for such a work. This is, indeed, a fact; the general plan and a few chapters are ready, and afford to a competent judge an opportunity to give his opinion about the whole. But it would be useless to finish the sketch unless first some chances of success appear. As a mercantile undertaking it is, however, not intended. The views of the writer go a little higher; he thinks that, in matters of this kind, personal interests must be, as much as possible, set aside, and only the advantage of the Church at large be considered. Thinking of this, a late communication from Rome in the newspapers came just in time to confirm him in his ideas, and, at the same time, suggests the following proposal:—

The Holy Father, in an Encyclical letter, speaks of his sincere wish and intention to promote more vigorously missionary work, especially also in the East. For assistance he refers to the well-known Catholic Association for the Propagation of Faith, and applies to all Catholics to contribute, now even more liberally, to the funds of that Society, as pecuniary help will be one of the first requirements.

Now, here is a plan for connecting our proposal to introduce the study of Latin in convents with that wish expressed by the Holy Father.

1. It may be taken for granted that all admit how desirable it is that novices should learn enough Latin to understand what they read.

2. To get this opinion generally acknowledged, and eventually carried into effect, some encouragement from headquarters, from Rome, would be required.

3. The book in question, the Latin class-book, will then be completed by competent, experienced men, and approved of by competent authorities.

4. A subscription (rather moderate) is raised to defray the expenses of a first edition.

5. These books are placed at the disposition of the above-mentioned Association, who have agents everywhere. They

apply to all convents, referring to the decision from Rome, and supply the required number of copies.

6. The money received goes, with scarcely any deduction, to the said Association, who apply it according to the intentions of the Holy Father.

7. An extension of the work and of the respective income is produced by getting the Grammar translated into different languages, and then following the same plan for distributing it.

8. In convent schools, classes could be formed where pupils learn enough Latin to understand the Offices of the Church.

HERMANN DACUS.

WAS ST. AUGUSTINE UNCRITICAL?

ANGLICANS, even when great admirers of St. Augustine, take it for granted that, on Biblical questions, he was uncritical; and for this they have the very highest authority in their Church, that of Dr. Westcott. In *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, 1863,¹ he gladly avails of St. Augustine's help to prove our present New Testament Canon, which is also the Anglican Canon; but, on our Old Testament Canon, which was also the Canon of St. Augustine, but is not the Canon of the Anglican Church, he completely rejects his testimony. To account for this inconsistency he falls into a number of inconsistencies and errors which are best given in his own words:—

The real divergence as to the contents of the Old Testament Canon is to be traced to Augustine, whose wavering and uncertain language on the point furnishes abundant materials for controversy. By education and character he occupied a position more than usually unfavourable to historical criticism, and yet his overpowering influence, when it fell in with ordinary usage, gave consistency and strength to the opinion which he appeared to

¹ Art. 'Canon.'

advocate, for it may be reasonably doubted whether he differed intentionally from Jerome except in language And the original catalogue [of Augustine] is equally qualified by an introduction which distinguishes between the authority of books which are received by all, and by some of the Churches; and again between those which are received by Churches of great or of small weight,¹ so that the list which immediately follows must be interpreted by this rule But, on the other hand, Augustine frequently uses passages from the apocryphal books as co-ordinate with Scripture, and practically disregards the rules of distinction between the various classes of sacred writings which he had himself laid down. He stood on the extreme verge of the age of independent learning, and follows at one time the conclusions of criticism, at another the prescriptions of habit, which from his date grew more and more powerful. The enlarged Canon of Augustine, which was, as it will be seen, wholly unsupported by any Greek authority, was adopted at the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), though with a reservation (Can. 47): *De confirmando isto canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur.*

All this might have been said in this one sentence, 'Augustine differs from the Church of England; but it makes no matter, for he was a bad critic, he was incapable of testing historical evidence, and did not even know his own mind.'

Passing over for the present the errors of fact and date contained in this long extract, I will call St. Augustine himself to answer this charge of incompetence. Having occasion recently² to analyze St. Augustine's *contra Faustum*, I lighted on a passage which was too long for my space, but which seems almost intended as an answer to such a charge. Faustus was the head of the Manicheans in Africa; an able and polished man, but a most sophistical reasoner. As head of a nominal Christian sect he received the New Testament, but got rid of the troublesome passages by simply denying their authenticity. A favourite plan of his was to compare texts, find contradictions between them, and then reject as an interpolation the one opposed to his doctrines. He rejected the Old Testament altogether. He held the doctrine of inspiration, and even claimed it for the writings of Manes and for a number of apocryphal writings brought into his

¹ *De Doctrina Christ.*, ii. 8.

² *Life of St. Augustine*, ch. xxiv.

sect by the Gnostics. A Biblical discussion with such a man should exhibit the critical principles of the disputants; and such a discussion we fortunately possess in St. Augustine's *contra Faustum*, from the close of which (B. xxxiii.) the present extract is taken:—

But what can I do with men so perversely deaf to the voice of Scripture, that when a passage is quoted against them they dare to assert that it was not said by an Apostle, but written in his name by some falsifier? So manifestly opposed to Christian doctrine is that doctrine of demons which you preach, that you cannot possibly defend it as Christian except by denying the truth of the Apostolic Scriptures. Unhappy men, enemies of your own souls! What writings can have any authority if the evangelical or apostolical writings have none? What book is there of whose authorship we can be certain, if it be uncertain that the writings which the Church holds and asserts to be apostolical are really so? and this Church propagated by the Apostles themselves, and so conspicuous throughout all nations. And we must, forsooth, hold for certain that other writings opposed to this same Church, were written by Apostles, although we have them only from heretics, bearing the names of founders, who came long after the Apostles. Have we not in secular literature undoubted authors in whose names many writings were afterwards published, but rejected as spurious, either because they did not agree with those which were certainly authentic, or because they had not been known at the time, or commended, or mentioned, or transmitted to posterity by the nearest friends of these authors? To omit many others, have not certain books been published under the name of that most noble physician Hippocrates, which however have no authority among medical men? A certain resemblance in matter and words has availed them nothing, since, on being compared with the genuine works, they are found to be quite inferior, to say nothing of the fact that they were never recognised as his from the time when his other writings were acknowledged. Now, as to those books by comparison with which the others have been rejected, how are they proved to be the genuine works of Hippocrates, and so well-known that a doubter would not be argued with, but laughed at? How is all this so certain, but because, from the very days of Hippocrates to our own times, there is a succession of evidence which only a madman could question. How have men been able to authenticate the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and the rest, except by a similar unbroken succession of testimony. There are many ecclesiastical writings beside the Canonical Books. How do we make sure of their authors unless by ascertaining that each of them, in his own time, had communicated

and published his writings, and that they have been so transmitted to us as to leave no room for doubt? But why go so far back? Take this work on which we are now engaged; if, when we have both passed away, some one should deny that this was written by Faustus, and this other by Augustine, how is he to be convinced, unless by the testimony of those now living and its continuation through succeeding generations? This being so, how can it be asserted that the Church of the Apostles is unworthy to transmit their writings to posterity? a Church so faithful, so numerous, so fraternal? a Church which has preserved the very chairs of these apostles through a most certain succession of bishops to this day? This being so as regards all writings, whether within the Church or without, and their transmission being so easy, how can anyone not blinded by satanic malice question the power of the Church to transmit faithfully to posterity the writings of the Apostles? But, you say, they contradict each other. Yes, in your malignity you read them with a bad intention; in your folly you do not understand them; you are blind and do not see. What great trouble would it have been to examine these writings, and to discover their great and salutary harmony, if assisted by piety and not perverted by the spirit of contention? For what man, reading two historians who treat of the same subject, would accuse both or either of deceiving or being deceived, if one of them should happen to mention something which the other had omitted? Or if one should have treated the matter compendiously without affecting the sense, while the other enters into details, and mentions not only what was done, but how it was done? But Faustus calumniates the Gospels because Matthew says something which Luke omits; as if Luke denied that Christ had said what Matthew attributed to Him Was the Scripture of God to speak to us in language differing from that to which we were accustomed? This is my answer to obstinate and turbulent men as regards the usage of language I wish some one of those who magnify these trifles against the Gospel would himself relate *twice* something of the same kind, with no intention to deceive, but in all good faith; and that his words be taken down, and then recited to him. Let him then see whether he has not added or subtracted something; or changed the order not only of the words, but even of the events; or said something of his own as if said by another, which, however, he had not actually heard from his lips, but had known him to have felt and intended; or compressed what he had more fully explained; or if there be anything else subject to the rules which explain how it may happen that in two narrations of the same event we may find diversity without opposition, variation without contradiction.

I submit that it is not good criticism to call the writer of the above an incompetent critic. But there are other

mistakes which it is no pleasant duty to point out in a writer so conspicuous for his services against the 'destructive critics.'

1. There was no 'enlarged Canon of Augustine.' Dr. Westcott proves (p. 265) that the African Catholic Canon was the same as that of the Donatists; now the Donatists fell off from the Catholic Church in the year 311, that is just forty-three years before St. Augustine was born. And in his *History of New Testament Canon*,² he says that this Old Testament Canon was the very one used by St. Cyprian, who died in the year 258.

2. The words *consulatur Ecclesia transmarina* belong to the Plenary Council of Hippo, A.D. 393, but were quoted by the Council of 397, which composed a *Breviarium* of the Canons of Hippo, the only record we now possess of that celebrated council. The Canon of Scripture was promulgated in 393, 397, and again in the Plenary Council of Carthage, A.D. 419, *as received from our fathers*. This Council of 419 sent its acts to Rome in charge of the papal legates. It is quite certain that in these African Councils *Ecclesia transmarina* meant the Roman Church, as both Gallicans and Anglicans insist when they think it adverse to Rome, as in the question of appeals. The reason of these repeated promulgations of the Canon was, probably, the prevalence, often mentioned by St. Augustine, of apocryphal writings circulated by the Manicheans. There may be also some truth in Dr. Westcott's surmise, that the Donatists wished to pose as the defenders of the old popular Canon. It was only after its promulgation by the Councils of 393 and 397 that St. Augustine inserted the Canon in his work, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 8. Augustine was only a young priest in 393, when the Council of Hippo was held. The attempt to make him the author of the Canon, and at the same time a bad critic, is evidently intended as a defence of the Anglican dissent from the Catholic Canon.

3. Dr. Westcott lays great stress on St. Augustine's little preface to the Canon, but omits altogether the following

words inserted immediately after it: *in his omnibus libris, timentes Deum et pietate mansueti quorum voluntatem Dei*. From these words alone it is clear that Dr. Westcott has completely mistaken the meaning of this preface. He says¹ that 'by this distinction he extended to others a certain freedom of judgment, and even exercised it himself.' Where did he exercise it himself? Where did he ever express a doubt about the inspiration of any of these Books? Does not Dr. Westcott tell us that he disregarded the distinction in practice? And, as to the liberty he allowed to others, take this specimen from his *contra Faustum*,² written about the same time: 'Such being the canonical eminence of the Sacred Scriptures, it is not lawful to doubt what has been said by a single Prophet, Apostle or Evangelist, once the fact has been declared and confirmed by the Canon.' St. Augustine's contemporaries raised no question about this preface, not even the Donatists, who were always on the watch. Its meaning was therefore understood, and could not possibly be what Dr. Westcott insinuates, viz., liberty to doubt of the *intrinsic* authority of the books now called *deutero-canonical*. As regards their *extrinsic* authority, he allowed the same liberty we use at present in not quoting them against Protestants. We must also remember that he was writing for Biblical students, who had to defend the *dogmatic* and authoritative Canon of Scripture, by proving that it coincided exactly with the *historical* Canon founded on sound critical principles. By following the rules laid down in this preface a student could construct critically such a Canon, just as students do at present.

Dr. Westcott cannot bear the thought of a dogmatic Canon, and denounces the decree of Trent on the Canon in almost the very words of Sarpi.³ He is not content with the signatures of a pope, two cardinals, four legates, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and fifty-

¹ *Hist. New Testament Canon*, p. 454.

² Book xi., ch. 5.

³ *Hist. N. T. Canon*, final ch.

eight bishops, seven abbots, seven generals of orders, and many procurators of absent bishops ;¹ while St. Augustine required only the signature of Pope Innocent, to say *causa finita est*. Well Dr. Westcott has had his way ; for nearly half a century he and other distinguished men have expended splendid talents, great learning, and undoubted zeal in defence of the Bible. But where are the results ? Is the Bible more respected ? Do the masses believe more firmly in their Bible ? Do even the dignitaries and professors ?

St. Augustine knew the rules of criticism, and made good use of them at the proper time and place. But it was not on them he relied when he said : ‘ I would not believe the Gospel were I not moved by the authority of the Catholic Church . . . If I believe the Gospel, I must also believe the *Acts of the Apostles*, since both are equally commended to me by Catholic authority.’²

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

¹ These are the final signatures, but of course they must be included in the charge of incompetence made against the fathers of the fourth Session. The charge, that among all these and their theologians and advisers there was no critical ability, is so absurd that it refutes itself. Peacock, who is quoted as a Catholic authority, figures in Fox's *Memorial* at February 11. He had got into trouble in Lollard times. This whole chapter is unworthy of Dr. Westcott even as a critic. Anglicans lose their heads whenever Rome is in question.

² *Epis. Fund.* 6

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION IN THE CHURCH

AMONGST his many glories St. Augustine counts that of catechist ; he was indeed the most distinguished catechist of the most glorious period in this respect of the Church. Heaven had gifted him with an almost universal genius, and he possessed amongst other talents that of instructing young intelligences. His brilliant imagination, his enthusiasm, full of fire and sweetness ; perhaps also the errors of his youth and his marvellous return to virtue, prepared him a favourable reception with his audience, and gained their hearts. Rich in the experience of his predecessors, he analyzed their ideas, combined their methods, and resumed in his works the discoveries of all the catechists who preceded him in the east and west. His work, *De Catechandis Rudibus*, is the outcome of the vast learning and experience of St. Augustine, and is to catechetical instruction what his work, *De Doctrina Christiana*, is to sacred rhetoric.

It is not our intention to analyze the work of St. Augustine more than to remark that he refers to *love* all the qualifications necessary to the catechist. If you do not love God and your brethren, he says, how will you laboriously spell out the first words of faith to instruct the ignorant ? how will you sustain the attention of an audience that shows signs of fatigue ? where will you find the secret of speaking of the same truth again and again without repeating yourself ? where will you obtain the courage and industry necessary to cultivate these barren lands which produce nothing but briars and thorns ? In this treatise the immortal Bishop of Carthage gives advice that is invaluable to everyone announcing the word of God, when he tells us to give the light cheerfully, for God as well as man loves the cheerful giver, to ever wear an appearance of happiness, for happiness is a principal element of success, and

the love of God should give a joyous serenity to our language.

Perhaps she says you complain your discourse does not please you. Do you not know that the intelligence of the audience supplies the defects of your words, and that often the discourse that displeases its author, rejoices and improves the hearers? You have to do with people who do not understand the first word of your instructions! Then, like a tender mother who lisps the words to her children, distribute the crumbs of knowledge instead of seating yourself at a splendid banquet. They become tired of hearing you! Accommodate yourself to human infirmity and awaken their sleeping attention by ingenious devices. You must repeat and repeat the same things! Let the love which animates you give them an appearance of novelty. You would much prefer a different occupation! But would you do so much good in the work of your own choice as doing that which Providence has marked out for you. Scandals affect you! Eloquence is ordinarily the vibration of a stricken soul. You feel remorse, perhaps, for sins which you have committed! Be of good courage: redeem the evil by the best kind of alms, which is to break the bread of truth to poor intelligences.

Concerning the methods which one may follow, St. Augustine counsels the *logical* plan to the Deacon of Carthage, so that the catechumens in understanding may believe, in believing may hope, and in hoping may believe. In detached sermons, we find the Doctor of Africa, in order to follow the natural thread of ideas, treating of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. But he also loved the liturgical method. The festivals and sacred ceremonies offered subjects of instruction adapted to all. St. Augustine had the science and the taste for symbolism.

Yet, though he loved the liturgical method, his love was far from being exclusive. A part of his affection was reserved for the *historical* method. Thus when *Deo Gratias*, the Deacon of Carthage, asks how he is to teach the Christian Dogmas, he recommended him to teach them under the form of narrative. The books of Scripture composed before the birth of Christ foretel the coming of the Saviour, and the establishment of the Church which is His mystical Body. The Ancient Testament is a figure of the New; the reason of the coming of the Messiah is the showing forth of God's

love for men, especially in dying for them who were as yet His enemies: the end of the precepts, and the perfection of the law consist in charity. And so we have the magnificent theory of the Bishop of Hippo on Catechetical Instruction in its *logical*, *liturgical*, and *historical* methods.

Every point of doctrine is based essentially on an *idea*, and we may trace this idea to principles or attach it to consequences. Unity being universal, the idea of the human mind on the simple enunciation of a proposition of faith ascends and descends the entire scale of the intellectual world. This operation of the mind brings one to the *logical* plan. Again, Divine light falls, by the very fact, into the domain of events. When one relates what has been, and when the progress and tendency of events are shown; when one brings forward the supernatural effects of the divine ideas, with their circumstances, their bearing, and their order of generation, one is following the *historical* plan.

But ideas and facts mark out a visible passage in the universe. Monuments attest to all ages phenomena of the past. The Church which is a monument, and by its nature a necessary witness of the divine ideas and works knows how to give a body to invisible things, and to lastingly perpetuate them. All in her speaks: persons, acts, prayers, and ceremonies. The Catechist who starts from the life of the Church to ascend to God conforms to the *liturgical* plan.

These three methods are not strangers one to the other; there are, on the contrary, very strict bonds of relationship between them. We see history in science, and we perceive science in history, and liturgy houses them in our memory.

We will now exemplify the principles laid down in former papers.¹ As St. John Chrysostom was the most perfect master of the 'homily' in the early ages of the Church, the holy Cure of Ars seems to us to come nearest perfection in modern times in this kind of preaching. The

¹ See I. E. RECORD, May and July, 1897.

portions we possess of the venerable Curé's instructions and homilies are few and of a fragmentary nature, yet we can find in them sufficient to serve as models. As Michael Angelo studied the 'Torso,' and owned that his genius was the child of that mutilated fragment; so whoever studies the homilies and catechisms of the holy priest of Ars will find and acknowledge that he has seen the word of God clothed becomingly and sweetly in human expression. In his sermons and catechetical instructions M. Vianney was precise and exact in his theological statements, and the simplest words of these venerable lips possessed a singular majesty and an irresistible charm. As to his style, he always used the very simplest expression in which it was possible to clothe the idea which he wished to convey. He availed himself freely of images drawn from nature. His instructions were full of incidents from the lives of the saints, told with the life-like freshness of one who lived habitually in their company.

The Curé of Ars [says M. Monnin], without ever suspecting it was a poet in the highest sense of the word; his heart was endowed in the highest degree with the gift of sensibility, and it opened only to give out the true note and the just accent.¹

One Spring morning [said he] I was going to see a sick person; the thickets were full of little birds, who were singing their hearts out. I took pleasure in hearing them, and I said to myself, 'poor little birds, you know not what you are singing; but you are singing the praises of the good God!'

We are here reminded of St. Francis of Assisi. The following may give an idea of his preaching:—

We see in to-day's Gospel, my brethren, that the master of the field having sown his seed in good ground the enemy came while he was asleep and sowed cockle in the midst of it. The meaning of this is, that God created men good and perfect, but that the enemy came and sowed sin in his heart. This is the fall of Adam—a dreadful fall, which let in sin into the heart of man. This is the mixture of the good and the evil; we find sin among virtues. Do you say, we must root up the cockle? 'No,' replies our Lord, 'lest with it you root up the wheat also. Wait till the harvest.' The heart of man must endure thus to the

¹ See *Life of the Curé of Ars*, by l'Abbe Monnin.

end—a mixture of good and evil, of vice and virtue, of light and darkness, of good seed and cockle. The good God has not been pleased to destroy this mixture, and make for us a new nature in which there should be nothing but good seed. We must struggle and labour to hinder the cockle from overgrowing the whole field. The devil will come, indeed, to sow temptations around our steps; but by the help of Divine grace we shall be able to overcome them, and stifle the cockle. The cockle is impurity and pride. ‘Without impurity and pride,’ says, St. Augustine, ‘there would be no merit in resisting temptation.’ Three things are absolutely necessary as defences against temptation,—prayer to enlighten us, the sacraments to strengthen us, and vigilance to preserve us. Happy are the souls that are tempted! It is when the devil foresees that a soul is tending to union with God, that he redoubles his rage. Oh, blessed union!

If the Curé of Ars is a model for preachers in the ‘homily’ he is yet a more perfect model of the catechist. Indeed he seems to have been raised up by God in this century of scientific unbelief to show forth the power of the word of truth in¹ Jesus Christ, not in the persuasive words of human wisdom. Nor am I forgetting the admirable catechists of St. Sulpice or ‘la Madeleine,’ with the great Dupanloup as their leader, but we are persuaded there is in the catechetical instructions of the Curé d’Ars that which like genius we fail to analyze, but which exerts a wonderful influence over us, and that something is not found in the works of others. The reader will judge. I will quote from that on the Holy Spirit, as M. Monnin gives it:—

Oh, how blessed is this, my children! The Father is our Creator, the Son is our Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost our guide. Man is nothing by himself, but he is much with the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit alone can elevate his soul and lift it on high. Why were the saints so detached from earth? because they suffered themselves to be led by the Holy Spirit. Those who are led by the Holy Spirit have a right judgment in all things. Therefore it is that there are so many ignorant souls who are far more keen-sighted than the learned. When we are led by a God of light and power we can never go wrong. The Holy Spirit is a light and power. It is He who makes us to discern between truth and falsehood, good and evil. Like those glasses which magnify the objects on which we look, the Holy Spirit shows us evil and good in all their magnitude. With the aid of the Holy

¹ Eph. Chap. 1.

Spirit we see all things on a large scale, we see the greatness of the smallest action done for God, and the greatness of the slightest fault. As a watchmaker discerns by the help of his magnifying glass the most minute wheels of his watch, so by the light of the Holy Ghost we discern the most secret details of our poor lives. Then do the slightest imperfections appear great, the lightest sins horrible. The Blessed Virgin, who never sinned, and to whom the Holy Spirit revealed the hideousness of evil, shuddered with horror at the slightest fault. Those in whom the Holy Spirit dwells cannot endure themselves, so conscious are they of their own misery. Worldly men have not the Holy Spirit: or, if they have, it is only at intervals. He does not dwell with them, the noise of the world drives Him away. A Christian who is led by the Holy Spirit feels no difficulty in leaving the good things of earth to pursue those of heaven. He can discern the difference between them. The eye of the world cannot see beyond this life as mine cannot see beyond that wall when the church door is shut. Without the Holy Spirit all is cold; thus, when we feel we are losing fervour, we must hasten to make a novena to the Holy Ghost to ask for faith and love. When we have made a retreat or a jubilee we are full of good desires; these good desires are the breath of the Holy Ghost, which has passed over our soul and renewed all within it, like the warm wind which melts the ice and brings back the spring. You, even, who are not great saints, have moments in which you taste the sweetness of prayer and the presence of God. When we have the Holy Ghost, the heart dilates and bathes in divine love. The fish never complains of having too much water, so the good Christian never complains of being too long with God. There are some who find religion irksome, but it is because they have not the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is a power. But for the Holy Spirit the martyrs would have fallen like the leaves from the trees. When the fires were kindled for them the Holy Ghost extinguished the flames by the fires of divine love. The Holy Ghost rests in the soul of the just like the dove in her nest. He hatches good desires in a pure soul, as the dove hatches her little ones. The Holy Ghost leads us as a mother leads a child of two years old by the hand—as one who can see leads a blind man. Our Lord said to His Apostles—‘It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go, not away, the Paraclete will not come to you.’ The descent of the Holy Ghost was needed to render that harvest of grace fruitful. As with a grain of wheat, you cast it into the earth, but it needs the sun and the rain to make it spring up and bring forth the ear. We should say every morning: ‘My God, send me Thy Holy Spirit to teach me what I am, and what Thou art.’

This is but a fragment of a fragment, yet the great lines are there;—lines of beauty, strength, and sweetness, by the study of which we may profit much.

We now come to the period when catechetical instruction merges in great part into the 'teaching of catechism to children,' and in Bossuet¹ it seems to us the transition was made.

Bossuet has been called the last of the fathers of the Church. There may be exaggeration in this praise, yet everyone must admit the sublimity of his varied genius, and that he has more than any other caught the style of the first fathers of the Church; Bossuet who spoke so nobly the language of the most sublime theology knew how to lisp, as it were, with children and prepare for them the milk of doctrine until they should be able to partake of the food of the strong. It is especially in his catechisms that we admire the respect which this truly great genius had for our sacred beginnings. St. Augustine was his model.

Wishing to spread the light in his diocese, the Bishop of Meaux first published a catechism of questions and answers, following the method of the catechism printed by order of the Council of Trent, that is to say, on the *logical plan*. That the instruction might be proportioned to the different ages, he divided this first work into three parts: one for the little children, which was to be learned at home; the second was for those who already came to the church, attended school, and were preparing for Confirmation; the last for those who were about to make their first Communion. Bossuet himself marks for us the points on which it seemed important to insist:—

We have judged it necessary [he says] to insist somewhat on the creation of man, on the fall of our first parents, and on the evil inheritance of sin, as also on the admirable mystery of our redemption, on the Sacraments which apply its virtue to us, in order that each one may know very distinctly the remedies which God has furnished to our evils, and the dispositions with which we ought to receive them.

The Bishop does not deny that certain parts of his

¹ St. Ignatius and other men of God had already brought into prominence the teaching of the fundamental truths to the young, but we are not speaking of it exactly in this relation.

instructions, though indeed very elementary, may seem beyond the capacity of children :—

You ought not for that he adds] to omit teaching them, because experience shows that, provided things are explained to children in short and precise terms, although these terms are not always understood at first, little by little, by thinking on them, they are at last understood. Moreover, looking to the salvation of all, we have preferred that the less advanced and the less capable should find things that they could not understand, than that those who are more intelligent should be deprived of anything.

Bossuet's intention was that history and liturgy should give a sensible form to the truths which the catechist was to explain to the children. Fleury at this time was after publishing his *Historical Catechism*. The Bishop approved of it for his diocese of Meaux, and recommended its usage. He himself wrote an abridgment of sacred history, and speaks thus in the preface :—

At the commencement of this second catechism you will give the children, in an abridged form, the sacred history according to the method here employed. The parish priest will expand it and divide it into as many sermons or lessons as will seem good to his prudence. But by every kind of means he will endeavour to impress it deeply on the minds of the children by giving the lessons in the most vivid and pleasing manner, with the most characteristic and picturesque expressions, by repeating often, and making them repeat sometimes one part, sometimes another ; even making those who are capable to learn it by heart, remembering that nothing insinuates itself more quickly into the minds of children, and nothing makes more impression on them, than to insert the doctrine in their minds, as God did in the minds of Moses and the Evangelists.

After giving this important instruction, Bossuet shows in eight *tableaux* the most striking facts of history from the creation of the world to the establishment of the Church. Remark how the disciple of St. Augustine follows to the letter the instructions of the treatise '*De catechizandis rudibus*.'

Some time after Bossuet composed, for those who were more advanced, his *Catechism of the Festivals and other Solemnities and Observances of the Church* ; and here again he traces the method of catechetical instruction of the

fathers of the Church, and notably of St. Augustine. He borrows also from them the enumeration of the duties of those who are obliged to instruct children. There are three sorts of persons, according to the Bishop, who are charged with the mission of the catechist—fathers and mothers, schoolmasters, and priests.

It had been our intention to speak of the *Teaching of Catechism to Children*, but, on consideration, the importance and difficulty of the subject have so grown upon us that we have given up the task in despair. Nor would we wish to seem what we are not; and, therefore, we abstain from pronouncing on that which, on account of its gravity, can be done with becomingness only by the high dignitaries of the Church and those placed in responsible positions. We mean the strictness of this obligation on those to whom the souls of children are confided. Therefore, we will end these brief sketches by quoting the words of a distinguished Irish prelate in a remarkable book¹, many parts of which are of surpassing beauty and of the greatest interest to the priests of Ireland:—

I will remind you, venerable brethren [says Dr. Moriarty], that the most effectual of all preaching, and that without which all other preaching is nearly useless, is the teaching of the catechism to the young. I say it, brethren, advisedly. The priest who would neglect every other instruction, and teach the catechism to the children of his parish would have done a great deal. The priest who would discharge every other duty and neglect this, would have done nothing. The one will be preparing for his successor a generation, at least, of believing Christians, the other a generation of baptized pagans. Mind the decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. 24 chap. 4: 'The bishops shall also take care that at least on the Lord's days and other festivals, the children in every parish be carefully taught the rudiments of the faith, and obedience towards God and their parents, by those whose duty it is, and who shall be constrained thereunto by their bishops, and, if need be, even by ecclesiastical censures.' Oh, brethren, I conjure you in the name of the living God to teach the catechism. Let it not be said that the little ones asked for bread, and that there was none to break it unto them (Lam. iv. 4).

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

¹ *Allocutions aux Pasteurs*, by the Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

DISPENSATION IN THE VOW OF CHASTITY

REV. DEAR SIR.—A penitent has taken a vow of perfect chastity *extra religionem*. Now, however, she wishes to be released from her obligation, and wants to know to whom she must apply for a dispensation. Have the bishops power to dispense?

CONFESSARIUS.

The bishop may, of course, have delegated faculties in virtue of which he can dispense in a vow of perfect and perpetual chastity. Without such special faculties, he can dispense in a case of urgent necessity *in quantum est necessarium*. But, *jure ordinario*, outside a case of necessity, bishops have no power to dispense in a vow of perfect and perpetual chastity. It should be observed, however, that the vow is reserved only when the following conditions are present: The vow must be—(1) perpetual, and (2) perfect; perfect (*a*) *ratione actus*: that is, the vow must be taken with full knowledge, deliberation, and freedom; (*b*) *ratione materie*: that is, it must prohibit, in the virtue of religion, *id omne contra castitatem quod illicitum est solutis*; (*c*) *ratione finis*: that is, the vow must be taken *ob amorem castitatis*: a vow of chastity taken from any other motive is not reserved; (*d*) *ratione formae*, that is, the vow must be absolute, not conditional, nor, as a rule, disjunctive—I will observe perfect chastity, or fast twice a week; if, however, both members of the disjunctive were reserved, the disjunctive vow would be reserved—I vow to enter religion or to observe perfect and perpetual chastity in the world; (*e*) *ratione obligationis*: that is, the vow must bind under a *grave* obligation; a vow of chastity, otherwise perfect, but

binding only *sub veniale*, would not be reserved. Finally, we should add that if there be good and solid ground for thinking that the vow is imperfect, under any of the above-named five aspects, the bishop can dispense. For, the reservation is in that hypothesis doubtful, and here as elsewhere, *reservatio dubia est nulla*.

If the vow be unreserved, to whom must application be made for a dispensation? (1) To the bishop of the penitent's domicile or quasi-domicile; or (2) to the bishop of the place where the penitent happens to be, in case she is a *vaga*, or outside the diocese in which her home is situated.

CAN A CURATE DISPENSE IN THE LAW FORBIDDING SERVILE WORKS ON SUNDAY?

REV. DEAR SIR, —Can a curate dispense in the law forbidding servile works on Sundays and holidays? In the absence of the parish priest, I am sometimes asked to give permission to work at harvesting. May I do so, and by what authority?

C. C.

Custom has given parish priests the right to dispense in this and similar laws, but curates, as such, enjoy no similar privilege. A curate, therefore, can dispense only in virtue of jurisdiction from the parish priest or other superior. The power of dispensing in this and other laws over which the parish priest has power from custom, is, of course, delegated to the curate when, *v.g.*, the parish priest, about to absent himself, commissions the curate in a general way to attend to the parochial duties in his absence. In Ireland, as far as we know, the people who ask for permission to work at harvesting and the like are, as a rule, justified in working without any dispensation. A curate, though he cannot dispense, has, of course, a perfect right to declare that in given cases it is lawful to work on Sundays or holidays. This right will, probably, cover the cases that our correspondent is likely to meet.

INFORMAL WILLS AND PIOUS BEQUESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will oblige by saying what should be my decision in the following case:—

A. B. has inherited considerable property from X. Y., recently deceased. The deceased had made a will distributing his property between A. B. and others. Among other bequests there were several for ecclesiastical and other charitable purposes. The will has been legally set aside as informal, and A. B. has come in for the whole property, as next-of-kin. He admits that as far as the pious bequests go, the will, though informal in the eyes of the law, represents X. Y.'s dying intention, and he is prepared to pay these pious bequests, if an obligation to do so be imposed on him. I have no doubt as to what the decision should be, but I should like to have an opinion in the next number of I. E. RECORD.

M.

A decision bearing on this case was rather recently obtained from one of the Roman Congregations. It is published, with an editorial note, in the I. E. RECORD of November, 1895.

We are at one with our correspondent in saying that the solution of this case presents no difficulty. A. B. is undoubtedly bound to pay these pious bequests according to the known will and intention of his deceased relative. Whatever may be said of the power of the state to invalidate, owing to legal informalities, bequests for secular purposes, the state has no power to make void bequests for pious purposes. A pious bequest that satisfies the requirements of the natural and ecclesiastical law remains valid despite the force of civil enactments. Such bequests and the conditions of their validity fall directly within the jurisdiction of the Church; and the claims of the Church and her legislation cannot be overridden by the inferior authority of the civil power. Our correspondent will find this to be the teaching of the decision to which we have above referred.

THE BULL 'APOSTOLICAE CURAE'

We deem it a duty to draw special attention to the brief addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, and printed in the present number of the I. E. RECORD. This important pronouncement removes any doubt that may have remained regarding the scope and authority of the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, in which the Holy Father established and defined the invalidity of Anglican orders.

In reply to several correspondents, we have already had occasion to assert the obligation of all Catholics to receive and assent to the teaching of the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*; and that, not merely because of the proved invalidity of Anglican orders, but also in obedience to the teaching authority of the Holy See.

We recognised, too, that the condemnation of Anglican orders was a matter which fell within the domain of the Pope to decide absolutely and finally. The brief now published enables us to go a step farther. For it now appears, moreover, that the Holy Father *de facto* intended to define, absolutely and irrevocably, the invalidity of Anglican orders. *Consilium fuit*, we read, in the brief now published, *absolute judicare, penitusque dirimere . . . sententiam Nostram, Catholici, autem, omnes summo deberent obsequio amplecti tanquam perpetuo firmam, ratam, irrevocabilem*.

This clear pronouncement will be to many a welcome commentary on the teaching of the recent Bull, and will silence among Catholics, at all events, any dispute as to the import of the papal decision.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

A QUESTION REGARDING THE COMMUNION OF THE FAITHFUL

REV. AND DEAR SIR.—Can you kindly throw some further light on the following question?

It not unfrequently happens in churches, where there is a large number of communicants at the early Masses on Sunday, that, in order not to inconvenience the congregation by delaying them too long in the church; and again, because the celebrant is infirm—immediately after his own communion, another priest vested in cotta and stole comes to the altar to distribute communion to the people. In this ministry, he either entirely replaces the celebrant, or he shares it with him, using a ciborium, which he takes from the tabernacle. In the former case the celebrant does not leave the altar, but goes on with his Mass. On his receiving the Precious Blood, the Minister at the Mass says the *Confiteor*, and very often it is the other priest who opens the door of the tabernacle, takes out the ciborium, says the *Misereatur*, &c., and the *Eccc Agnus Dei*; and the celebrant continues his Mass.

Now, is this the more proper course under the circumstances? My own opinion has always been that it is not; but that the celebrant should himself perform all these acts, which are prescribed to him by the rubrics of the Missal,¹ and as they are explained by all liturgical authors;² and, moreover, that he should himself begin the Communion of the people, by communicating, at least, some few; and that the other priest should at the altar-rails receive from his hands the sacred ciborium, and then continue the people's Communion. It might, indeed, be preferable that the celebrant should consecrate a ciborium in his Mass, and begin the Communion with it; meanwhile, the priest assisting would simply take the ciborium from the tabernacle

¹ Missale Rom. *Notes servandæ in celebrando Missæ*, x. 6. But here is contemplated a priest saying Mass at an altar where the Blessed Sacrament is not reserved in the tabernacle.

² Martinucci, tom. i., pp. 344-350., cap. xxiv., *De SS. Eucharistia Fidelibus administranda*, § 1., nn. 1-9. De Herdt, tom. i., P. ii., n. 292. S. Alph. Lig., *De Cæremoniis Missæ*, Schober. Baldeschi, Part vi., ch. vi., n. 5,

and continue the Communion, and the celebrant might, at any time, go back to the altar to finish his Mass.

My reason for suggesting one or other of these courses, is that thereby there would be less violation of the letter of the rubrics prescribed to a celebrant of Mass in which there are communicants; and a greater conformity with the mind and spirit of the Church. For it always strikes me, in such a case, as an infraction of the prescribed integrity of Mass, for another priest, to take, so to say, out of the lips of the celebrant, words which it is his own duty to say, viz., *Misereatur*, &c., in response to the *Confiteor* which his own minister has just said in the name of the communicants; as also the *Ecce Agnus Dei*—Moreover, by giving communion to a few of them, he fulfils, so far, the rest of his duty, and prescribed integrity of the Mass, according to the rubrics of the Missal,¹ and the desire of the Church, as expressed in the Council of Trent.²

Liturgical writers treat of two modes only of giving Communion; the one *intra Missam*, at the hands of the Celebrant, and the other *extra Missam*;³ but their prescriptions do not meet the case in point; and it is perhaps difficult to determine precisely to which of the two this belongs. To myself it seems decidedly to belong to the former mode, though attended by some exceptional circumstances for the avoidance of grave inconvenience, and that, consequently, all the rubrics prescribed for Communion *intra Missam*, have the first claim to observance.

I am not here venturing for a moment to question either the lawfulness or advisability of the practice itself; but am only inquiring how it may be best carried out, conformably with the rubrics, and the intention of the Church. I have known numerous cases, on the last Sunday of a Mission or of a Retreat to some Sodality, when the number of those at the General Communion amounted to many hundreds, and even greatly exceeded two thousand; when several priests were called to assist at the altar-rails, and, not unfrequently the Bishop of the Diocese was the celebrant at the Mass. From such obvious necessity the

¹ *Missale Romanum, Ordo Missae, Canon Missae.*

² 'Optaret quidem sacrosancta synodus, ut in singulis Missis fideles adstantes, non solum spirituali affectu, sed sacramenti etiam Eucharistiae perceptione communicarent, quo ad eos sanctissimi Sacrificii fructus uberior proveniret.'

Sess. xxii., *De Sacrificio Missae*, cap. vi. See De Herdt, tom. i., n. 294.

³ Baldeschi, Part vi., ch. vi., n. 1-4.

practice has become more or less a custom, carried out under the eye of ecclesiastical authority, and meeting with, at least, its tacit sanction and approval.

Yet another mode of carrying out the practice under discussion may be considered preferable to those which I have suggested, as serving more to dissociate it from the Mass, and to render it rather a Communion *extra Missam*. It is this, that, where practicable, the Blessed Sacrament should be previously transferred from the Tabernacle at the High Altar where the Mass is celebrated, to one at another altar, and that the priest who assists in giving communion should go out with his own Minister to this altar and observe all the ceremonies prescribed for Communion *extra Missam*; whilst the celebrant would fulfil what is enjoined on him by communicating some few with particles consecrated in his Mass. In the other modes suggested it seems to be a question, should the Communion still continue after the Mass is over, whether the priest on his return from the altar rails ought to pronounce the blessing, *Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis*, or not. It often happens, however, in the case of a very large General Communion, that two Masses are celebrated consecutively during the time of its ministration.

I am, Rev. Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R.

DOCUMENTS

THE BULL 'APOSTOLICAE CURAE'

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM. SSMUS. ACRITER
 REPREHENDIT LUTETIANAM EPHEMERIDEM 'REVUE ANGLO-
 ROMAINE,' ILLAMQUE SILERE IUBET¹

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO FRANCISCO MARIAE S. R. E. CARDINALI
 RICHARD, ARCHIEPISCOPO PARISIENSI. PARISIOS

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Religioni apud Anglos aeternaeque animarum saluti pro
 munere prospicientes, Constitutionem *Apostolicae curae*, ut nosti,
 proxime edidimus. In ea causam gravissimam de ordinationibus
 anglicanis, iure quidem a decessoribus Nostris multo antea
 definitam indulgenter tamen a Nobis ex integro revocatam, con-
 silium fuit absolute iudicare penitusque dirimere. Idque sane
 perfecimus eo argumentorum pondere eaque formularum tum
 perspicuitate tum auctoritate, ut sententiam Nostram nemo
 prudens recteque animatus compellere in dubitationem posset,
 catholici autem omnes omnino deberent obsequio amplecti, tan-
 quam perpetuo firmam, ratam, irrevocabilem. At vero diffiteri
 nequimus non ita a quibusdam catholicis esse responsum: id
 quod haud levi nos aegritudine affecit. Hoc tecum, Dilecte Fili
 Noster, communicare ideo placuit, quia ephemeridem *Revue
 Anglo-romaine*, quae istis evulgatur, praecipue attingit. Sunt
 namque in eius scriptoribus qui eiusdem Constitutionis virtutem
 non ut par est tuentur atque illustrant, sed infirmant potius
 tergiversando et disceptando. Quocirca evigilare oportet ut ex
 tali ephemeride ne quid dimanet quod cum propositis Nostris
 non plene conveniat; certeque praestat eam desistere atque
 omnino silere, ubi eisdem propositis ceptisque optimis difficultatem
 sit allatura. Similiter, quando ex Anglis dissidentibus ii certi
 homines qui veritatem rei de ordinationibus suis exquirere a
 Nobis sincero animo videbantur, veritatem ipsam a Nobis coram
 Deo significatam, animo longe alio acceperunt, plane consequitur
 ut catholici quos supra commemoravimus, in eisque vir aliquis
 religiosus, agnoscant officium suum. Iam nunc enim nec aequum

¹ Statim siluit, uti de iure et de facto omnino congruum erat.

fuertit nec de eorum sinu, illorum hominum adiungi et quoquo modo suffragari consiliis, quod etiam optato religionis incremento possit non minime obesse.

De his igitur rebus quae magni momenti sunt, exploratae prudentiae ac solertiae tuae, Dilecte Fili Noster, valde confidimus: auspiciisque divinorum munerum ac testem peculiaris Nostri benevolentiae, Apostolicam tibi benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die v novembris, anno MDCCCXCVI, Pontificatus Nostri decimo nono.

LEO PP. XIII.

IT IS NOT EXPEDIENT TO CELEBRATE BY SPECIAL SOLEMNITIES THE 19th CENTENARY OF THE REDEMPTION

LITTERAE S. R. CONGREGATIONIS AD ILLUSTRISSIMUM COMITEM
IONNEM ACQUADERNI: BONONIAM. DE CENTENARIA SOLEMNITATE
CELEBRANDA REDEMPTIONIS HUMANAЕ

Romae, 14 Maii, 1895.

Illme Domine.

Iussu SS^{mi} Dñi nostri Papae, Patrum Congregatio sacris Ritibus praeposita, in conventu die 7 huius eiusdem mensis, in Aedibus vaticanis habito, tum Literas Eñno Cardinali, Pontificis primo Scribee ad extranea, die 24 Martii proxime elapsi a te datas, tum etiam his adnatum Programma de celebranda novies decies centenaria Redemptionis nostrae solemnitate, quae iuxta vulgarem computationem saeculo millesimo nongentesimo contingeret, diligenter expendenda suscepit.

Profecto laude et praemio apud Deum digna res est, ex qualibet temporum occasione ad excitandam Fidelium pietatem in Deum, devotionemque inflammantiam erga hanc Apostolicam Sedem argumentum arripere: quod procul dubio excogitatae sollemnitatis Promotores et Programmatiss auctores animo intendisse dicendi sunt. At vero et id probe agnoscens S. Congregatio, illico tamen animadvertit, omnino novum et inopportunitum, imo etiam parum conveniens esse, morem qui iam ubique obtinuit, atque adeo frequenter exercetur, sollemnitates saeculares celebrandi, praecipuis Religionis nostrae Mysteriis aptare. Prorsus existimari nec potest, nec debet, quod elapsis viginti quinque, aut quinquaginta, centum annis, illorum memoriam denuo excitare opus sit.

Qui haec Mysteria instar peculiarium solemnitatum habere et considerare velit, is ad proponendum consilium vel invitatus trahitur, haud dissimile illi quod in Programmata proponitur, erigendi videlicet in perennem huius celebratae solemnitatis memoriam Redemptionis Sanctae Altare perpetuum; quasi vero in quolibet nostrorum templorum Altari Christus Cruci affixus, quod est omnium maxime visibile humanae Redemptionis signum, non adoretur; atque in omnibus nostris precibus non invocetur uti apud Deum Patrem intercessor idem noster Redemptor Christus.

Id profecto non advertit qui centenariam istam commemorationem excogitavit atque promovit, nec illi in mentem subit decisio, ab eadem sacrorum Rituum Congregatione die 31 Maii Anno 1884 edita, qua postulationi plerorumque praeclarissimorum virorum, tum ex ecclesiasticis, tum vero etiam ex laicis respondebat; qui quidem sibi animo proposuerant centenarium commemorationem Nativitatis Mariae Virginis celebrare.¹ Huiusmodi decisio Eino Cardinali Haynald per literas datas die 1 Iunii exhibita fuit, ac paulo post ab Ephemeridibus catholicis publicata.

In folio hic adnexo partem reperiēs, Illūne Domine, quae potiori admodum iure postulationi per te nuper adnotae aptanda est, quae proinde aliud quam illa responsum expectare poterat, videlicet—non expedire—.

¹ En lacinia litterarum, quae citantur :

Consuetudinem autem, quae invaluit, celebrandi sacras centenarias commemorationes, rei praesenti minus congruere deprehensum fuit. Quandoquidem, uti iidem centenarii fautores testantur, expetitum festum prima vice hoc decimonono saeculo foret inducendum, veluti quid novum in Dei Ecclesia, et cunctis retroactis saeculis ne cogitatum quidem ab eximia maiorum erga inclytam Dei Genitricem pietate et devotione, aut certe illis inusitatum. Profecto satis congrua theologica atque liturgica ratione inolevisse censendum est, ut saecularia solemnia, quae aliis sanctis cum Christo regnantibus non denegantur, ea de praecipuis sacratissimis Beatae Virginis vitae actis et mysteriis: scilicet de Nativitate, de Annuntiatione, de Assumptione, ac porro de ceteris, non celebrentur. Nam eminentiori veneratione supra ceteros Sanctos colit Ecclesia Coeli Reginam et Dominam Angelorum, cui *in quantum ipsa est mater Dei... debetur... non qualiscumque dulcia, sed hyperdulcia* (S. Thom. 3 part. quaest. 25, art. 5), Ideoque plusquam centenaria solemnī commemoratione, eadem semper cultus praestantia, eodemque honoris tributo Ecclesia celebrat recurrentes eius mysteriorum solemnitates; cum de cetero cultus Deiparae in Ecclesia sit plane quot dianus, ac prope nulla temporis mensura limitatus.

Haec pauca, vel leviter tantum adumbrata, satis ostendunt prudentiam Sacrae Congregationis, quae proposito dubio: 'An recolī expediat anno proximo 1885 in toto Orbe centenaria commemoratio Nativitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis?' mature expensis omnibus, unanimi suffragio respondit: *non expedire*.

Dum hanc tibi S. Congregationis Decisionem, SSmi Patris voluntati morem gerens, notam facio, meae erga te amplissimae observantiae testimonium mihi pergratum est tibi etiam atque etiam exhibere.

Tibi addictissimus servus

C. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

RESOLUTION OF DOUBTS REGARDING THE CELEBRATION OF REQUIEM MASSES

ROMANA. DUBIA QUOAD DECRETUM 'AUCTO' CIRCA MISSAS PRIVATAS DE 'REQUIE'

Nonnulli Ecclesiarum Rectores sequentia Dubia super legitima interpretatione Decreti *Aucto*, die 8 Iunii anno nuper elapso 1896 editi, circa Missas privatas de Requie, die et pro die obitus indultas, Sacrae Rituum Congregationis resolvenda humiliter proposuerunt videlicet :

I. Privilegium circa Missas lectas de Requie ex praefato Decreto concessum sacellis sepulcreti, favet ne sive Ecclesiae vel Oratorio publico ac principali ipsius sepulcreti, sive aliis Ecclesiis vel Cappellis, extra coemeterium, subter quas ad legitimam distantiam alicuius defuncti cadaver quiescit ?

II. Missae privatae de Requie, quae sub expressis conditionibus celebrari possunt praesente cadavere, licitae ne erunt in quibuslibet Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis sive publicis sive privatis ?

III. Huiusmodi Missae privatae de Requie celebrari ne poterunt sine applicatione pro Defuncto, cuius cadaver est vel censetur praesens ?

IV. Eadem pariter Missae possuntne celebrari diebus non duplicibus, qui tamen festa duplicia I classis excludunt, uti ex. gr. feria IV. Cinerum ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque mature perpensis, respondendum censuit :

Ad I. Negative ad utrumque.

Ad II. Affirmative, dummodo cadaver sit physice vel moraliter praesens ; sed, si agatur de Ecclesiis et Oratoriis publicis, fieri debet etiam funus cum Missa exequiali.

Ad III. et IV. Negative.

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit, die 12 Januarii 1897.

C. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, S. R. C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S. R. C., *Secretarius*.

**CAN NUNS INHERIT PROPERTY WITHOUT A DISPENSATION
OF THE HOLY SEE?**

MONIALES NEQUEUNT ACCIPERE HAEREDITATEM, ETIAM IN BONUM TOTIUS COMMUNITATIS, ABSQUE DISPENSATIONE S. SEDIS,—QUAE, IN CASU, PRO URGENTIORIBUS NEGOTIIS EPUM ORATOREM DELEGAT AD TRIENNium

BEATISSIMÆ PATER:—Episcopus Zamorensis, in Hispania, ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humillime exponit: N. N. Sanctimonialium Ordinis Praemonstratensis in conventu civitatis N., huius dioecesis, ex Constitutionibus, civilibus hispanicis ius habere ad haereditatem capiendam, quae eidem contigit ex morte fratris presbyteri recens defuncti. Hinc quaeritur:

1. An praefata Sanctimonialis, posita solemnī religiosa professione quam iamdiu emisit, licite in conscientia possit gestiones agere, sive per se sive per procuratorem, ut haereditatem capiat proprio nomine coram saeculari iudice, in bonum tamen totius Communitatis, ut par est; vel potius egeat, ratione voti paupertatis, legitima dispensatione ad praedictas gestiones iuridicas agendas ad haereditatem adquirendam?

2. Dato quod dispensatione egeat: an haec eidem tribui possit a conventus Superiorissa, aut ab Episcopo cui conventus subest: vel necessario, ratione solemnī voti, a Sede Apostolica obtineri debeat?—Demum, posita necessitate recurrendi ad Apostolicam Sedem pro praedicta dispensatione, Episcopus orator suppliciter postulat.

1. Ut praefatae Sanctimoniali facultas tribuatur ad iuridicas gestiones per procuratorem instituendas ac perficiendas pro haereditate sibi ac proprio nomine capiendam, quae in bonum cedat totius Communitatis.—

2. Ut eidem Episcopo oratori sufficiens facultas elargiatur ut dispensare possit super vota paupertatis in casibus similibus ad id ut providere valeat pro urgentia quae regulariter in iisdem occurrit.—Et Deus...

Sacra Congregatio Emorum ac Rmorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, super, praemissis censuit respondendum prout respondet:

Ad 1^m et 2^m providebitur in Tertio.

Ad 3^m Affirmative pro petita facultate; ita tamen ut haereditas acquiratur Monasterio.

Ad 4^m Affirmative pro petita facultate ad triennium, pro casibus dumtaxat urgentibus, in quibus nempe non suppetat tempus recurrendi ad Sanctam Sedem.

Romae, 15 Ianuarii, 1897.

S. Card. VANNUCELLI, *Praef.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE IMPERIAL HEALTH MANUAL. Being the Authorized English Edition of the Official Health Manual, issued by the Imperial Health Department of Germany. Edited by Anthony Roche, M.R.C.P.I., &c. Dublin: Fannin and Co., Ltd., 41, Grafton-street.

HANDBOOK OF HEALTH AND HYGIENE. By J. E. Dowling, M.D., Physician to St. Jarlath's College, Tuam, &c. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

IN these countries we may, indeed, have more practical notions of sanitation and hygiene than our neighbours on the Continent ; but it must be admitted that we are woefully behind the times in the matter of health manuals and popular handbooks which aim at bringing scientific notions of sanitation into every home in the land, no matter how remote the quarter may be in which it is situated. We have often heard it asked why the clergy do not exert themselves to impart proper notions of cleanliness to the people amongst whom their lot is cast in many wild and remote places in the country, and in some places which may be wild enough, but are certainly not remote. We have invariably replied that the clergy do far more in that respect than either gentry or the medical profession, notwithstanding the fact that it is much less their duty to do it than it is that of the other two classes mentioned. At all events, the task of those, whether lay or clerical, who seek to raise the standard of civilization amongst the people, will be much facilitated by such works as those we have here before us. We should like to see them both spread broadcast amongst the people. Indeed, we should like to see some manual of the kind placed in the hands of every boy and every girl attending our schools. It would be a matter for those who have charge of the department to say whether one or the other of these handbooks would be suitable for the young. We can only say that in both there is a vast amount of practical information to which all educated people should have access, and that a vast amount of time seems to us to be wasted in our schools on subjects that are not one-fifth as important

or as practical as these for the average pupil. Whatever hesitation we might have in recommending one or other of these manuals for the school-room, we certainly can have none in recommending them both to the general public. Possibly a perfect manual might be constructed from both ; but, meantime, we gladly welcome such useful help towards perfect sanitation and practical knowledge of the rules of hygiene, as are contained in these two volumes.

J. F. H.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN MORRIS, S.J. By Father J. H. Pollen, S.J. London : Burns & Oates, Limited. Quarterly Series.

THOSE to whom the name of the late Father Morris, of the Society of Jesus, was familiar through his works and writings, and who still retain a vivid recollection of the suddenness of the death which put an end to his useful life four years ago, will read with interest these memoirs from the pen of a brother-Jesuit. With rare accomplishments for the task so lovingly undertaken, Father Pollen has succeeded in moulding out of the mass of material at his command, a highly attractive and most readable biography. In the lives of great men there is always much that charms, much that instructs, and much that edifies us. And it was a singularly happy thought that moved our author to familiarize his readers with these admirable qualities of head and heart that disposed the generous youth to make such noble sacrifices for conscience' sake, and that contributed to crown the life-work of the holy and humble priest with signal success. Born of Protestant parents, John Morris was sent to Harrow School, when he had completed his twelfth year. A short stay in this centre of culture was enough to destroy whatever germs of religious growth he had received in his boyhood, and he left Harrow without, as he himself avows, a single religious impression. To Dean Alford, under whose tutelage he was next placed, our pupil was indebted for the rekindling of his early faith, and for the awakening of that glow of religious enthusiasm which now fired him with the holy purpose of discovering which of the many churches throughout the world had strongest claims to be considered the one, true, divinely-appointed Church of Christ. In Cambridge, to which he next passed, the search was plied with unabated vigour, and after

twelve months diligent and painstaking investigation, his doubts and difficulties were solved, and peace dawned upon his soul with the conviction that the house built upon the rock was the home of supernatural truth and the fortress of God's revelation. Like so many others who were irresistibly borne upon the waters of the strong current that had set in towards Rome about this time, John Morris, in his twentieth year, with wealth and luxury and social position in the world within his easy reach, exchanged all for the poor prospect offered by a life of penury, mortification, and retirement, and abandoned father and mother to follow Christ. This gift of faith, so dearly purchased—if we could regard the sacrifice from a worldly point of view—proved to be his most characteristic virtue, for ever afterwards, as he has assured us, he never seriously suffered from a temptation to religious doubts. He made his theological studies in Rome, and was ordained priest in 1849. Of his subsequent career in the Sacred Ministry, and in the Society of Jesus, which he entered in 1867, many interesting details will be gleaned from his own reminiscences of which Father Pollen's biography is extensively made up. His poetical philanthropy which prompted him to undertake many kind offices for the alleviation of the hard lot of the poor, his advocacy of the case for the canonization of the English martyrs, which succeeded to the length of getting a decree for their beatification, his voluminous literary productions, and the widespread influence in calming the troubled souls who came to him for spiritual comfort, all these will contribute to make the memory of Father John Morris loved, revered, and long-lived.

P. M.

PIUS VII., 1800-1823. By Mary H. Allies. London:
Burns & Oates, Ltd. 1897.

We doubt if the history of the immortal Pope Pius VII. has ever been so successfully narrated in a brief monogram as it is in this volume. The work reflects the highest credit on the already illustrious name of Allies. It is, indeed, condensed history; and yet it presents to us a series of vivid pictures which are all the more impressive, as they are depicted mainly in outline. There is scarcely any period of history so rich in dramatic events and in the variety and originality of the personages who lived and moved through its various scenes as the first quarter of the century now

dying out. France and Italy, Paris and Rome, were, as usual, the centres of greatest interest; Napoleon and Pius VII., two of the characters who drew upon themselves most of the attention of the world. Miss Allies enters into the spirit of the times with all the tact and skill and discriminating judgment of the historian. Her power of presenting in outline the essential characteristics of a period and the details of some of its most striking events has, in our opinion, rarely been excelled. In a page or two the dying efforts of Jansenism and Gallicanism, the baneful influence of Joseph II. and his reign, the schemes of Kaunitz and Pombal, the last troubles of one who in the historical sense, at least, might justly be called 'the martyred Pontiff,' Pope Pius VI., are briefly sketched. Then come the election of Barnabas Chiaramonti, the intrigues of the Austrian Court; the cruelty and brutality of Napoleon, Gonsalvi, Talleyrand, the 'Concordat,' the organic articles, Miss Patterson, Cardinal Fesch, all the well-known names and events are passed in review in a manner that will win for Miss Allies not only the gratitude of the general reader, but the special thanks of the students of ecclesiastical history. Indeed we do not think it would be possible for a student to find a more enjoyable and well-told narrative of the events of this period in a brief compass than may be had in this volume, for which we offer our most sincere congratulations to the author.

J. F. H.

CONFERENCES. By Fr. Dignam, S.J. With Retreats, Sermons, and Notes of Spiritual Direction. With a Preface, by Cardinal Mazzella, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

For the publication of this volume we are indebted to a desire on the part of some few of those to whom they were addressed, to rescue from oblivion the best among those thoughts and considerations which their good director gave expression to in the course of the retreats it was his wont to give them from time to time. It is the compilers' hope that as the holy priest's words carried consolation and comfort when uttered by the living voice, so they may still continue to exercise their salutary influences when echoed, as it were, from the grave. The work forms a sequel to another book, which has already been favourably noticed in these pages, 'Retreats, by Fr. Dignam, S.J.' The present volume contains much supplementary matter, comprising a six days' retreat given

to young ladies, two triduumis, conferences to nuns, and fragments of sermons on important subjects. The compilers do not profess to reproduce exactly the addresses of Fr. Dignam as they fell from his lips. What they attempt is to give us their recollections only of what he said. As a consequence, the various meditations and lectures are not so ample and complete as might be desired, neither is the style and arrangement everywhere eminently satisfactory. At the same time the ardent spirit of piety, and tender devotion to the Sacred Heart which characterized Fr. Dignam in life, are made to breathe through these pages, and we feel warranted in predicting for them a wide sphere of usefulness. They will supply excellent suggestions for private meditation, and much very suitable matter for embodying in an instruction to the faithful. The book has been prefaced by Cardinal Mazzella, and as it has been revised in Rome, its teaching and orthodoxy are necessarily irreproachable.

P. M.

THE IRISH MESSENGER OF THE SACRED HEART LIBRARY.

Dublin: Irish Messenger Office, 5, Great Denmark-street.

We beg to bring under the notice of priests and all whom it may concern, these excellent little tracts and booklets, which the zealous Father Cullen, S.J., has published in connection with the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. They bring pious literature, the lives of the saints and short treatises on the principal devotions of the Catholic Church, within reach of the poorest of the poor. The price of each booklet is only one penny. They will prove most useful to the poor who cannot afford the luxury of more expensive works.

THE CHAPLAIN'S SERMONS. BY Rev. John Talbot Smith, LL.D. New York: William H. Young & Company.

We plead guilty to a feeling of slightly hostile prejudice in undertaking the task of reviewing the *Chaplain's Sermons*. In common, we think, with host of others, we are inclined to disbelieve in the utility of the ready-made sermon as an aid to effective preaching. A ready-made garment does not always stand the test of excellence, or commend itself to the exigencies of taste. In like manner, the discourse that is served up in popular form, ready for immediate delivery, does not always fulfil the purpose intended by its author. No two men's thoughts run precisely in the same channel,

and what suits the fancy of one does not ever fit in with the ideas of another. So long as instructions and discourses are not moulded on purely mathematical lines, there will ever be considerable room for discrepancy in tastes as to the plan and the selection and arrangement of matter. Above all, the sermons we find in books, being, as a rule, the outcome of a supreme effort for some extraordinary occasions are hopelessly above the heads of ordinary commonplace congregations, and though attractive and fascinating in their way, are often below the line of usefulness in the instructing and influencing the minds of people. Now, these defects we were prepared to find, in some measure, at least, in Fr. Smith's volume. But we are happy to say that in this we were agreeably disappointed. For our author has produced a book of discourses on nearly all the important, moral, and dogmatic subjects, that cannot fail to please the most fastidious. The plan followed is most commendable. At the beginning of each subject he gives a number of suggestive points, which he then develops in the body of the discourse, following the three-fold formal division—a method which, we think, has its advantages as an aid to the memory, and a help to securing clearness. Thus, a person by looking over these headings will receive suggestions which he will be able to enlarge out of his own stock of knowledge into a sermon of fifteen or twenty minutes' duration. All the subjects touched on are beautifully treated. Father Smith wields a graceful and facile pen, and his book wants nothing of literary excellence. Perhaps we might deplore the paucity of Scriptural quotations, but we feel, as we are sure Father Smith also felt, that this is a want that may be easily supplied by a Testament at the elbow of the priest who is engaged in the work of preparing his Sunday sermon.

J. M.



THE KINETIC THEORY OF ACTIVITY¹

I.

ACTIVITY is of two kinds. An agent is said to be active either because it is capable of acting or because it is actually in action. Thus, a man is capable of walking and of singing when he is sitting down in silence, and these capacities are real powers or activities; they are completed by the action of walking or of singing, when either action takes place.

A mere capacity, such as those mentioned, is called by the Schoolmen an activity *in actu primo*; there is a second kind of activity—the *actus secundus*—which is the action of walking or of singing, by which the capacity is completed and made to act.

Now, there are three classes of agents, each of which has its own peculiar form of activity; they are, inorganic or dead bodies, living organs, and spirits. The actions peculiar to each in the order mentioned are, what are called purely mechanical motions, vital organic actions, and acts of intellect and of will. I do not propose in the present paper to deal with either vital or spiritual activities; though, no doubt, much that is true of purely mechanical movements applies in its measure to those of a higher kind. I am about to propose some considerations with regard to the

¹ This paper was read at the International Catholic Scientific Congress, Fribourg, on the 18th August.

nature of purely mechanical actions, such as that of a cue on a billiard-ball, of the sun on the earth, or the mutual attractions and repulsions on which modern chemistry, physics, and astronomy, are based; and I limit the subject thus, chiefly because it is to discover the nature of these purely mechanical activities that modern scientific men have devoted so much attention.

It is well known that for some time a controversy has been going on in the schools as to the nature of purely mechanical activity, the disputants belonging principally to one or other of two parties, each with a well-defined theory of its own. One is called the Mechanical Theory,—though how it is a whit more mechanical than its rival I fail to see. The other theory has no name, but would be spoken of, I suppose, as the old opinion, the view that was almost universally accepted down to quite recent times. For reasons which will be apparent later on, I shall call this the Dynamic and its rival the Kinetic Theory;—the terms *dynamic* and *kinetic* expressing most aptly the nature of the opinion to which each term is applied.

II.

1. According, therefore, to the kinetic theory, the activity *in actu secundo*, or action, of inorganic or of dead bodies, consists entirely in and is formally identified with their motion;—action and motion being but two names for the same thing. And the activity *in actu primo* of the same agents,—that is, their capacity or power,—is nothing more than a capacity for *receiving* motions in the first instant, and then transferring to other agents, or to other portions of themselves, the motions thus received, and in which their actions formally consist. Hence the name *kinetic*,—the Greek word *κινητικόν* meaning moving, movable, or producing motion.

By motion the modern advocates of the kinetic theory usually mean continuous change of place. Accordingly, their theory is, that a piece of inorganic or of dead matter cannot act unless by moving locally, and whenever it moves locally it acts. Moreover, it may pass its action on to another body by communicating to this the whole or part

of its motion, in which case the action is said to be transient, or to pass from the first agent to the second; and an effect is said to be produced in the second by the first. A motion or action is thus immanent or transient; immanent, as long as it remains within the same moving body, as if a piece of matter were to revolve in pure space; transient, when the motion passes from one body into another, or from one portion of the same body into another part.¹

2. According to the dynamic theory, on the contrary, activity, *in actu secundo*, or action, consists not so much in motion itself as in something which produces motion,—something which is called ‘force,’ or the exertion of ‘force;’ and the *actus primus* or capacity for acting, which resides in agents before they begin to act, is this ‘force’ existing in a latent manner within the agent.

The difference between the two theories is well illustrated by the explanations they give of what is called potential energy, such as resides in a stone raised up and resting on the hand. Dynamists contend that the stone has within itself ‘forces’ of some kind, really different from motion, which are latent while the stone is at rest, but which are exerted or become operative when the support is removed. The advocates of the kinetic theory, on the contrary, maintain that when the hand is taken away the stone moves downwards, not by reason of any ‘forces’ distinct from motions which may be communicated to the stone from without, but because something which is already in motion pushes the stone downwards, and so communicates to it the motion of gravitation with which it moves towards the earth’s centre. According to the kinetic theory there is in inorganic or in dead matter no such thing as potential as distinct from kinetic energy, but every form of energy in such agents is essentially kinetic; whereas dynamists

¹ According to the philosophy of the Schoolmen there is no action truly immanent which is not vital. If a piece of inorganic matter were made to revolve in pure space, without any change in the relative position of its parts, the action would be considered immanent only *per accidens*; it is transient *per se*; that is, it is of its nature such as must pass into another body should certain conditions occur. This is manifestly the correct view to take.

contend that there are 'forces' where there is no motion,— 'forces' which will be exerted and produce motion when certain conditions arise.

With regard to the term *force*, it should be borne in mind that it is to be found in the writings of both parties, but is not understood by both in the same sense. To a dynamist 'force' is an entity of some kind exerted by the substances or the faculties of bodies, capable of producing motion, but differing really from the motion which it produces. The advocates of the kinetic theory are no less strenuous in maintaining the existence of force—or, as they prefer to call it, energy—as an objective reality; but to them the mechanical energies of matter are not really different from motions, and produce effects merely by passing from subject to subject, or from one part or place of a subject into another.

III.

Recent Catholic writers have represented the kinetic theory as not only untrue but uncatholic :—as being, in fact, nothing less than a denial of efficient causality in material agents; and as a thinly-veiled Occasionalism, should the perennial conservation of the motions of bodies be referred to the First Cause. The object of this paper is to beg of those Catholic writers and professors of the present day who are interested in this department of science, to pause before allowing the justice of these strictures, and especially before repeating them. Think for a moment of what we are asked to condemn.

It may be affirmed without hesitation that almost all the great authorities in modern chemistry, physics, and astronomy, have become convinced that it is only in conformity with kinetic principles these sciences can be ultimately explained. I do not mean to insist that this, if true, necessarily proves the truth of the kinetic theory; but only that a Catholic writer or professor should be cautious before proceeding to hurl anathemas at those who maintain a doctrine in physics which is based on so much scientific authority.

As for the statement that almost all the great authorities

in the physical sciences are now advocates of the kinetic theory, it can be proved only by the testimony of experts. Dr. Mivart and Mr. J. B. Stallo shall serve my purpose; one a Catholic, the other a non-Catholic writer; each an authority of undoubted eminence in questions of this kind; and both opponents of the theory in question. Dr. Mivart writes¹:—

The tendency has arisen to consider all . . . forces as motion in some form or condition. Of late physicists have more or less discarded the term 'force' in favour of the word 'energy.' . . . A further step was taken when the energy of the various physical forces acting in any substance came to be considered as being actually but different modes of motion of the molecules composing such substances. . . . A passion for considering nature as a mere mechanism of matter and motion, and all its actions as merely mechanical, is a tendency of our day. It is the scientific ideal of a very large school of thinkers, and is the goal towards which they strive.

In a note appended to these last words, Dr. Mivart remarks:—

Kirchenoff has said:—'The highest objects at which the natural sciences are constrained to aim, is the reduction of all the phenomena of nature to mechanics;' and Helmholtz has declared:—'The aim of the natural sciences is to resolve themselves into mechanics.' Wundt observes:—'The problem of physiology is a reduction of vital phenomena to general physical laws, and ultimately to the fundamental laws of mechanics;' while Haeckel tells us that 'all natural phenomena, without exception, from the motions of the celestial bodies to the growth of plants and the consciousness of men, are ultimately to be reduced to atomic mechanics.' Professor Huxley also speaks of 'that purely mechanical view towards which all modern physiology is striving;' and has said:—'If there be one thing clear about the progress of modern science, it is the tendency to reduce all scientific problems, except those which are purely mathematical, to questions of molecular physics: that is to say, to the attractions, repulsions, motions, and co-ordinations, of the ultimate particles of matter.'

Mr. Stallo writes²:—

With few exceptions scientific men of the present day hold the proposition, that all physical action is mechanical, to be axiomatic, if not in the sense of being self-evident, at least in the sense of being an induction from all past scientific experience.

¹ *The Truth*, pp. 393-5.

² *Concepts of Modern Physics*, ch. i., p. 23.

Hence Professor Barker, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is, according to Mr. Stallo, one of the most noted physicists and chemists in the United States, tells us,¹—what, indeed, is well known to everyone who dabbles even a little in these matters,—that ‘attraction and potential energy are disappearing from the language of science.’²

This, of course, does not prove the truth of the mechanical, or as I prefer to call it, the kinetic theory; but it seems to me to supply reason for very great caution before we condemn as uncatholic a doctrine backed by so much authority. I shall try to show later on that the doctrine is not without advocates among the very best of the old Catholic writers and theologians.

IV.

Coming to the intrinsic reasons on which the kinetic theory is based, I do not know that even scant justice can be done to them within the compass of a paper such as this. They are drawn from almost every part of physics, chemistry, and astronomy; nay even—I might say principally—from metaphysics and theology.

1. Let us take, in the first place, the phenomena of

¹ *Apud Stallo*, p. 29.

² I may now be permitted to add the following testimonies. In the address already cited Professor Barker goes on to say, that ‘if we regard the aether as a gas, defined by the kinetic theory that its molecules move in straight lines, but with an enormous length of free path, it is obvious that this aether may be clearly conceived of as the source of the energy of all ordinary matter. It is an enormous storehouse of energy, which is continually passing to and from ordinary matter, precisely as we know it to do in the case of radiant transmission. Before so simple a conception as this both potential energy and action at a distance are easily given up. *All energy is kinetic, the energy of motion.*’

Of the kinetic theory of gases, now almost universally advocated by physicists, Lord Kelvin writes (*Popular Lectures*, p. 225), that it ‘explains seemingly static properties of matter by motion: so that it is scarcely possible to help anticipating in idea the arrival at a complete theory of matter, in which all its properties will be seen to be merely attributes of motion.’

In Ganot’s *Physics* (English Trans. Ed., by Atkinson. 10th Ed., n. 6), I find the following, which may not be without interest, as that work is used as a text-book in Maynooth College:—

‘In our attempts to ascend from a phenomenon to its cause, we assume the existence of physical agents, or natural forces, acting on matter; as examples of which we have gravitation, heat, light, magnetism, and electricity. Since these physical agents are disclosed to us only by their effects, their intimate nature is completely unknown. In the present state of science we cannot say whether they are properties inherent in matter, or whether they result from movements impressed on the mass of subtle and imponderable forms

attraction. Everyone knows how fundamental are the facts and laws of attraction in all questions of natural science. Volta, Newton, Dalton, and a hundred others, have immortalized themselves by analyzing these laws; and it is to the progress made in this analysis that the advance of the natural sciences in modern times is mainly due.

What, then, is attraction in itself? Take the simplest form of it, that of gravitation, and ask yourself how the sun attracts the earth, or the earth a stone thrown into the air. What is this pull on the earth and on the stone? And to what precisely is it immediately and formally due?

Dynamists say that a 'force' goes out from the sun, approaches the earth, and pulls it; that a similar 'force' proceeds from the earth to the stone and drags it down. But what is this 'force' in itself? And how does it contrive to pull?

'Force' is an accident, which must be supported by some substance in its passage between two bodies. How is it supported in the cases proposed? In the ether? Very well; but then, being supported, how does it pull? For, if you wish to *pull* a thing to you, you must get behind it and

of matter diffused through the universe. *The latter hypothesis is, however, generally admitted . . . All physical phenomena, referred thus to a single cause, are but transformations of motion.*

Professors Balfour Stewart and P. G. Tait write as follows in *The Unseen Universe* (p. 147) :—

'If Le Sage's theory, or anything of a similar nature, be at all a representation of the mechanism of gravitation, a fatal blow is dealt to the notion of the tranquil form of power we have called potential energy. Not that there will cease to be a profound difference in kind between it and ordinary kinetic energy; but that BOTH must come henceforth to be regarded as kinetic.' BOTH is spelled with capitals in the original.

Finally, Herbert Spencer says (*First Principles*, 5th Ed., Appendix):—

'I have, at considerable length, given reasons for regarding the conception of potential energy as an illegitimate one, and have distinctly stated that I am at issue with scientific friends on the matter. Let me add that my rejection of this doctrine is not without other warrant than my own. . . . Mr. James Crell, no mean authority as a mathematician and a physicist, has published in the *Philosophical Magazine* for Oct., 1876, page 241, a paper in which he shows, I think conclusively, that the commonly accepted view of potential energy cannot be sustained, but that energy invariably remains actual.'

Testimonies like these might be multiplied. Indeed, who does not know that the term 'kinetic energy' is now of universal use in treatises on Mechanics? This very use is an admission of the principle for which I contend—that activity may consist in the transfer of motion. The universally accepted principle of the Conservation of Energy is intelligible only on this supposition.

push it on. A horse pulls a cart by pushing at a collar, which pushes a chain, every link of which gets behind another, pushing this on ; till we come to the last link, which gets behind and pushes some portion of the cart. When a little boy wishes to bring back to shore a toy boat that has floated beyond his reach, he throws stones into the water, pushing this against the boat, not at his own side but from behind, and thus brings the boat to land. And so, too, if the 'forces' of the sun could get behind the earth and push it in towards the centre of the solar system, one could understand how the attraction of gravitation might take place in accordance with the principles of the dynamic theory. But how can these 'forces' get behind the earth and not act before, with a prior and therefore a greater force, thus repelling rather than attracting the planet? Here is a problem for the advocates of the dynamic theory, —a problem which recurs with regard to every form of attraction, chemical, magnetic, electric, adhesion, cohesion, or any other that may be. Since all take place between masses of which one is outside the other, how do the 'forces' emanating from the masses not repel rather than attract?

The great body of scientific men have made up their minds that every form of attraction is a mode of motion in some more or less elastic medium; just as light and heat are now supposed to be nothing else than vibrations in ether. Accordingly, the sun and the earth would be said to attract each other, because each is beaten in towards the centre of the other by an indefinite number of tiny vibrations, which play freely on the rear of both bodies, but less freely in front, inasmuch as each mass acts as a breakwater to shelter the other from the tiny waves. This may not be true; it is not without its difficulties; but it is intelligible, and it is to some form or modification of this theory that men of science are looking for a solution of the mystery. Needless to say, the explanation, such as it is, harmonizes with the kinetic rather than the dynamic theory of activity.

2. Again, take resistance, which equally with attraction forms the basis of all science regarding material things; and

ask yourself, what so few ask, in what does this resistance formally consist. I throw a ball against the ground; it does not pass through the earth but rebounds. Why? If ever there was a case for the existence of the 'force' of the dynamists, it is to be found here.

For, it is easy to say that when a body in motion comes into contact with another body, each gives out a 'force' which tends to repel the other. But why should 'forces' repel any more than substances? What need is there of 'force' when the earth itself might throw back the ball? This question has been asked by many philosophers since the time of Descartes, and it still calls for an answer from all who propound the dynamic theory of activity.

There is, however, a greater difficulty even than this, especially for those Catholics who look with veneration on the teaching of Aristotle, St. Thomas, and the Schoolmen. For, these all held that, when a ball rebounds, the object against which it was thrown remains inactive, in so far as it resists the motion of the ball; it is active only in so far as it yields to the pressure of the missile and itself recoils. If a wall were made absolutely motionless, it would be absolutely inert or inactive; in which case a ball would rebound from it without losing in the rebound the least portion of the motion which it previously possessed.

I beg you to attend most carefully to this. It is the teaching of all the moderns and of the best of the ancient philosophers, that the more immovable a body is, the less active it is; yet it is the more capable of resistance. Its power of resistance is in inverse ratio to its activity. Resistance, therefore, is not activity. Can any dynamist explain or admit this doctrine? Is it not of the essence of the dynamic theory that resistance is due to the exertion of 'force,' and that the exertion of 'force' and activity *in actu secundo* are the selfsame thing?

I do not think it necessary to quote authorities to show what is the teaching of the moderns on this matter; it will be evident to all who are even slightly acquainted with the scientific developments of recent times. But I am afraid many may be surprised to hear that the best of the ancients

were of the same opinion,—that resistance is not due to activity but to the reverse. Yet, not only Aristotle and St. Thomas, but even Suarez, distinctly affirm that resistance is due to inactivity rather than to activity; and the two former expressly state that, when a ball is thrown against a wall and rebounds, the wall is inactive in so far as it resists. In his famous treatise on Physics¹ Aristotle says: ‘When a ball rebounds, it is not moved by the wall [against which it was thrown], but by him who threw it.’¹

And St. Thomas comments on the passage as follows:—

If a ball rebound from a wall, it is moved, indeed, *per accidens* by the wall, but not *per se*; it is moved *per se* by whatever threw it first. For, the wall has not given it any impulse to motion, but only the thrower; and it was *per accidens* that, when it was prevented by the wall from being borne on according to its first impulse, it [the ball] rebounded with a contrary motion.²

Suarez has a formal dissertation³ on the nature of resistance, in which he writes:—

One thing may resist another in two ways: first, formally, by immediate repugnance; secondly, radically, and, as it were, by a

¹ ‘Ἡ ἀνακλασθεῖσα σφαῖρα οὐκ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοίχου ἐκινήθη, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ βάλλοντος. Phys. L. 8, c. 4.

² ‘Si sphaera, idest pila, repercutiatur a pariete, per accidens quidem mota est a pariete, non autem per se; sed a primo projiciente per se mota est. Paries enim non dedit ei aliquem impetum ad motum, sed projiciens; per accidens autem fuit, quod dum a pariete impediretur ne secundum impetum ferretur, eodem impetu manente, in contrarium motum resilivit.’ In loc.

³ ‘Duobus modis contingit unam rem alteri resistere: primo, formaliter per immediatam repugnantiam; secundo, radicaliter et quasi per diminutionem virtutis activae rei. Hoc posteriori modo . . . inter homines unus dicitur resistere alteri si anticipato vulnere abscindit manum, aut alio modo diminuit vires illius. Haec, ergo, resistentia revera non est nisi actio quaedam. Atvero alius resistendi modus non consistit in actione . . . Unde non per se primo nec consecutive provenit hic resistendi modus ex potentia activa, ut activa est . . . De hoc ergo resistendi modo dicendum est non consistere in aliquo actu positivo proveniente a virtute illa quae vis resistendi esse dicitur; consistere potius in privatione actus. Unde talis resistentia est potius impotentia, vel incapacitas quaedam, quam propria potentia; ideoque non debuit in divisione potentiae adjungi . . . Consistit, ergo, in quadam formali impossibilitate seu repugnantia, a qua provenit ut actio contraria agentis vel impediatur prorsus vel retardatur ac remissior fiat. Sic, ergo, haec resistentia actualis non consistit in aliquo actu secundo positivo, proveniente a virtute resistiva, sed potius in carentia, aut retardatione, seu remissione contrariae actionis. Ideoque illa virtus resistendi non est facultas aliqua per se ordinata ad illam carentiam vel retardationem actionis; quia naturalis potentia non ordinatur per se ad aliquam privationem; et ideo dicimus hanc non tam esse potentiam quam impotentiam et quasi incapacitatem.’—*Metaph.* D. 43, S. 1, nn. 8, &c.

diminution of the other's force. It is in this latter way . . . that amongst men one is said to resist another, when by anticipating his adversary, he inflicts a wound, cuts off his adversary's hand, or diminishes his power in any other manner. This kind of resistance is nothing else but an action.

The other kind of resistance, however, *does not consist in action* . . . Hence, neither of itself in the first instance, nor by any kind of consecutiveness, *does this kind of resistance proceed from an active power, inasmuch as it is active*. With regard, therefore, to this form of resistance, it is to be held that it does not consist in any positive action proceeding from the power which is called the force of resistance; but [should be conceived] as consisting rather in the privation of action. Hence, *such resistance is rather impotence, or an incapacity of some kind*, than a power properly so called; wherefore, it should not be mentioned among the divisions of power.

. . . It consists, then, in a certain formal impossibility or repugnance, from which it comes that the action of the contrary agent is either impeded altogether, or becomes more slow and remiss. Thus, therefore, *this actual resistance does not consist in any act of a positive character, proceeding from the resisting power; but rather in the want, or the retardation, or abatement of the contrary action*. Hence, the power of resistance . . . is not so much a power as a want of power,—a kind of incapacity.

Here the Jesuit philosopher expands the teaching of Aristotle and St. Thomas. The resistance which a wall offers to a ball is manifestly of the second kind mentioned by Suarez; it 'does not consist in action,' but rather in 'the privation of action;' not 'in any second act of a positive character, proceeding from the resisting power [in the wall]; but rather in the want, or the retardation, or abatement of the contrary action. Hence, the power of resistance . . . is not so much a power as a want of power, a kind of incapacity.'

Will any honest man say that this is intelligible in accordance with the dynamic theory? If the wall resists by exerting a 'force,' does this exertion consist rather in the privation of activity than in action? Is it due to incapacity rather than to power?

V.

So far for the arguments drawn from the physical sciences; they might be multiplied, but that would require a volume rather than a paper such as this. I will pass on to some reasons of a metaphysical character, contenting myself with a few of the most obvious, and depending almost altogether on authority to prove the principles on which I base my contention.

One of the strongest arguments of the dynamists is to the effect, that if one agent were merely to pass on its motion to another, it would not thereby be really active *in actu secundo*, since action and motion are two different realities. Action is represented as the exertion of 'force,' and motion as an effect of this exertion.

1. Now, I find it laid down almost as axiomatic, not only by such writers as St. Thomas and Goudin, but even by Suarez, that action is precisely the same thing as motion, the two differing virtually but not really. Not only this, but it is equally an axiom in the Aristotelic philosophy, that action is really the same thing as being acted on (*passio*), and that both are really identified with motion. The philosophic axiom takes this form: *actio et passio sunt idem motus*.

In a formal dissertation on this very point Goudin writes:¹ 'Motion, action, and being acted on (*passio*), although they are the same in essence, seem, however, to be modally distinct: the conclusion is common, especially among the Thomists.'

And he goes on to explain and prove his statement:—

The first part, viz., that they are all three the same in essence, is manifest. For the very same entity, heating, for instance, as it is conceived to go out from the fire by way of diffusion of its heat, is the action of the fire; but as it is received in wood by way of change in the wood, it is called the *passio* of the same. Finally, in so far as it is a way or tendency to its

¹ 'Motus, actio, et passio, licet sint idem entitative, modaliter tamen videntur distinguui: conclusio est communis, præcipue inter Thomistas.' Phys. P. 1. D. 3, a. 1.

term, that is, to [the quality of] heat, it is called motion. All three, therefore, are the same in essence; hence St. Thomas often says that action and being acted on (*passio*) are but the one motion.¹

Here we have Goudin's testimony not only to the truth of the principle in question, but to its prevalence in the schools, 'especially among the Thomists;' and in particular, speaking of St. Thomas, with whose writings Goudin was more than usually familiar, even for a Dominican author, he expressly tells us, what indeed anyone at all conversant with the works of the Angelic Doctor must be acquainted with, that the saint 'often says that action and being acted on (*passio*) are but the one motion.' And lest it should be urged that Goudin had before his mind not so much local motions as alteration, increase, or diminution,² he illustrates his teaching not only by the motion of heat, but also by those of a traveller and of a ship.

So much for St. Thomas and his school. Suarez is no less emphatic. He also has a special dissertation³ on the relation that subsists between motion, action, and *passio*; and in conformity with the traditional teaching of the disciples of Aristotle, he decides that the three are the very same reality under different concepts. Let anyone

¹ 'Prima pars, quod scilicet sunt idem entitative, patet. Nam una et eadem entitas, v. g. caliditas, prout concipitur egredi ab igne tanquam diffusio ejus caloris, est actio ignis; prout vero recipitur in ligno tanquam immutatio ligni, dicitur ejus passio; prout demum est via et tendentia ad terminum, scilicet ad calorem, dicitur motus. Ergo ista omnia entitative sunt idem. Unde D. Thomas saepe dicit quod actio et passio sunt idem numero motus.' (*l. c.*)

² 'Three kinds of motion are recognised in the Aristotelic system;—change of place (*translation*), of quality (*alteration*), and of quantity (*increase and diminution*). Of the three, however, local motion is regarded as fundamental, inasmuch as without it neither of the other two could take place. 'Sine ipso motu locali,' observes St. Thomas, 'non potest esse aliquis aliorum motuum, . . . neque alteratio potest esse nisi praexistente loci mutatione' (*Contra Gent.* 3, c. 82). And again:—'Motus localis est principium et causa aliorum motuum' (*Quod 1. 3, a. 6, ad obj.*). Once more:—'Quamvis in corporalibus sint plures motus, omnes tamen ordinantur ad motum localem coeli, qui est causa omnis motus corporalis; et ideo per motum corporalem tanguntur omnes' (*1 D. 8, q. 3, ad 3*). Extracts like these might be multiplied almost indefinitely; they remove altogether any possibility of doubt as to the nature of the motion which is identified with both action and *passio* in the Aristotelic philosophy.

³ *Metaph.*, D. 49.

who may not be convinced of this, read the forty-ninth Disputation of the *Metaphysics* for himself.

Here I will ask: Does any dynamist believe that action and motion may be the same thing really? Does he believe, above all, that action is the same thing as being acted on? In the kinetic theory action is motion, and motion whilst being received is called *passio*. This fits in precisely with the metaphysics of the school; but how is a Catholic dynamist to square his theory of activity with the traditional teaching of our metaphysicians on this point?

2. Again, take the definition of action given by St. Thomas: 'the essence of an action,' he affirms, 'consists in this, that action denotes *a form in motion*, or in course of transmutation, as proceeding from an efficient cause.' And again: 'action and being acted on (*passio*) are quite the same thing, which is *a form in flux* or in course of production.' Once more: 'action and being acted on (*passio*) and motion are quite the same thing.' And he goes on to illustrate his meaning:—

Hence *heating* is nothing else but *heat as it is in flux*; inasmuch, that is, as it is in the act of something in potentiality, *which is the same as motion*. For instance, when water is heated by fire, it is certain that there is some heat produced in the water by the heat of the fire. This heat, considered in its essence, is a form, which is a quality of the third species. Inasmuch, however, as it [the form or quality] *is in flux*, that is, *as it is more and more communicated to the water, it is called motion*. . . . Inasmuch, again, as it has a relation to the fire as to an efficient cause, it [the same form] is action. . . . Hence, the essence of action, as a category, consists in this, that *action designates a form in motion*, or in course of transmutation, as proceeding from an efficient cause.¹

¹ 'Ratio actionis, ut est prædicamentum, consistit in hoc, quod actio dicit formam in motu vel mutatione, ut est a causa efficiente.' *Opusc.* 68, tr. 5, c. 7. — 'Actio et passio sunt una res et eadem, scil. forma quæ est in fluxu vel in fieri.' *Ibid.* c. 10. — 'Actio et passio et motus sunt una et eadem res. Unde calefactio nihil aliud est quam calor ut est in fluxu, prout scil. est actus existentis in potentia, quod idem est quod motus. Verbi gratia, dato quod aqua calefieret ab igne, certum est quod in ea esset aliquis calor causatus a calore ignis, qui calor, quantum ad esse suum consideratus, est forma, quæ est qualitas in tertia specie qualitatis. Secundum autem quod est in fluxu, scil. quod magis et magis participatur in aqua, dicitur motus. . . . Et secundum quod habet respectum ad ignem ut ad causam efficientem, est actio. . . . Unde, ratio actionis, prout est prædicamentum, consistit in hoc, quod actio dicit formam in motu vel mutatione, ut est a causa efficiente.' (*Ibid.* c. 7.)

When you bend a bow, there is a continuous change of figure in the wood; you might stop an indefinite number of times in the course of the action, and at each stop the motion would terminate in a different figure, which would remain crystallized, so to speak, in the wood, as long as the bow remained in the same position. Any one of these figures would not be a motion or action of the bow; motion or action consisting rather in a flux, that is, a continuous flow from one form into another. So thought the Angelic Doctor; but can a dynamist agree in this? What, then, becomes of the 'exertion of "force" '?

3. Further, consider that special form of activity known as transient,—*actio transiens*. It is called transient to distinguish it from immanent actions; and from the very terms it is manifest that the distinction between the two kinds of activity consists in this, that in one case the action remains within its subject, whereas transient actions pass off into something else. Otherwise, why are they called *immanent* and *transient*?

Now, it is almost a first principle of the dynamic theory that an action can never pass from subject to subject; rather, dynamists would say, an exertion of 'force' in one subject gives rise to another quite distinct exertion of 'force' in another. When, for instance, a billiard-ball is struck and moved by a cue, the exertion of 'force' in the cue does not pass into the ball, but rather produces in the ball a numerically distinct exertion of 'force' or action. This, I say, is almost a first principle in the dynamic theory,¹ the advocates of which do not condescend to explain how 'force' can produce an effect outside its subject, unless by passing outside. Let that be, however.

But what, then, is a transient action? One which does not itself pass into another subject, but merely produces a new and distinct action in the second subject while remaining within the first? Curious, nevertheless, that it—the

¹ See Sanseverino, *Phil. Christ. Comp. Ont.*, c. 9, n. 17; Pesch, *Inst. Phil. Nat.*, n. 61; Mivart, *Truth*, p. 412.

action, not the result—should be called transient. Curious also that St. Thomas and almost every other philosopher should define transient actions to be those ‘which *pass* into something outside.’

So much was the Angelic Doctor convinced of the passage of activity from one subject into another, that he often repeats and emphasizes—what is surprising at first sight—that a transient action ‘is from the agent as from its principle, and *in the recipient as in its subject.*’¹ This is but an application of the axiom of the Stagyrte, that ‘movement is in the movable, for it is its act; and the act of the mover is not different.’² It is repeated in many forms in almost every one of the works of St. Thomas; as, for instance, when he says in the *Summa* :—³

Action is of two kinds; of which one proceeds from the agent into some exterior object, as in burning and cutting . . . An operation of this kind is not an act and perfection of the agent, but rather of the recipient. There is another kind of action which remains within the agent, as feeling, thinking, willing; and these are perfections and acts of the agent.

If, then, it is an essential part of the dynamic theory that an action never passes from one subject into another, what are we to think of this teaching of Aristotle and the Angelic Doctor? One kind of action ‘proceeds from the agent into some exterior object.’ So much so that it ‘is not an act and perfection of the agent, but rather of the recipient.’ It is so in the case of ‘burning and cutting.’ How can this be true if the action of burning or of cutting consists in the exertion of ‘force’ on the part of the fuel or of the knife?

¹ ‘Idem actus est hujus, idest agentis, ut a quo; et tamen est in patiente ut receptus in eo. In Phys. Arist., l. 5, n. 9.

² Ἐστίν ἡ κίνησις ἐν τῷ κινητῷ, ἐντελέχεια γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κινητικοῦ. Καὶ ἡ τοῦ κινητικοῦ δὲ ἐνέργεια οὐκ ἄλλη ἐστὶ. (Phys. c. 3.) Remark how all the energy of whatever is capable of producing motion, is made out to be kinetic. It is probable, that this is the first mention of kinetic energy in all philosophy.

³ ‘Duplex est actio. Una quae procedit ab operante in exteriorem materiam, sicut urere et secare . . . Talis operatio non est actus et perfectio agentis, sed magis patientis . . . Alia est actio manens in ipso agente, ut sentire, intelligere, et velle; et hujusmodi actio est perfectio et actus agentis.’ 1, 2, q. 3, a. 2, ad. 3.

According to the kinetic theory it is easy to explain this seeming anomaly. Fire does not burn or a knife cut, until the motion of either has actually passed into the object cut or burnt. At that instant it is the motion or action of this object. So that action or motion truly passes from one subject into another, but may not with correctness be called transient until it has actually passed, when it resides in and is the action or motion of the second subject not the first.

4. Metaphysical arguments of this kind might be piled over one another almost indefinitely; I have space but for one more.

You will remember the definition of action given by St. Thomas; it is 'a form in motion or in flux.' Akin to this is the definition of efficient causality first given by Aristotle, as far as I am aware, adopted by the Angelic Doctor, and since his time traditional in the Catholic schools. An efficient cause is 'an extrinsic principle from which motion first flows.'¹

Efficient causality consists in an *influxus* or flow from one thing into another, when the first is said to influence or have influence on the second. There is, therefore, a principle from which the flow takes place, a term into which it is received, and the flow itself. In that flow of something activity *in actu secundo* or action consists. What is the flow? It is a flow of motion: *principium extrinsecum a quo fluit motus*. Not one word of 'force,' which is so essential to activity according to the dynamic theory.

VI.

I can but touch very briefly on the theological side of the question, which has reference principally to the immediate production and perennial conservation of all things by God; a subject which ramifies all through theology, but comes out prominently in connection with the divine co-operation with the action of creatures.

It is an undoubted principle in the Catholic schools, that

¹ *Principium extrinsecum a quo primum fluit motus.* *Vide* Zigliara, *Summa Phil. Ont.*, 44. ii.; Suarez, *Metaph.*, D. 17, s. 1.

every reality in existence, substance or accident, from the greatest to the least, is produced by God immediately; that is, not by means of any other agent, substance or accident, 'force' or motion, which He may have produced already; but as the direct and immediate term of His own divine activity. This is true of every reality whatever; of accidents no less than substances; of actions, forces, exertions, entities of every kind; for all are true realities and must come equally from God.

Now, take the one thing on the existence of which dynamists insist so much,—the 'force' which the creature is supposed to give out in acting; and ask yourself is it produced by God immediately in the sense explained. And if its action or exertion is anything really different from the 'force' itself, is the action or exertion also produced immediately and perennially conserved—that is, continuously produced as at the beginning—directly by the divine activity?

Dynamists, I know, particularly those of a certain school, reply to the effect that there are two 'forces' acting concurrently,—the created and the uncreated,—whenever a finite agent is in action; and that the 'force' of the creature necessarily depends for its efficacy on that of the Creator. But I am not speaking of mere dependence, necessary or otherwise, but of immediate, continued production; and I ask again: are the created 'force' and its action—for this also is a reality—produced in the first instant and continuously kept in existence immediately and directly by the divine activity? If not, what becomes of the Catholic doctrine of the immediate divine production and conservation of *all* things? And if the force and the action of the creature are being continuously produced and infused into the created faculty by an immediate divine operation such as has been described, in what sense are they 'exerted' by the faculty of the creature, as the dynamists contend? That very 'exertion' is it not also a finite reality, and, as such, to be itself produced and conserved by God immediately? In what sense, then, is the 'exertion' due to the 'force' of the creature?

Here, again, St. Thomas comes to our assistance. According to the Angelic Doctor and his disciples, the Creator and His creatures co-operate immediately in the production of finite things; but the immediateness is not the same in the case of both the co-agents; in God it is an immediateness of virtue, whilst in the creature it is one of supposit.¹ In other words, God produces and infuses, and the created faculty supports, the virtue or power by which the effect is produced. If, in addition, you remember that the virtue—in *actu secundo*—of a creature, according to St. Thomas is a motion, you will have the whole kinetic theory in its essence. Effects are invariably produced by motions, which themselves are in every case the immediate results of the divine activity; so, however, that they truly reside in and belong to created things.

This is intelligible; it is consistent; it harmonizes perfectly with the Catholic doctrine of the immediate and continuous production of all things by the Creator. But if, as dynamists contend, there is a 'force' which emanates immediately and solely from the created faculty, and which co-operates with God in producing effects, how can this 'force' and its emanation,—not the effects produced, but the 'force' producing and its production,—how are these themselves produced immediately by God?

VII.

Here I must conclude. I do not pretend to have proved in this paper the truth of the kinetic theory of activity; and I readily acknowledge that the doctrine is not without its difficulties, and that it needs to be applied so as to fit in with the phenomena which are dealt with in the physical sciences. This is what is being attempted by the scientists of our time; and the object of this paper is, to beg

¹ 'Si considerimus supposita agentia, quodlibet agens particulare est immediatum ad suum effectum. Si autem consideremus virtutem qua fit actio, sic virtus superioris causae erit immediatior effectui quam virtus inferioris.' *De Pot.* q. 3, a. 7, c. Cf. Ferrariensis:—'Deus immediate causat actum voluntatis immediate virtutis, non autem immediate suppositi. . . . Voluntas autem causat ipsam volitionem immediate immediate suppositi, non autem immediate virtutis.' (L. 3. Contra Gent., c. 89.)

of Catholic students of philosophy and theology, not to interfere with their labours, nor to frighten Catholic physicists from taking their share in the toil, and participating in the glory of the consummation to which they look forward. The kinetic theory may not be true; it will certainly have to be modified in many ways before it can be got to fit in with all the phenomena of the universe; but it is not uncatholic; and no true son of the Church need hesitate, through fear of disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, to explain the activity of inorganic or of dead matter in accordance with the principles on which the theory is based.

WALTER McDONALD.

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN ICELAND

ICELAND, or Ultima Thule, as it was once supposed to be, has of late years begun to compete with the 'Sunny South' for the tourist's favour. The hotel at Spitzbergen, which is now an accomplished fact, has shown that a northerly climate need not necessarily drive away the globe-roaming southerner, or debar him from enjoying the wild rough beauty of Iceland. A visit to these shores may teach all comers the lesson of simplicity, and if the voyage do no more than show us that three-quarters of our supposed necessities of life are fetters we ourselves have hung about our being, our toils, even across an ill-humoured Atlantic, may not be wholly profitless.

On hearing the name of Iceland, most people at once picture a land of nothing but glaciers. Certainly there are plenty of glaciers; just enough, however, to give every part of the land a variety entirely its own. Beauty, light, grandeur here feast the eyes; but the land is barren withal—rocks, and rocks again, and lava fields, where hot springs and boiling wells abound, and where, during the short summer time, there are only some patches of fresh

green. Sheep from these scant pastures, and fish from the sea are all on which the Icelander can rely.

Why, then, did people choose a land like this as a home for themselves and their descendants? The question has often been put to me, and people may naturally be astonished. Why was it therefore? Because the great families of Norway, the proud Norsemen, were too fierce to serve a king. Why was it? Because they themselves were strong and wild as the island is. For poverty they had no fear. Could they not help themselves to the treasures of Europe, and every year sally forth to return with the spoils of the mainland? The winter was long, but they had secured the means of feasting.

The first inhabitants went over towards the end of the ninth century. Little more than a century later, all Icelanders were Christians. How this was brought about is, perhaps, one of the strangest pages in the history of conversion. After a while, a certain number of those who carried terror over Christian Europe went home with the Christian faith; a greater number still with Christian slaves. And so the moment clearly came nearer and nearer when Iceland should have to determine upon what should be the religion of the Island.

It was the year of Grace 1000. The people were gathered, as every year they were wont to gather, in the parliament valley (Thingvellir). Christians and pagans stood face to face grasping their weapons, ready to fight the question out, when the voice of reason prevailed, and the proposal to choose an arbiter was unanimously accepted. The religion of the whole people should be that which their arbiter settled. The man chosen was a pagan chief, and in the choice of him the Christians acquiesced. He stretched himself out on the ground, covered himself with a bearskin, and so remained motionless for three days. The Christians betook themselves to prayer. The pagan arbiter at the end of the third day arose, and declared that henceforth all Icelanders were to be Christians; and in this they all agreed.

As time went on the people became Christians by more than law. Comparatively numerous were the Christian

establishments which arose and flourished all over the island. Two dioceses were founded, and ten monasteries; everywhere parish churches sprang up. The glorious ceremonies of the Catholic Church warmed the hearts under northern skies no less than in the 'Sunny South,' and her brilliant truths enlightened minds which nature had gifted with perspicacity and clearness.

Those were the palmy days of Iceland. Laymen and monks set to work, and wrote down the history of the country and of every family. Thus a series of 'sagas' was issued, which has no equal in any literature. They soon became the property of high and low, and are so to this day. Nearly every Icelander knows his family from the day they came over, and the old sagas are known by heart. At the same time, a body of Icelandic poets were continually visiting the courts of all northern Europe, and drinking deeply at the best literary fountains. Much of the poetry these writers created still exists. Some of their poems are beautiful religious flowers grown on the tree of Catholic faith. The most celebrated is the 'Lily,' which consists of a hundred verses in honour of our Blessed Lady. It is in every respect a masterpiece. 'All poets would like to have sung the "Lily,"' is an Icelandic proverb. It was the work of a monk, and, like the *Stabat Mater*, was written in prison. It opened the door to the poet, and was the beginning of a new life.

Much has changed since then. The blood of the people is still the same, but not the vigour. And how could it be? The Icelander's life is not rosy, and the isolation which has preserved his old rich language pure and his old customs intact, has also kept out the stirring impulses of other nations. Once Christians, the Icelanders had to live on the resources of their own land, and it is no wonder if the old pirate people was far richer than their honest descendants.

Most of all the conditions of eternal life have changed, and the way in which the people of the island regard it. It is a sad story to read how the Danish King forced Protestant faith upon them, reluctant as they were. The

last hero of faith and fatherland, and, at the same time, the last Catholic bishop, and last poet of the Middle Ages (Jon Arason), laid his old head on the block, and died a martyr (1551). Now they tell how his followers went to bring back his body. They killed the Danes, and brought their beloved bishop home to his church. Over the mountains the funeral procession went six days' walk. As the corpse appeared in sight of the church, the bell, the largest in Iceland, began to ring of itself, without being moved by any man. Wilder and wilder it rang until the corpse had entered the church; when suddenly the bell ceased, for it had burst, and fallen to pieces.

When I came over to Iceland this beautiful legend was told me; and I could not but feel the symbolism of the story. How could the poor people have more touchingly expressed their sorrowing fear, that the old truth which had rung forth to their fathers had become silent, perhaps, for ever. I could not but listen to it as a welcome from the very soul of the people to the faith of their fathers, and to me as the one who came to bring it back again after centuries. I am sure nobody tells the legend and gives it this meaning, but I am also sure I was right in understanding it in this sense. I think a Catholic priest can understand the language of the old Icelanders, and their broken Catholic hearts.

When I speak about my coming to Iceland, I am referring to a time about two years ago. Of course, God's Church had not forgotten the people in the far North; but intolerant laws, which the Icelanders had not made themselves, had closed the door to the old church. This was only changed in 1874, when the land got a free constitution; but, even then, circumstances did not permit the starting of the Icelandic Mission. Iceland belongs to Denmark, and Denmark itself had need enough of men and means for mission work at home, for it is itself a Protestant country, where Catholic faith has but recently begun to spread. Such considerations for a long time prevented the sending of a priest, in spite of Rome's insisting that one should be sent. At last, two years ago, Rome became so urgent that the

Danish Bishop could but regard it as Heaven's will, and, consequently, trust in Providence. The present writer had the good fortune to be chosen for the post, for which old predilection had disposed his mind. I started from Copenhagen on the 27th September, 1895. The steamer had to go round the whole island, and we had storm all the while, so that it was only after twenty-nine days of sailing that I found myself in Reykjavik, the capital of the island, and the site of the future mission.

When the Norwegians came over to Iceland they found a little colony of Irish monks established there, near one of the northern bays, called to this day St. Patrick's Bay. They had sought, as it seems, in Iceland the peace which the Normans would not let them enjoy at home, and they were sorely disappointed, when seeing their persecutors land on that very spot which they had thought so safe as a refuge. I have not the material at hand to form any opinion on what Irish authors relate of SS. Ernulf and Buo.

But the connection between Ireland and Iceland, or rather between Irishmen and Icelanders, has left deeper traces than old chronicles. The Icelandic blood is blended with Irish blood, and this fact is easily explained. Most of the Norwegian chiefs touched Ireland on their way to Iceland; from Ireland they carried people off to be their slaves. These generally had their own small household; and when Iceland had become Christian they became the free ancestors to a great number of the later population of Iceland. This fact can be easily demonstrated by the two quite different types which, to the present day, have been preserved in Iceland—the Scandinavian and Irish, kept distinctly marked by racial antipathies. Only recently they have begun to intermarry freely; but up to a very short time the two races would have nothing to do with each other.

One might expect to find some traces of Irish mixed up with the old Norse language. This, however, is not the case. The poor Irish, men and women, who were torn away from their own country, rich perhaps, and possibly princes' children, when reduced to be miserable slaves,

were forced to adopt the language of their victorious masters. What untold form of sorrow, and despairing anger, and broken hearts! One example, old sagas tell us, of an Irishwoman, a king's daughter, if I remember rightly, carried off to Iceland. She was of uncommon beauty even among the fair daughters of her race, and her captor married her. She became the mother of one of the proudest families in Iceland; but never one word was heard to fall from her lips during the many years of her married life.

The language adopted in Iceland was the ancient Norse, or, as it was then called, the Danish tongue. Of all Teutonic languages this is, doubtless, the most perfect in structure, and the richest in words—certainly one of the finest languages in the world. It is spoken now as much as it was a thousand years ago; and the simple peasant of Iceland reads the sagas, and partially knows them by heart. In all Scandinavia, Iceland excepted, the old tongue has changed. In Iceland alone, therefore, can we hear the language of our fathers; the language used by King Canutes, and once well known in Northumberland.

The political bonds between Denmark and Iceland are rather loose. Up to the year 1874 Iceland was considered as a province, and like other Danish provinces had to suffer under absolute kings' misgovernment; less, however, than any other Danish province. I state this, because F. Baumgartner in his *Nordische Fahrten*, makes himself reporter of complaints which are not so much those of the people as of extreme radical politicians, and often mere oratorical flights. Neither I nor any Dane has any interest in whitewashing kings who ruined our country, our language, our people; but I, as every Dane, must protest against the charges brought by a German writer who knows little of northern history, and only knew Iceland by a summer trip to Reykjavik, and the coast.

Iceland at the present moment has a parliament of its own, its own finance department, a governor who is an Icelanders by birth, as all other officials; Icelanders share all civil rights, as all other Danish subjects, while they are

free from all the latter's civil duties. Yet not all Icelanders are satisfied, though those who know most are also those who are generally best satisfied with the present state of things. Discontent, however, has the merit of providing matter for discussion to the members of parliament, and serves as pastime.

The place in which our present mission is established had been chosen some thirty years before by a French priest, who was, in fact, the first missionary in Iceland after the Reformation. As we owe to him, not only the good name he left in our favour, but also a beautiful example of patient waiting for the time of God, his name shall adorn these pages; he was called Abbé Bandoïn. As above mentioned, there was no liberty of conscience in those days, no possibility of public service, less of preaching. Why then did he come over? No doubt, also in the hope of dawning freedom. But his first aim certainly was to offer the loving care of the Church to the French fishermen, who come over by thousands every summer. Eighteen years he led a life practically as a hermit, studied the language and the history of the people, whom he loved so intensely. Just when he had mastered all difficulties, and the day of freedom arose, a cancer brought him to his grave. Patience was the service God craved of him, and patience has the promise of eternal life.

As a visible souvenir of him, I found an old chapel, the poorest I have ever seen. Between his death and my arrival twenty years had elapsed, and the horror of desolation was complete. A month after my advent I had the consolation of getting a brother priest as my fellow-worker in this poor ruined vineyard. I had meantime cleaned the wretched little chapel as well as possible. We began preaching. Would people come? We had only one Catholic family. Would they be the only attendants? The wind blew through the wooden walls, the rain streamed through the ceiling. Would there come any Protestants? Indeed they came, came again the whole winter. They wondered to find Catholicity such plain Christianity instead of all the superstition they had been told it was. At every sermon the

church was full. This was rather a surprise. Conversions we did not expect all at once; did not even wish them at once, preferring a solid ground to hasty building-up; and it was no disappointment that we had to wait.

Another surprise, which looked like a disappointment, was to find the Icelandic winter much milder than we supposed. Of course, Iceland is no Andalusia; but in Iceland, too, summer follows on winter. Summer brings to these shores a congregation of fellow-believers—viz., some four or five thousand sailors—the French fishermen already mentioned. Poor people they are, even when in health, leading a life which could scarcely be harder, and more devoid of every elementary comfort. But it is absolutely sad even to think of their condition when ill. In the whole island, to begin with, there was only a single hospital. One may easily understand how reluctant the captains were to leave their fishing-banks, perhaps for weeks, for a sick man's sake. And even when they came to the hospital, the doctor was the only man who understood them. The thought, therefore, forced itself upon us to try to get up two small hospitals, one on the western shore, and one in the east. Another thing necessary was the building of a new church.

Begging and the kind dispositions of Providence have made it possible to us to accomplish these works. Church and hospitals are built and partly paid for—partly only, but neither Providence nor charity will fail us, the rest will come. Catholic Sisters of Mercy have arrived to help us, and are nursing the sick in the hospitals and in the homes. Sometimes they have to go on horseback over the mountains to the suffering. Charity has taught them to ride.

So we have not been without consolations. Also a conversion has been given us by heaven, and more are going on. A great comfort it is everytime either of us has the opportunity of administering the holy sacraments to dying fishermen, who might else have died as though they were not children of our warm-hearted mother the Catholic Church. However, such a death is sad enough, far away from wife and children, whose dear names we hear the poor fishermen call out in their delirium. Nothing is

more touching than to see the dead man's companions gather in the church to the Requiem Mass. Their Sunday clothes are in their far-off little homes, their thoughts also. The tricolour covers the corpse, and the chant is better meant than executed. The Mass ended, the funeral procession goes to the churchyard, where the French have a corner of their own. Their number is great, who like this man left their home and beloved ones, hoping to see them again. Heaven did not endorse his *au revoir*. There he lies under a poor wooden cross. 'Marin Français' is all the explanation you find; and, perhaps, the relics of an artificial garland sent the year after his death by his wife. The wife probably was mad with grief when she got the news that the father of her children had already reposed some months in the barren cemetery of Reykjavik. But life was stronger than love. The children need a father, and another fisherman took the place at her side and in her heart, and the wooden cross in the far-off churchyard moulders away. At last God alone knows his tomb, and the resurrection-angel will find it out. *Requiescat in pace.*

One may ask why a poor mission should charge itself with the care of the French fishermen. The answer simply is that they are poor helpless Catholics, and that the priest has to take care of all the children of the Church. Catholic means embracing all nations. Moreover, the French have given all the means for the hospitals, and when we are forced to appeal to the charity of other nations too, that is for strictly missionary work.

There is another class of human beings in Iceland, who are in a still more pitiful condition, the lepers. There are at least two hundred of them in the island; that is to say, out of a population of seventy-five thousand. As the population is very scattered however, one may be long in Iceland without seeing any lepers. Yet the very existence of this awful plague must provoke the utmost pity. No beings are more worthy of pity than these poor lepers. Year after year they see their own body literally falling to pieces while yet alive. Sense after sense goes, and death comes upon them by slow and painful steps, until their existence

during the last year is well-nigh insupportable for dreadful pain. Here assuredly is a grand work of charity to be taken up; and please God, when we get over the first difficulties we are obliged to conquer, we shall make some day an appeal to Christian charity in favour of the poor Icelandic lepers. This very year the Icelandic parliament is deliberating about the establishment of a lepers' hospital outside Reykjavik, and no doubt it will be granted, as it is commanded by necessity. But there will only be provision for sixty out of the two hundred lepers, and no place at all for those whom it might, perhaps, be possible to save. The means of the country do not allow us to think about an asylum for them all, still less about a house of cure. Now this is exactly what we desire to establish later on, such a little hospital where leprosy in its earliest stages could be treated. Such an institution would certainly save some from years of suffering; for a cure is, if rare, still possible. At least such charitable provision would be a consolation for the poor stricken sufferer, preventing him from immediate despair. Hope for the hopeless, health for some already marked out by death—this seems to me a worthy aim, and I trust to God that in a short time it may be more than a dream.

JON L. FREDERIKSEN.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

PART II.—LIFE (CONTINUED).

SCIENCE tells us with certainty two things about life :—

I. In the past, there was a time when life was not on the earth.

II. In the present, life comes from antecedent life, and from that only.

I. There was a time when life was not on the earth.

(a) Geology and palæontology prove a condition of the earth when life did not, and could not exist—when in fact its surface was in a molten state, and necessarily at an enormously high temperature. Proof of this primitive condition is seen in the lower strata of rocks, which have evidently set from a state of fusion. Of course these rocks contain no trace of life.

(b) The leading materialists admit all this ; it is in fact part of their system.

Virchow :—

There has been a beginning of life, since geology points to epochs in the formation of the earth when life was impossible, and when no vestige of it is to be found.

Huxley :—

If the evolution hypothesis is true, living matter must have arisen from not-living matter ; for by the hypothesis the condition of the globe was at one time such that living matter could not have existed on it, life being entirely incompatible with the gaseous state.¹

Tyndall :—

There was a time when the earth was a red-hot molten globe, on which no life could exist. In the course of ages its surface cooled ; but, to quote the words of one of our greatest *savants*,

¹ *Ency. Brit. Biology.*

'when it first became fit for life, there was no living thing upon it.'¹ . . . On its first detachment from the sun, life as we understand it could not have been present on the earth.²

The admitted truth of this first proposition throws on materialists one of the heaviest of their tasks—to account for *the origin of life*. We shall see immediately how formidable a difficulty this is, and how vainly our 'advanced philosophers' wrestle with it.

II. Life comes from life and from nothing else.

Lord Kelvin :—

This seems to me to be as sure a teaching of science as the law of gravitation, that life proceeds from life, and from nothing but life.

Sir H. Roscoe :—

So far as science has progressed at present we are not able to obtain any organism without the intervention of some sort of previously existing germ.

Professors Stewart and Tait :—

As a matter of fact, we are led by science to receive the law of *biogenesis* (i.e., life from life) as expressing the present order of the world. . . . As a matter of universal scientific experience a living thing can only be produced from a living thing; the inorganic forces of the visible universe can by no means generate life.⁴

Darwin :—

There must have been a time when inorganic elements alone existed in our planet. . . . Now is there a fact, or a shadow of a fact, supporting the belief that these elements, without the presence of any organic compounds, and acted on only by known forces, could produce a living creature? At present it is to us a result absolutely inconceivable.⁵

Tyndall :—

If you ask me whether there exists the least evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matter without demonstrable antecedent life, my reply is . . . men of science frankly admit their inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed save from demonstrable antecedent life.⁶

¹ *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxix.

² *Scientific Basis of the Imagination*.

³ *Inaugural Address to the British Association*.

⁴ *The Unseen Universe*, p. 244.

⁵ *Athenaeum*, 1865, p. 554.

⁶ *Belfast Address*.

And again, and even more decidedly, four years later (1878) :—

I affirm that no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life in our day has ever appeared independently of antecedent life.¹

Huxley :—

The chasm between the living and the not-living the present state of knowledge cannot bridge.² [And again, referring to the doctrine of life from life only, he says it is 'victorious along the whole line at the present day.'³]

Virchow :—

Never has a living being, or even a living element—let us say a living cell—been found, of which it could be predicated that it was the first of its species. Nor has any fossil remains ever been found of which it could ever be likely that it belonged to a being the first of its kind, or produced by spontaneous generation.⁴

One would think on reading these extracts that the proposition was fully and frankly conceded. There would seem to be no room left for a materialistic theory of life from dead matter. But needs must when the devil drives. We are dealing with men who *must* get life out of dead matter somehow, or fling their whole theory to the winds. According to Huxley—and he ought to know—

The *fundamental proposition* of evolution is that the whole world, living and not living, is the result of the mutual interaction, according to definite laws, of the forces possessed by the molecules of which the primitive nebulosity of the universe was composed.⁵

How this result, as regards the *living* world, was produced, and what were the 'definite laws' capable of producing it, neither Huxley nor any other materialist can say.

¹ *Nineteenth Century*

² *Ency. Brit. Biology*. Compare this admission with his chemistry of living protoplasm, wherein he 'can see no break in the series of steps' by which it may be produced from lifeless elements.

³ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 239.

⁴ *Address at Wiesbaden*, 1887. Of course this extract must be read in the light of the subject of the address, viz. the first beginnings of life on materialistic principles, and altogether precluding from *creation*. It is in fact an absolute confession of the inability of materialism to account for the first living beings.

⁵ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 305.

MATERIALISTIC VIEWS OF THE ORIGIN OF LIFE

1. Many give it up as insoluble. Darwin again and again declares that he has nothing to do with the origin of life, and knows nothing about it :—

I have nothing to do with the origin of the primary mental powers, any more than I have with that of life itself ¹ . . . Science as yet throws no light on the far higher problem of the essence or origin of life.² . . . Our ignorance is as profound on the origin of life as on the origin of force or matter.³

Huxley is equally explicit :—

Of the causes which have led to the origination of living matter, it may be said that we know absolutely nothing. . . . Science has no means to form an opinion on the commencement of life; we can only make conjectures without any scientific value.

Again we ask ourselves in astonishment—What becomes of the chemistry of living protoplasm, which seemed so easy?

Tyndall makes a similar confession of ignorance, though apparently with a reservation in favour of life in some other than 'our sense'—no doubt that extravagant sense set forth in next section. 'We are unable to trace the course of things from the nebula, when there was no life in our sense, to the present earth, where life abounds.'⁴

Continental materialism is in no better case. 'According to my opinion,' says the veteran Virchow, 'we should simply acknowledge that in reality we know nothing of the connection between the organic world and the inorganic.' Du Bois-Reymond, the famous Berlin scientist, places the origin of life among the seven riddles which seem to defy experimental science. Even Hæckel has no cheering message to give. 'Most naturalists, even at the present day, are inclined to give up the attempt at a natural explanation [of the origin of life], and take refuge in the miracle or inconceivable creation.'⁵ Ay, there's the rub! There is

¹ *Origin of Species*, 1892, p. 191.

² *Ibid.*, p. 369.

³ *Athenæum*, April 25th, 1863.

⁴ *Fragments of Science*, p. 113.

⁵ *History of Creation*.

no other alternative but 'inconceivable creation,' and of all 'unscientific' things, next to the existence of God, creation is the most unscientific. 'The spirit and practice of science pronounce against the intrusion of an anthropomorphic creator.'¹

Finally the 'advanced philosophy' of the New World can only echo these disheartening admissions of the Old. Even the dauntless Professor Marsh—he of the limitless faith in science²—though he risks a mild guess as to the *nature* of life—it *may* be a form of some other force, presumably physical!—he has to confess utter ignorance of its origin.

2. Some hold continuous life throughout all nature, inorganic as well as organic. Häckel states that organic and inorganic substances are 'equally alive.'³ Fiske asserts that 'the difference between a living and a not-living body is a difference of degree and not of kind.'

Tyndall, of course, following up his adoption of the 'double-faced' theory of matter, gives his adhesion to this view:—

Are the forces of organic matter different in kind from those of inorganic matter? The philosophy of the present day negatives the question. . . . The tendency of modern science is to break down the wall of partition between organic and inorganic, and to reduce both to the operation of forces which are the same in kind, but are differently compounded.⁴ . . . The evidences as to *consciousness* in the vegetable world depend wholly upon our capacity to observe and weigh them. To a being with our capacities indefinitely multiplied I can imagine not only the vegetable, but the mineral world responsive to the proper irritants (*i.e.*, endowed with sensation!) . . . All three worlds constitute a unity, in which I picture life as the immanent throughout.⁵

What is any sane man to think of talk like this? If you scratch an oak tree or a granite boulder, it is really

¹ *Fragments of Science*, p. 413. Note how coolly 'science' is appropriated as the private possession of the 'advanced philosophers.'

² *I. E. RECORD*, Fourth Series, vol. ii., p. 208, *note*.

³ *History of Creation*.

⁴ *Vitality*.

⁵ *Fragments of Science*, p. 215.

'conscious' and 'responsive,' but you lack the 'capacity to observe' the fact! And for this you have the authority of 'the philosophy of the present day.' Tyndall challenges contradiction of this precious 'philosophy.' 'No man can say that the feelings of the animal are not represented by a drowsier consciousness in the vegetable.'¹ So 'no man can say' that the other side of the moon is not laid out by the occupant as a market garden. No doubt 'the capacity to observe it' is wanting; but to a being with our capacities so multiplied as to be able to see round a corner, we can imagine it quite visible. The reasoning is just as good in this case as in the other, the 'imagination' no more absurd, and the lunar garden as likely an entity as a 'drowsy' cabbage or a 'responsive' milestone. Such being 'the philosophy of the present day,' can anyone be surprised at the prevailing tendency—which Hæckel laments—to 'take refuge in the miracle of inconceivable creation'?²

3. The theory of *spontaneous generation* was undoubtedly the most famous of all modes of accounting for the origin of life. It may be said to have held the field until it was finally disposed of by the researches of Pasteur and Tyndall. By these researches it was, to use Pasteur's words,³ 'relegated to the region of chimeras.' Huxley terms Pasteur's experiments 'models of accurate experimentation and logical reasoning.'⁴ 'At the present moment,' he says, 'there is not a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence that abiogenesis (*i.e.*, spontaneous generation) does take place, or has taken place within the period during which the existence of the globe is recorded.' Similarly Virchow: 'Not a single positive fact is known which proves that an inorganic mass has transformed itself into an organic mass.'⁶ And finally

¹ *Fraser's Magazine*, p. 244.

² As an illustration of the beautiful consistency of these philosophers, we find Tyndall elsewhere arguing thus: 'Does water think or feel when it rises into frost ferns on the window-pane? We might very well answer him.—Perhaps it does, but we have not 'the capacity to observe it.'

³ In 1875.

⁴ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ency. Brit. Biology*.

⁶ *Revue Scientifique*, Dec., 1877.

Tyndall: 'I hold with Virchow that the doctrine [of spontaneous generation] is utterly discredited.'¹

4. The extracts just given might lead us to believe that we were done with spontaneous generation in any and every form. But no; it has disappeared from the present only to reappear in the remote past, when there were no inquisitive Pasteurs to challenge it. At some early epoch, it is assumed, some protoplasm was produced from inorganic materials either purely by accident, or by some happy, but altogether extraordinary and unaccountable co-operation of the ordinary physical and chemical forces. It is admitted that this is contrary to all ascertained facts *in the present*; and that therefore scientific analogy warrants the denial of its having ever happened, unless it can be shown that the physical and chemical forces possessed *specifically* different powers in the past from what they do now. Of this, as of the main fact itself, there is not, as Huxley says, 'a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence.' The only *indirect* evidence is supplied by the necessities of the evolution theory. Huxley has told us that 'the fundamental proposition of evolution' is that the living as well as the not-living world resulted from the mutual interaction of the forces of inorganic matter.

I grant [says Virchow] that if anyone is determined to form for himself an idea of how the first organic being came into existence *of itself*, nothing further is left than to go back to spontaneous generation. . . . But whoever recalls to mind the lamentable failure of all the attempts made very recently to discover some decided support for it . . . will feel it doubly serious to demand that this theory, so utterly discredited, should be in any way accepted as the basis of all our views of life.²

Nevertheless this demand has to be made by our 'philosophers.' There is for them no possible escape from it. The origination of life from dead matter is 'a necessary implication of the evolution theory'; and so in spite of facts, analogy, authority, and common sense—though without 'a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence' or 'a single positive

¹ *Fragments of Science*, p. 405.

² *Address at Munich, 1877*.

fact' to support it, though 'utterly discredited' and 'absolutely inconceivable,' still it *must* have happened. Otherwise, of course, 'inconceivable creation'—*quod absit!* The argument would stand thus—If the evolution theory is true, life originated from dead matter; but the evolution theory is true; therefore &c. If you demand proof of the minor proposition, you will learn from Tyndall that the theory is to be accepted chiefly on account of 'its general harmony with scientific thought.'¹

Biologists in general agree [says Spencer] that in the present state of the world no such thing happens as the rise of a living creature out of non-living matter. They do not deny, however, that at a remote period in the past, when the temperature of the surface of the earth was much higher than at present, and other physical conditions were unlike those we know, inorganic matter, through successive complications, gave origin to organic matter.²

He assures us that 'men of science scarcely question the conclusion' that this happened; that it is 'a necessary implication of the hypothesis of evolution taken as a whole,' and therefore must, of course, be true. The 'biologists in general' and 'men of science' who agree on all this are solely the extreme evolutionary clique of which Spencer himself is such a shining light.

Häckel also declares some form of spontaneous generation to be 'a necessary part of the doctrine of evolution.'³ Somehow and somewhere in the past a living cell originated just once from the fortuitous concourse of atoms. True, he admits that 'there is no experimental evidence in its favour;' but that is of no consequence. The fact that it is 'a necessary part of the doctrine of evolution,' and the only refuge from 'inconceivable creation' is surely evidence enough.

Professor Weismann finds himself in the same dilemma as his countryman, and gets out of it in the same delightfully simple way. 'I admit that spontaneous generation, in spite

¹ *Belfast Address.*

² *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1886, p. 769.

³ *History of Creation.* In fact he starts his famous pedigree of man (chap. xxii.) with the spontaneous generation of what he calls the *Monera*.

of all the failures to demonstrate it, remains for me *a logical necessity.*' As the Professor has not recanted his materialism, we must assume that he finds this 'logical necessity' a sufficient warrant for his belief. Apparently the 'logical necessity' of getting out of a difficulty is, for the 'advanced philosophers,' an all-sufficient reason for asserting anything.

Huxley, like his friend Spencer, shows a preference for the remote past. 'Were it given to me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time, . . . I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from non-living matter.'¹ It is a far cry to the other side of 'the abyss of geological time.' We thought he had only to go to his laboratory to witness all this. He admits indeed that this opinion of his is no more than 'an act of philosophic faith.'² But has he not told us elsewhere that in the scientific man 'the one unpardonable sin' is 'blind faith;' that such a man 'has learned to believe in justification, not by faith, but by verification' ?³

Tyndall, disregarding a similar canon of his own,⁴ propounds an equally practical solution. He would affirm that if a planet were 'carved from the sun, set spinning round an axis, and revolving round the sun at a distance from him equal to that of our earth,' one of the consequences of the refrigeration of the mass 'would be the development of organic forms.'⁵ He states as 'the conclusion of science . . . that the molten earth contained within it elements of life, which grouped themselves into their present forms as the planet cooled.'⁶ 'Who,' he demands, 'will set limits to the possible play of molecules in a cooling planet?'⁷ Who indeed! Or to the 'possible play' of the scientific imagina-

¹ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 239.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Lay Sermons*, p. 16.

⁴ 'Without verification a theoretic conception is a mere figment of the intellect.'

⁵ *Vitality*.

⁶ *Fragments of Science*, p. 246. Tyndall assures his readers that the only difficulty the human mind finds in accepting this 'conclusion' arises from theological prejudices—nothing else. The wild absurdity of the conception would form no obstacle. We had up to this thought better of the human mind!

⁷ *Vitality*

tion! Surely Virchow's 'energetic protest' at Munich was not uncalled for!

This talk is about as sane as what we had higher up when we were invited to regard sticks and stones as sensitive and conscious—almost in fact as men and brothers. What is most astonishing about these 'advanced philosophers' is that, having confessed their utter inability to say what or whence is life, they still go on to give us a perfect *embarras* of theories on the subject. Not to speak of making it up in the laboratory *à la* Huxley, you have only to 'look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time,' or take 'a planet carved from the sun,' and keep an eye on it while it is cooling, to 'witness the evolution of living protoplasm from not-living matter.' If you ask *how* this development of living from not-living matter took place even in the extraordinary circumstances here postulated, Professor Clifford will accurately explain to you that it was 'by continuous physical processes;' ¹ Herbert Spencer will inform you that it was 'through successive complications;' Tyndall will blandly assure you that it was due to 'that potency of matter which finds expression in natural evolution' ²—or if you like it better, 'by the operation of an insoluble mystery;' ³ finally, your enlightenment will be completed by Huxley's luminous statement that life 'was the result of the mutual interaction, according to definite laws, of the forces possessed by the molecules of which the primitive nebulousness of the universe was composed!' If you are not satisfied with all this you may consider yourself quite out of date.

A Sunday scholar once gave a definition of faith, with which Huxley was immensely pleased. 'Faith,' said the Sunday theologian, 'is the power of saying you believe things which are incredible.' This exactly describes the 'philosophic faith' we are here called upon to exercise—'the power of saying you believe things which are incredible.'

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1874.

² *Fragments*, p. 413.

³ *Belfast Address*.

5. What we call *vital force* is no more than a higher form of *crystalline force*; and living beings originated pretty much like crystals. This is a favourite view with Tyndall, and he seldom misses an opportunity of urging it.

Men of science are intimately acquainted with the structural power of matter, as evidenced in the phenomena of crystallization. They can justify scientifically their belief in its potency, under the proper conditions, to produce organisms.¹ . . . Atoms and molecules are endowed with attractive and repellent poles, by the play of which definite forms of crystalline architecture are produced. Thus molecular force becomes *structural*. It required no great boldness of thought to extend its play into organic nature, and to recognise in molecular force the agency by which both plants and animals are built up² . . . In an amorphous drop of water lie latent all the marvels of crystalline force: and who will set limits to the possible play of molecules in a cooling planet?³

He speaks of crystallization as 'incipient life, manifesting itself throughout the whole of what we call inorganic nature.'⁴ The argument may be stated thus:—The phenomena of crystallization show the existence of a wonderful *structural* power in matter—a power 'latent and potential' in the liquid or vapour, but ready, under proper conditions, to build up forms as fair as any in the vegetable world. The fern of the woods is not more beautiful than the frost-ferns on your window-pane on a winter's morning. Yet for this no special force is postulated beyond the ordinary molecular attractions and repulsions conceded to all matter. Why then postulate a special *vital* force for the building up of plant or animal from seed or cell? The vegetable or animal germ is not less likely to contain the necessary formative force than was the drop of water. Why then deny the potentiality in one case, while you admit it in the other? The analogy between water-drop, seed, and germ speck, is complete. In each a *formative force* is certainly

¹ *Belfast Address*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Vitality*.

⁴ *Scientific Materialism*. See this crystalline theory set forth at length, with great wealth and beauty of illustration, in his lecture on *Matter and Force*; also in a more advanced form in *Scientific Materialism*.

hidden. In each it springs into activity on the presence of suitable conditions. A *force* cannot be *seen*; so we must judge of its nature by its action. The structural work in all three cases is analogous, if not alike. In the simplest of the three cases you admit it to be no more than molecular force. It is therefore fair to conclude that in the more complex cases also we have only a more complex interaction of the same force.

The central fallacy in this argument lies in an assumption that might easily escape the unguarded reader—the assumption, namely, of the seed and the cell as analogues of the drop of water. Tyndall speaks of all three as if they came to hand in nature in pretty much the same way. But do they? Is it of no consequence that while the water-drop need not have aqueous ancestry, but may be flashed from its elemental oxygen and hydrogen, the vegetable or animal germ must come from a parent plant or animal? Does not this procession from living antecedents include the very point in discussion, namely, the intrusion of vital force into the physical processes compared? For the germ comes from the living parent endowed with a share of its vitality, and *this* is the force that lies latent until suitable conditions occur to render it active. To make the analogy complete we should have the crystallizable water-drop born of a grown up crystal, and procurable in no other way!

Tyndall is fond of describing—when it suits his argument—how men of science arrive at their conclusions about the far past. ‘They prolong the method of nature from the present into the past. The observed uniformity of nature is their only guide.’ Well, here ‘the method of nature’ is that a fertile seed or cell comes from a living plant or animal, and from no other source. Therefore, ‘the observed uniformity of nature’ authorizes us to conclude that the same was the case even among the playful molecules of a cooling planet.

Some years ago an ingenious Yankee manufactured eggs that could not be distinguished by experts from the genuine product of the poultry yard. Assuming that these eggs contained all the constituents of the real article, would

Tyndall maintain that with proper hatching they would produce chicks? Until something like that occurs, his pet analogy between crystallization and life is a broken chain.

Huxley over and over commits himself to the statement that *life is the cause of organization, not organization the cause of life*; and of course the cause must precede the effect. Now Tyndall's crystalline theory exactly reverses this order, requiring that organization should come first, as a result of the complex interaction of molecular forces; and life second, as a result of the organization thus produced. The theory of the infidel physicist is overthrown by the infidel biologist, and in this biological region the latter knew his ground best. We remember his distinct and decisive statement that 'there is *no parallel* between the actions of matter in the mineral world and in living tissues.' We may also recall Dr. Beale's strong words when referring to this effort of 'scientific imagination': "The idea of a particle of muscular or nerve tissue being formed by a process akin to crystallization appears *ridiculous* to anyone who has studied the phenomena, or who is acquainted with the structure of these tissues." Add to these authoritative statements that of the great French naturalist, Quatrefages:—"It is inexplicable to me that some men whose merits I otherwise acknowledge should have recently compared crystals to the simplest living forms. . . . These forms are the antipodes of crystal from every point of view."¹

6. *Bathybius*!—The evolution theory derives much of its power for mischief from the argument of *authority*, as it is called—that is, from the eminence of the men who support it. Therefore, every opportunity should be taken to show how unreliable they are as leaders of thought, and how they

¹ *The Human Species*, p. 3. Several important differences may be pointed out between crystalline and organic structures. (a) Crystalline structures are mathematical, organic not in the least so. (b) Crystals grow by simple accretion on the outside, organic structures by absorption of nutriment and its conversion, first into protoplasm, and finally into organized tissue. (c) The formation of a crystal needs no germ from an antecedent crystal; organic structures can only be developed from germs derived from antecedent organisms. (d) Crystals can usually be dissolved and recrystallized at will; organic structures once destroyed cannot be restored.

will not stop at asserting anything, however extraordinary, in support of their hypotheses. We have already had many instances of this, and sensible men will draw their own conclusions about 'philosophers' who calmly offer them theories founded on fiery clouds and cooling planets. But *Bathybius* supplies a crowning instance of folly. These gentlemen are fond of reminding us with what care and caution the 'scientific man'—meaning of course the materialist—proceeds. 'He guesses, and checks his guess; he conjectures, and confirms or explodes his conjecture.' This is how it should be, according to Tyndall.

Unfortunately, in the case of *Bathybius* the 'scientific men' chiefly concerned, viz. Huxley, who discovered it, and Hæckel, Strauss, and others, who committed themselves unreservedly to belief in it, did not wait to 'check their guess,' or 'explode their conjecture;' and the consequence was that in a few years the whole scientific world 'exploded' with laughter at what Mivart well nicknamed 'Huxley's sea-mare's nest.'

Bathybius was the name given by Huxley to a sticky ooze found in the vessels containing deep-sea dredgings. He rushed to the conclusion that this gelatinous substance could be no other than Nature's grand store of *protoplasm*, and that here at last was the solution of the great life-puzzle! All this he proclaimed in a triumphant article in the *Microscopical Journal*.—'*Bathybius* is a vast sheet of living matter enveloping the whole earth beneath the seas.'

That was in 1868. In 1875 this is what he has to say about *Bathybius*:—

I fear the thing to which I gave that name is little more than sulphate of lime, precipitated in the flocculent state from the sea water by the strong alkali into which the specimens of the deep-sea soundings which I examined were preserved!¹

In his last work, *The Old Faith and the New*,² Strauss wrote:—

As long as the conception of a special vital force was retained there was no possibility of spanning the chasm [from the inorganic to the organic] without the aid of a miracle. By *Bathybius* the chasm may be said to be bridged.

¹ *Nature*, August, 19th.

² 1872.

When the bridge broke down would he have been prepared to admit the miracle?

Dr. John Murray of the *Challenger* writes:—

I have seen several *savants* losing their temper in my presence when I told them that a mistake had been made with regard to this subject, and that Huxley, Hæckel, and others had been led into error.

Surely a very instructive side-light on the ‘scientific man’!

‘With the *Bathybius*,’ sighed Virchow, ‘disappeared our greatest hope of a demonstration (of the origin of life from matter).’ Hæckel had called it ‘the main support of the modern theory of evolution’!

Perhaps we ought not to say that these six views exhaust the list of solutions. There is, for instance, what has been called the ‘Colorado beetle’ theory of the origin of life on the earth. Might not the first living germs have been brought hither from space on a meteorite? This would of course leave the origin of life still unexplained; but a good deal would be gained by shifting the discussion to the shadowy region from which meteorites come. Somebody gave concrete shape to the idea by figuring a Colorado beetle riding in on a meteoric stone to people the void earth! For picturesqueness this conception rivals Tyndall’s ‘cooling planet.’ It is, moreover, subject to somewhat similar disabilities; for meteorites, as is well known, owing to the friction of our atmosphere, reach the earth *in a state of incandescence*—which would be uncomfortable even for a Colorado beetle. However, an incandescent meteorite is as safe a vehicle of life as an incandescent planet. No less an authority than Lord Kelvin declared, no doubt with a wink of the other eye, that whatever else might be said of this notion it had at least the merit of not being ‘unscientific’:—and that, we know, is everything.

Again, it is hardly fair to exclude Hæckel’s appeal to the possibilities of the future—what we may call the prophetic view. It is such a lovely specimen of the genesis of

fact from fiction, that for that alone it would deserve a place:—

There is every probability that sooner or later we shall succeed in producing protoplasm artificially. *We may therefore assume* that in nature also there *may be* formed from inorganic substances, first some simpler carbon compounds, and from these protoplasm capable of life. *If this exists*, it only needs to individualize itself (!) in the same way as the mother liquor of crystals individualizes itself, and we have the *moneron*.

The present having utterly failed him, and the past proving somewhat unmanageable, Häckel tries the future. To escape miracle he has recourse to prophecy! What a picture of utter demoralization these various speculations about the origin of life afford. Driven from the present by Pasteur, the 'advanced philosophers' scatter in all directions. Huxley flies to the further side of 'the abyss of geological time,' where at a safe distance he 'would expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not-living matter.' Tyndall selects 'a cooling planet' as his refuge, and with a tread-on-the-tail-of-my-coat air calls for the man who will presume to set limits to its powers. Häckel, 'individualizing' himself from the slime of *Bathybius*, makes for the open country of the future—the region of unknown possibilities. In which romantic situations we may for the present leave our philosophers.

And now for the second time we pause to take stock of our gains. What has this second instalment of 'advanced philosophy' taught us, beyond showing us the utterly helpless and hopeless plight of knowledge without God? We thought, perhaps, that we had sounded the lowest depths of absurdity in the materialistic philosophy of matter. We have now beheld a deeper depth. Our 'philosophers' are here more imperatively brought to book. The difficulty presents itself more clearly to the average man, and hence more insistently demands solution. The question of the origin of matter out of void is so vast that it baffles the human mind to grasp it even as an unsolved difficulty. The nature of matter, too, with its metaphysical and mathematical surroundings, would obviously become a terror to

ordinary inquirers—like Prout's Blarney-stone politician, 'an out-and-outer to be let alone.' But life is different. It resides in limited beings with which we are familiar. We see them come, and grow, and go. We trace this recurring cycle of life as far back as the memory of man. And beyond that the long memory of the old earth, fixed in her fossil shapes, takes up the tale and carries us back through ages that are little more to us than names. The structure of the Palæozoic leaf declares as clearly as structure can declare anything that it lived the life of the leaves of our woods,¹ and was just as inconceivable a product of inorganic force as an oak forest.

But the cycle of life had a beginning. Even our 'philosophers' have to admit that when we follow the stream of life backward to its source, we come at last to an absolute beginning—to a time when there was neither seed nor egg on the earth to produce a living thing in the ordinary way. In the forcible words of the Duke of Argyll:—

We know, as certainly as we know anything in the physical sciences, that organic life must have had a beginning in time on this globe of ours. If so, then of course that beginning cannot possibly have been by way of ordinary generation. Some other process must have been employed, however little we are able to conceive what that process was . . . The facts of nature and the necessities of thought compel us to entertain the conception of an absolute beginning of organic life when as yet there were no parent forms to breed and multiply.²

Thus far we travel the same road with most of our 'philosophers,' but here we are forced to part company. We assert—they deny—that we here touch the limit of the powers of nature. They will have it that there are *not* more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy. They will not admit into the calculation the only factor capable of solving the problem, thus rendering solution impossible. Hence all their difficulties, their verbal wriggings, their fantastic fictions. Hence the 'logical necessity' of an 'utterly discredited' and 'absolutely

¹ See Sir J. W. Dawson's *Modern Ideas of Evolution*.

² *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1897.

inconceivable' spontaneous generation; hence the reckless recourse to 'fiery clouds' and 'cooling planets' as primordial incubators of living germs; hence 'double-faced' matter, 'sensitive' stones, and 'conscious' vegetables; hence all the other wild speculations about life, none of them a whit more credible than the adventurous voyage of the Colorado beetle, and all of them leaving their devisers still 'without an approach to a solution of the mighty question of the origin of life.'¹

Science led our 'philosophers' unerringly to the great central fact of the universe, the ultimate solution of all puzzles, the supreme First Cause; but their eyes were blinded 'that seeing they might not see.' That peculiarly constituted organ, 'the eye of science,' has never, as we know, been able to discover 'any intrusion of purely creative power' in nature. But is that the fault of nature, or of 'the eye of science'? Surely it is only an eye wilfully shut that could fail to see an 'intrusion of purely creative power' in such a portent as the origin of life from dead matter. Jean Paul Richter could see 'two miracles or revelations' in 'the birth of finite being, and the birth of life within the hard wood of matter.' Scientific men as eminent as our 'philosophers' have similarly read the same signs. To them the origin of life is an effect for which the material universe supplies no adequate cause. They thus find themselves forced to seek such a cause in another region of thought—a cause unconditioned by material limitations. 'We have evidence in the commencement of life on earth,' says Sir G. G. Stokes, 'of the operation in time of a cause which, for anything we can see, or that appears probable, lies altogether outside the ken of science.'²

It is as certain as anything in human thought [says the Duke of Argyll] that when organic life was first introduced into the world, something was done—some process was employed differing from that by which those forms now simply reproduce and repeat themselves. . . . All our desperate attempts, therefore, to get rid

¹ Tyndall in the *Contemporary Review*, No. xxix.

² *Burnett Lectures on Light* (1892), p. 331.

of the idea of creation as distinguished from mere procreation are self-condemned as futile.¹

We believe [write Professors Stewart and Tait] that an extension of purely scientific logic drives us to contemplate the occurrence of two events which are as incomprehensible as any miracle—these are the introduction of visible matter and of visible living things into the universe. . . . Furthermore we are led by scientific analogy to regard the agency in virtue of which these two astounding events were brought about as an intelligent agency, an agency whose choice of the time for action is determined by considerations similar in their nature to those which influence a human being when he chooses the proper moment for the accomplishment of his purpose.²

Dr. A. R. Wallace, Darwin's great rival, sees in the first introduction of life 'indications of a new power at work.' Darwin himself seemed to see that the origin of life was something beyond the reach of physical science to explain. His repeated assertions that it was no concern of his are very significant, as also his fundamental assumption of living types to begin with. He could get on if he had only 'a mud-fish with some vestiges of mind' but he should get his mud-fish *alive*, and he did not seem disposed to trust 'fiery clouds' or 'cooling planets' with its production.³

No less convincing than the direct testimony of all true science to the existence of a creative intelligence, is the utter failure of false science to find firm footing on matter alone.

No system of the universe [says Sir Joseph Dawson] can dispense with a First Cause, eternal and self-existent; and this First Cause must necessarily be the living God, whose will is the ultimate force and the origin of natural law.⁴

So 'all roads lead to Rome,' and all the great highways

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1897.

² *The Unseen Universe*, p. 11.

³ *Apropos* of Darwin's initial types someone may wish to ask *how* life first showed itself in answer to the *fiat* of creation—what sort of forms, vegetable and animal respectively, first arose; and whether any of these primordial forms still survive, or whether all have been superseded. To such inquiries we can give no answer. The earliest geological specimens are highly organized types of many kinds. But do these represent the first forms of terrestrial life? We cannot tell. Science cannot carry the investigation beyond the metamorphic rocks, and revelation only states broad facts which show us the Creator starting the two great divisions of animated nature on the course they have ever since held.

⁴ *Modern Ideas of Evolution*.

of knowledge to God. That which traverses the fair and fruitful region of physical science is no exception, provided the traveller, disregarding all will-o'-the-wisp gleams of 'scientific imagination,' keeps steadily to the firm ground of fact. The unerring certainty with which the pedigrees of matter and of life lead back through bewildering ages to the One First Cause reminds us of another pedigree, whose simple but sublime conclusion is—'who was of Seth, who was of Adam, *who was of God.*'

Just as we finish this paper the problem of life is once more, and positively for the last time, about to be solved. The 'undiscovered correlative' is at last about to be dragged from its hiding place into the light of day. A brand new speculation, hot from the brain of its author, appears in the *Strand Magazine* for March. At the close of an interesting account of Marconi's new system of telegraphy the writer seems suddenly seized by the prophetic *afflatus*, under the influence of which he gives us a specimen of the 'scientific use of the imagination.' Apparently electrified out of himself by the contemplation of the wonders of Röntgen rays, Marconi waves, Tesla circuits, and the rest, he bursts forth: 'The imagination abandons as a hopeless task the attempt to conceive what, in the use of electric waves, the immediate future holds in store. The air is full of promises of miracles.' We are bidden to look to the *ether* for the realization of these promises. This hypothetical substance is, alas! itself 'one of the deepest of the scientific mysteries'—a name as inscrutable to the scientists of to-day as was the writing on the wall to Baltassar and his guests. The *Strand* writer cries aloud for the scientific Daniel who is to read meaning into it. He believes him to be at hand. When he comes we may expect 'a great epoch in knowledge, . . . a new light on all the great problems which are mysteries at present.' Considering the number of these problems this seems a large order, and will keep the coming Daniel quite as busy solving puzzles as his ancient prototype.

Among the 'great problems' which are to receive a special measure of illumination is, of course, 'the mystery of living matter.' 'The key to the mystery, if it ever comes

(oh!), will come through the *ether*.' And if it should turn out to be true, as is strongly suspected, that the ether and electricity are one and the same—a sort of ethereal Jekyll and Hyde—then we shall have 'a great, a startling key to the now fathomless mystery of life.' It is a little discouraging to find such a battery of mysteries between us and the one in whose solution we are just now chiefly interested. The ether is 'one of the deepest of the scientific mysteries;' electricity is another. The identity of the one with the other is still purely imaginary. We begin to wish Daniel would hurry up and get to work.

Then the *Strand* writer's methods of deduction baffle our stupidity. The future solution of a mystery is necessarily something at present unknown. The future solutions of two mysteries do not increase the sum of present knowledge. How can it be seen that two such unknowns will solve a third and different unknown? 'I don't know what the ether is,' says, equivalently, the *Strand* oracle, 'and I don't know what electricity is, and I don't know what life is. But I do know that the solution of the first two will solve the third.' Verily he is himself the expected Daniel, and we knew it not! Looking at the matter from the point of view of real and reasonable science we are totally unable to see how the tracing of certain *physical* phenomena to one source instead of two must necessarily throw light on the source or principle of certain other quite different phenomena which all existing evidence shows to be *non-physical*.

Although not exactly connected with our present subject it would be a pity not to mention some of the other truly 'startling' revelations that are to follow the synthesis of the ether and electricity. 'The deeper and higher mysteries of *post-mortem* human conditions'—in other words, the secrets of the next world—are to be revealed. 'In the ether the secret lies.' Then 'the great concepts of religion,' though they 'are felt to be true,' stand much in need of demonstration 'by the ordinary methods of proof.' 'And the present prospect is that only from the study of the ether is this desired proof likely to come.' Undoubtedly, 'strange results are coming.' The four last things, we may expect,

will be shown on a screen—which will be certain to ‘draw’—while electric theology à la Marie Corelli will be hardly less entertaining. ‘Faith,’ the *Strand* theologian informs us, ‘needs no facts to support it’—which is a most fortunate dispensation, as otherwise the new creed might be somewhat at a loss. Only one thing blocks the way, and its name is *ether*. Let us all, therefore, attack it with one accord. Let us get round it, or under it, or over it. On the other side we shall be rewarded by finding ourselves on ‘the old Roman road of science, which leads no one knows whither’—but presumably to the Millennium!

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE

WHEN was the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist instituted? No one with any pretence to a Catholic education hesitates about the answer. On Holy Thursday, the night before Jesus died.

When was the Sacrament of Penance instituted? There is reason to fear that this is a question rarely asked, and still more rarely answered. Nevertheless it has been fully examined and discussed by a host of Catholic writers and scholars, whose opinion, though not solemnly endorsed by the Catholic Church, it is quite safe to follow.

The great Sacrament of resurrection from sin was instituted on the first Easter Sunday, the very day of the resurrection of our Lord from the grave. The event took place at one of the apparitions of the Risen Christ to His disciples.

We cannot possibly discuss here the intricate and almost interminable question of the place, time, and manner of these many apparitions. Enough to say that the order of the Easter Sunday apparitions, as laid down by

St. Augustine, and followed by the great Jesuit commentator, Maldonatus, is the most probable conjecture ever advanced on the subject.

FIVE APPARITIONS ON EASTER SUNDAY

According to this well-established view, our Lord appeared no fewer than five times on the day of His Resurrection:—¹

1. In the early morning to Mary Magdalen, the penitent sinner, when He said, 'Mary,' and she said 'Rabboni,' or 'Master' (John xx. 16). She was undoubtedly the first to arrive at the open tomb (Mark xvi. 9), and she had her reward.

2. The same morning early, to the holy women who had come with spices to anoint His body, and were returning heavy-hearted from the empty tomb, when they met Him alive, 'and took hold of His feet, and adored Him' (Matt. xxviii. 9).

3. The same day, He appeared to Simon Peter, as the disciples told the two late arrivals, 'The Lord hath truly risen and hath appeared to Simon' (Luke xxiv. 34).

4. That afternoon to the two disciples on the Emmaus road, when their hearts burned within them at the words of the Stranger, till at length they recognised Him 'in the breaking of bread' (Luke xxiv. 35).

5. Late that evening to all the Apostles, except St. Thomas, and to some other disciples who were gathered together like scared sheep, 'for fear of the Jews' (John xx. 19).

This last is the apparition that concerns us, for it was on this occasion that the Holy Sacrament of Penance was instituted.

This is not the place to examine fully the question of the identity of the apparition in John xx. with the one recorded in Luke xxiv. Suffice it to say that the best authorities are satisfied that it is so.

¹ There is no need of any written record to confirm us in the pious belief that He appeared to His Mother. Those who entertain any doubt of it, are met by St. Ignatius of Loyola in his *Spiritual Exercises*, with, "Are ye also without understanding?" (Matt. xv. 16).

THE COMPANY AND CONVERSATION

The Apostles were huddled together in some out-of-the-way room, and had taken every precaution to conceal their place of retreat. They would seem not even to have laid in any store of provisions, for our Lord had occasion to ask if they had anything to eat in the house (Luke xxiv. 41), and all they could produce was a boiled fish and a honeycomb. Their hearts were full of the events of the past few days, and they had much to speak about in sad and solemn tones. The one engrossing topic was, of course, the Passion and Death of the Master, and the rumoured Resurrection, which they were far from believing. Their unbelief they excused to themselves, on the hollow plea that the first bearers of the news were women, and they were half-witted creatures (Luke xxiv. 11). But it would not be fair to say that *all* of them disbelieved. One at least did not, and that was Peter. Peter, whose mouth was ever near his heart, had been telling his sceptical companions of his vision of the Risen Master, and no doubt he argued vehemently for the reality of the Resurrection, but the majority remained unconvinced.

There was another person present who could hardly have disbelieved at this stage. It was John. Like his Divine Master, the virgin-disciple loved the penitent Magdalen, and believed her story. When she ran back in breathless haste to tell of her discovery of the empty tomb, she made her way to Peter and John; and John in his Gospel not only emphasizes the fact of the apparition to her, but lingers with loving minuteness on that scene, when Mary sat, her head buried in her lap, weeping bitterly, and Jesus disguised as a gardener, came noiselessly behind her, and asked her the cause of her grief (John xx. 15). On the strength of her word, Peter and John flew to the grave, but none of the rest stirred. And they were unbelieving still, as they sat together that Sunday night, especially Thomas, who seems to have left the room in a sullen mood and gone out.¹

¹ St. Thomas made his act of faith, a week after, that is, on the first Low Sunday (John xx. 28).

Such was the company and such the frame of mind of these frightened and shepherdless sheep, when a stealthy knock was heard at the fast-closed door. Were they discovered? Was the Jewish police upon them? For a moment there was consternation and silence. But a friendly voice without soon re-assured them. Then, unbarring the door, they welcomed back the two disciples who had been that evening to Emmaus, and had had the unspeakable consolation of a long walk and conversation with their Risen Lord. Before they had time to recount their own experiences, the eleven and the rest told them of the apparition to Peter (Luke xxiv. 34). Then came the turn of the new-comers, and they told their story excitedly: how the Lord had joined them on the road, and spoken to them so sweetly, and tarried with them, and broken bread with them, and vanished (Luke xxiv. 35).

JESUS IN THEIR MIDST

At that moment--no one knew how, for the doors and windows were fast shut--Jesus Himself stood in their midst, and greeted them, saying, 'Peace be to you' (John xx. 19). Almost beside themselves with terror, they shrank from the sight, and thought it was a ghost (Luke xxiv. 37).

And here we may pause to note the loving condescension of our Lord. Just now the great danger for His Apostles was, that they should cease to think Him a man at all. In presence of this marvel of His power, when He passed inside, through the closed door, it was easier to believe Him God than man, and easiest of all to call Him a phantom or ghost. His whole efforts were now directed to prove to the startled company, that He was the very same Jesus they had known in the flesh, and going round from one to another, He said smilingly, at the sight of their dismay, 'Why are ye troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? See My hands and My feet, that it is I myself. Handle and see.' And He would seem to have stretched out His hands to be touched, and his feet to be viewed. Then calling attention to His very unghostly appearance,

He added, 'A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me to have' (Luke xxiv. 39).

Even this device of His love did not quite succeed. The disciples failed to draw the conclusion He wanted, and, we are told, they could hardly believe their eyes (Luke xxiv. 41). They were half distraught 'twixt joy and fear. So our Lord had recourse to another proof of the reality of His risen Humanity. He sat Him down in their midst, and complained half playfully, that they had offered Him no hospitality. Ghosts could not eat, but He could. Instantly they were on their feet to get Him all they had. It was only a bit of a fish and a honey-comb (Luke xxiv. 42). And sitting at table, with every troubled eye bent on Him, He was seen to eat of the frugal fare and to relish it. Then He bethought Him of their possible hunger, and perhaps—we do not know for certain—wrought once more the old familiar miracle of multiplying food, for He took what was left on the dish, and passed it round (Luke xxiv. 43).

BELIEF AND CALM

The little company was much calmer now. At last they believed.

Just before the institution of the Holy Eucharist, a similar calm had reigned, for Judas, the one disturbing element, had gone out,¹ and only friends were left. So now, the one unbelieving Apostle was away, and Jesus knew that He had none but believers before Him.

His first appearance in the room had given rise to a scene of wild confusion and panic. But for the barred door, the Apostles would have probably fled in abject terror from the 'ghost.' But now had he not *proved* that He was the self-same Master they had known and loved so well, the same voice, the same face; above all, the same tender compassion? The word 'Peace be to you' had not taken effect at once, but now it was bearing fruit, and the great Sacrament of Reconciliation was ushered in by a repetition of the soothing phrase (John xx. 21), and the tossing waves

¹ The more general opinion among the best modern commentators

of doubt sank to rest, and the hearts of the listeners became as a smooth sunlit sea, with the music of His words floating over all.

SENT BY THE FATHER AND SENDING HIS APOSTLES

‘As the Father hath sent Me, so send I you’ (John xx. 21). The intention the Father had in sending His Son, was the same as Christ had in sending His Apostles. What the Father intended is clear from the statement of Christ to Nicodemus, ‘God hath so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but may have life everlasting’ (John iii. 16). He was sent, and He came, ‘not to judge the world, but that the world might be saved by Him’ (John iii. 17). His mission was ‘to seek and to save that which was lost’ (Luke xix. 10). That work was done, as far as in Him lay, and His Father was well pleased with it, and He now sent for Him to return to His bosom with the glorified Humanity He had taken up. In the strength of His Godhead, the Man Christ Jesus had done the work God gave Him to do, and it was now time to go back whence He came.

And was His work to vanish with Himself? He took heed that it should not. Full well He knew the nature of man, and saw that unless His work remained visible, it would be practically lost on the world, and unless the power to do that work were lodged in visible men, it would be accounted by the world as badly done; that is, without lasting fruit, that is, hardly done at all. So He cast about for men, and He found them, and He, the God-Man, was now about to commission men, mere men, to carry on His work; not to add to the efficacy of His all-abounding Redemption, but to apply its fruits, even to the end of the world. And this they were to do, not in their own strength, which was nought, but in His, and His strength is then most enhanced and glorified, when the instruments it uses are weakest.

Redemption is a rescue from something evil, and a restoration to something good. The one evil that Christ

came to save us from, is sin : the one great good He gives us, is grace ; and the Apostles now gathered round Him at table, are to be sent as He was sent, to save men from the yoke of sin and to re-instate them in grace.

THE BREATHING ON THE APOSTLES

Emboldened by gratified curiosity and growing comfort, they now clustered round Him, and began to find utterance for their thoughts. But they were soon hushed to silence. Rising from table and bending over them, He breathed upon them, saying : 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained' (John xx. 23). And the inspired words rise to the mind : 'And the Lord God breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii. 7).

Being in the state of grace, the Apostles were already in possession of the Holy Ghost. Where there is a soul in grace, there the Holy Ghost, Himself inseparable from His gift, abides. What then is the meaning of this new infusion of the Spirit by the mouth of the Eternal Son, from whom, as from the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeds ? The Holy Spirit is given not only for purposes of personal sanctification, but for the profit of others. No doubt the Apostles at this solemn moment felt a stirring in the heart, and were endowed with a higher degree of sanctifying grace than before. But their own sanctification was not the primary object of our Lord in this sacred rite. The Holy Ghost was being given them, to have and to hold for a special use, in their ministrations to others. As on Pentecost, the Spirit was given, bearing with Him the gift of tongues, to help to the conversion of the babel-speaking world ; so He was breathed now, that the recipients should breathe Him out on others, unto the remission of sins.

It was our Lord's design and will that these men should go about the world dispensing this gift in His name, and in the strength of the Spirit that filled them forgiving the sins of the children of men. They were to breathe the words

of absolution on the dead soul of the sinner, and the Holy Ghost, who was in that breath, would raise the dead to life.

THE HUMAN AGENTS OF DIVINE PARDON

But our Lord does not choose to dwell here on the inner working of the Spirit. He is concerned just now only with the human agents or instruments of justification, not with its principal cause. The agents are denoted by the one word *ye*. 'Whose sins *ye* shall forgive.' For the moment, Christ keeps Himself and His Spirit in the background. He does not say, 'I shall forgive or retain.' He does not even introduce the word 'Heaven,' as He did in the great foreshadowing of the institution of the Sacrament of Penance, when he said to Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 19); and again, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven' (Matt. xviii. 18). But at this particular juncture our Lord is thinking of earth and sinners on earth, and their treatment by His ministers on earth. It is *their* action He wants to emphasize, not His own. Though it is absolutely true to say that without Him they can do nothing, He does not say it, but rather, '*ye* are the ones to forgive.'

Catholics are constantly using a precisely similar expression, 'the priest forgives sin,' and they have the sanction of Jesus Christ for it. We are forgiven by our confessor, absolved by this or that man. We say so, and we say so rightly. It is the height of churlishness and captiousness and hair-splitting, to insist on our adding at every turn, 'And what he has done, he has done through Jesus Christ.' Of course he has. Who ever doubted or questioned it? We do not insist on a child saying parenthetically, whenever it tells of its pastimes or pleasures, 'I owe it all, you know, to father.' We know it, and we should not like the child the better for talking so, and the teacher who taught it this mode of speech, we should call a 'prig.'

So much for the human agents of the Divine pardon. A word must be added as to their action in

THE REMISSION AND RETENTION OF SIN

The two actions are obviously opposite, and cannot apply to the same sin. Consequently, there must be two sets of sins, or, rather, two classes of sinners, falling under the action of the ministers of pardon. The one class is to have its sins forgiven, the other is to be sent away with its sins not forgiven.

At this point we become straightway involved in the question of justice. These two classes are meant by the God of Justice to be treated justly. He gave no commission to the Apostles to forgive all sinners indiscriminately. This would be a travesty of justice. What would be thought of the judge on the bench, who held that he was authorized by English law to let all criminals off and sentence none? Still less does our Lord empower His Apostles to bind all sinners fast, and retain all sins, no matter what the sorrow or purpose of amendment. A principle like this would be a cruel outrage to the mercy of God.

We are thus compelled to infer that Christ intended the men He armed with this tremendous power, to use it by means of a careful and judicial discrimination and sifting of the two kinds of sinners. They are not to be mixed. They are not to be taken like so many balls, and thrown into the air; those that fall on the right to have their sins forgiven, those on the left to depart unpardoned. The evidence must be gone into. Now, there is no one to give evidence as to the state and dispositions of the sinner's soul save the sinner himself. He must speak, and all others hold their peace. His statement made, it is for the presiding judge to determine if he is to be acquitted or remanded. If the former, he is absolved by the deputy of the Supreme Judge, Jesus Christ; if the latter, he must be told to go away unabsolved, and begged to come again in a better frame of mind.

And this, very briefly, is *Confession*. 'Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven; whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.'

But fuller inquiry must be made about the class that has its sins *retained*. They fall naturally into two subdivisions. Thus we shall have in all three classes of sinners:— (1) Those who have received absolution or acquittal at the hands of the deputy judge; (2) those who for some reason have been refused it; (3) those who have never asked for it, nor presented themselves at all before the tribunal. This last class, or those who shun confession, call for special notice, not only because of the largeness of their numbers, but because an examination of their position will bring out clearly the great Catholic doctrine of the *necessity of confession* for the forgiveness of grievous sins committed after Baptism.

It will be observed that practically they hardly differ from the *second* class—a very small one—who have had their sins retained by a positive denial of absolution. A parallel suggests itself readily. I may refuse an alms to an undeserving beggar, or the beggar may never come near me, nor give me the chance of refusing him. On the first hypothesis there is a distinct refusal of alms; on the second, simply the omission of the act of almsgiving. But as far as the destitute man is concerned, it is all one. In either case he goes without the alms. A difference exists between the two cases, but it is in no sense fundamental.

The man who does not apply to the penitential court for absolution is no whit better off than the one who applied and had to be refused. See what has happened to each. The penitent whose sin was retained had nothing positive done him by the confessor. The whole was a negative process. The confessor did *not* give absolution. That is the whole essence of *retention*. The priest has not attacked this sinful soul, or thrown chains about it, or wound them round it, or drawn them tight, or rivetted them. Sin is the only bond wherewith it is bound. It is a chain of the sinner's own forging. No one has tied him up but himself. *Retention*, therefore, is no binding, or shackling, or handcuffing. It is only the negative of the positive act of *loosing* or absolving.

And what has befallen the sinner of the *third* class, who

never applied for priestly absolution? He is in precisely the same case as his companion, who came and went away unabsolved. Neither of them is *loosed*. To the man in bad dispositions, the judge in the tribunal of confession said, 'Owing to your lack of sorrow, or unwillingness to change your course of conduct, I cannot absolve you.' To the other the priest would say, could his voice be heard, 'You have laid no statement of your case before me. I am, therefore, powerless to acquit you. Your sin remains, by no positive act of mine, but by the fact that I do not absolve you.'

If anything, the advantage is on the side of the penitent, who is dismissed, for the time being, unabsolved. The chances are, that if kindly spoken to, he will return some day in better dispositions and ask and receive absolution. And if, as all are agreed, he is bound to return, are we going to allow the other, who never came near the appointed judge, to go scot-free and obtain forgiveness in some much easier way?

But is there another way, and if there is, what is it? The remission of sins is the goal to which all sinners must tend, if they hope to see salvation. The goal is none of our making. It is set up by our Lord Jesus Christ, the one Author of the grace of pardon. Only the Giver of grace can determine the conditions on which that grace is to be given. Plainly, one of these conditions is sorrow for sin; the other is submission of our sins to the human and sinful judge of His choice. Whose sins ye men shall forgive, they are forgiven: whose sins ye men shall retain, that is, shall not forgive, they are retained, that is, not forgiven.

A hard saying this; but those who accept it and act upon it, know by experience that the hardness is all on the surface. They have struck the richest vein in the mine of God's mercy. They have felt the sweetest balm ever prepared by the Great Physician for the cure of the sin-stricken heart of man.

MATTHEW POWER, S.J.

THE EPISCOPAL CITY OF FERNS

FERNS is one of the most ancient sees in Ireland. The name signifies 'the place of the alder-trees,' although Colgan gave it a fanciful derivation, namely, from *Fearna*, son of Carroll, Prince of the Decies, who was slain at this place by Gall, the son of Morna. However, it really dates from the close of the sixth century. Traces of St. Patrick are met with at Gorey, Limerick, Kilpipe, Kilpatrick, Rathvilly, and Donoughmore. At Rathvilly, the Apostle of Ireland baptized Mell, the wife of Crifian, King of Leinster (who was buried in the church of Sletty, Co. Carlow), and her infant son Nathi, or Dathi, King of Leinster, who died in 496; St. Canoc of Kilmuckridge, died in 501; and King Cormac MacOilioll, after a reign of nine years, abdicated in 516.

In 598, Bran Dubh, 'Black Raven,' King of Leinster, opposed the invasion of Hugh II., son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, and St. Aidan (who is variously designated Edanus, Mo-Edan, Maidoc, Maedhog, Mogue, and Moses) prayed for the success of the Leinster monarch. In thanksgiving for the victory of Dunbolg, King Bran Dubh convened a Synod of the clergy of Leinster in 599, with the result that St. Aidan was made *Ardespoc*, or Archbishop of Leinster. The monarch assigned him *Fearna*, or Ferns, then a district celebrated for its alder trees, for the site of his future cathedral, 'which thus became the episcopal city of Ferns in Hy-Kinsellagh.'

Bran Dubh was slain at his royal residence in Ferns, in 605, by Saran Saebhderg, 'of the crooked, or evil, eye,' Erenach of Templeshanbo. This Saran, who was a relative of the King, experienced a terrible visitation in punishment of his crime, for we read that 'his hand was ever afterwards withered;' but he died, 'after the victory of penance, spending many years in sighs and tears at the grave of the murdered King.'

St. Aidan is said to have founded thirty churches in the County Wexford—his chief architect being the famous St. Gobban Sacr—and he died at Ferns, January 31st, 632. The memory of the first bishop and patron of the diocese of Ferns is perpetuated in the names Tubber Mogue, Boolavogue, Cromogue, Island Mogue, Coolatin, and Ballyedan, whilst his bell and shrine (*Breacc Maedoig*) are to be seen in the National Museum, Dublin. For four centuries and more, after his death, the place was known as *Fearna Mor Maedhog*.

Archdall made some surprising blunders in regard to several monasteries in County Wexford; but, perhaps, none more so than his brief reference to Clone, which was founded by St. Aidan. Clone is only a short distance from Ferns, of which it is still a prebend, and its architectural features have been frequently described. He writes as follows:—

The Abbey of DOWNE [of course this is a copyist's error for the ancient spelling *Cowne*, but Archdall was ignorant of the identity], six miles north of Enniscorthy, in the barony of Scarawalsin, and seated on the river Derrihy, which meeting the Boro [sic] falls into the Slaney, was founded for Regular Canons before the arrival of the English. It existed at the time of the general suppression, when by an Inquisition taken on the Feast of St. Katherine the Virgin, &c.

Anyone who knows the topography of County Wexford is aware that it is the river Bann, or Banna (so celebrated in the song, 'As down by Banna's banks I strayed,' by the Right Hon. George Ogle), which flows near Ferns, and joins the picturesque Slaney not far from Scarawalsh Bridge. And, in connection with this notice of Archdall, I may add that the late Father Denis Murphy, S.J., was unable to identify *Downe*,¹ but an examination of the sixteenth century Inquisition settles the matter, as I shall explain in its proper place.

In 650, the Lord of Ily-Kinsellagh—that is, the district

¹ The little river Derry, a name I suspect to be a corruption of *Deary*, the muddy-coloured stream, in contrast with the name *bar* = the fair river, flows by the ruined churchyard of Clone. In the succeeding ages, the old wattle church was replaced by a more substantial structure of stone and mortar.

which embraced the present Co. Wexford, as well as portions of Carlow and Wicklow—went the way of all flesh. St. Dachu, or Mochua Luachra, second Bishop of Ferns, departed this life June 22nd, 653, after whom came Bishop Tuenoc (653-662). Faelan, son of Colman, King of Leinster, died in 665; and the *obit* of Bishop Maeldoghar is chronicled in 677, followed by that of Bishop Diorath on July 27th, 690.

The great St. Moling Luachra entered on the episcopal office in 690, and ruled till his death, May 13th, 697.¹ To the antiquarian, among the greatest art treasures of Ireland is the venerable book shrine of the Gospels of St. Moling, which has been fully described by Cardinal Moran, Miss Stokes, and others. The *Yellow Book of St. Moling*, referred to by the learned Dr. Geoffrey Keating, has unfortunately disappeared. To the historian, the principal event of this period is the remission of the Boromean tribute by King Finnachta 'the Hospitable,' at the request of our saint in 692. The place-names Timoling (Co. Kildare), St. Mullin's (correctly *Teach-Moling*, Co. Carlow), Camolin, Monamoling, &c., still survive; and, until recently there were some fragments of the ruins of St. Moling's monastery on the Norrismount Estate, near Camolin.

After the death of Cillene, seventh Bishop of Ferns, in 714, Aireachtagh MacCuana succeeded to the vacant see, and, in a few years later Feargall, King of Ireland, claimed the Boromean tribute. This monarch invaded Leinster, then governed by Murchadh MacBran, and a great battle was fought at Allen, Co. Kildare, in which the Ard Righ was completely routed, December 13th, 722. Faelan O'Byrne, eighteenth king of Leinster, died in 737, 'after a well-spent life.'

The ancient monastery of Ferns included a number of cells or oratories, and the Cathedral was built in the Irish style. Under date of 745 we read of the death of Seachnasach, Lord of Hy Kinsellagh. Bishop MacCuana died in 741, and his successor, Breasil MacColgan, in 748,

¹ The festival of St. Moling is celebrated on June 17th.

whereupon Reoddaidh was elected, who ruled till 763. At the Battle of Ferns in 768 Dubhchalgach, son of Lynam, was slain.

Under date of 773 we find recorded the death of Imraiteach of *Gleann-Cloitigh*, anchorite, *i. e.*, of the Valley of the Clody, near Bunclody, now known as Newtownbarry. In 778 Edersgel, son of Aedh, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh died; and in the same year Clonmore Maedhog near Rathvilly, was burned. Among the *obits* for the year 781 are those of Dubhinracht MacFergus, Bishop of Ferns, and the Abbot of Inch, near Gorey. Bishop Cronin departed this life in 789, and the episcopate of his successor, Finnachta, lasted till 799.

Finsneachta, King of Leinster, died at Kildare, in 808, and in the following year a faction fight took place in Hy-Kinsellagh, in which Ceallach MacDonnghall was slain. The demise of Cillene, Bishop of Ferns, occurred in 815; and, in 816, a battle was fought between the people of Taghmon, led by Cathal MacDunlaing, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, and those of Ferns, in which four hundred of the laity, and some of the clergy, were slain. In 826 the Danes were defeated by Cairbre MacCathal, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, and the men of Tagmon; but in 834 the Norsemen plundered Ferns. On Christmas night of the year 835, 'the foreigners burned Clonmore Maedhog, killing many of the monks, and bringing away many captives.' The Danes again plundered Ferns in 836, and they burned it in 838.

Cairbre MacCathal, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, died in 842; and his successor, Echtighern, 'was treacherously slain by the foreigners' in 851; but, a week later, his death was avenged by his own people. The next occupant of the Lordship, Ceallach MacGuire, died in 856. On the demise of Finncallagh, Bishop of Ferns, in 860, Dermot succeeded and ruled till 869.¹

In 864 Tadhg, son of Dermot, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh,

¹ Lewis says that after the year 814, there was an interregnum in the see or a hundred years, after which 'it was governed by Laidgner, under the title of *Comorban*, who died in 937.' This statement is truly ludicrous, inasmuch as the regular successions of bishops was maintained, and the title *Comorban* means simply 'the successor' of St. Mogue, generally written Coarb.

was slain by his own brethren, a fate which, four years later was shared by his successor, Donegan. Under date of 875 the Irish Annals chronicle the death of 'Lachtan, son of Moichtighearn, Bishop of Kildare, and Abbot of Ferns;' and, in 876, Cairbre MacDermot, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, was slain by his own brethren.'

Fearghal, Bishop of Ferns, died in 882; and ten years later we read of the death of Riagan MacEchtighern, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh. In 904 died Lachtan, Bishop of Ferns, and he was succeeded by Lynam. From the *Four Masters* we learn that, in 905, 'Ciarodhar, son of Crunnmbael, Lord of Hy-Felimy [the present barony of Ballaghkeene] was slain.' In 908 Cormac MacCullenan, Archbishop of Cashel and King of Munster, declared war against the province of Leinster, and the battle was fought at Ballaghmoon, near Old Leighlin, on August 16th, the Archbishop, as also Carroll, son of Muiregan, King of Leinster, being amongst the slain. This Carroll was the last monarch who resided at Naas, Co Kildare.

Aedh, son of Dubhgilla, Lord of Idrone and Tanist of Hy-Kinsellagh, was slain in 910, and was interred at Ferns. The city of St. Mogue was devastated by the Danes, in 917, and again in 920, 928, and 930. Cinaedh, son of Cairbre, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, was slain by the Danes of Wexford, in 935. Ferns was burned in 937, and in the following year died Lynam, 'Bishop of Ferns and Abbot of Tallaght.' His successor, Flathghus, ruled from 938 to 945. Under date of 947 we read that 'Bran MacMaelmurry, King of Leinster, and Ceallach MacKenny, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, were slain by the Ossorians.

In 953 King O'Toole joined Aulaf *Cuaran*, or the Crooked, in plundering Inis Damhle (Inch, near Gorey), and Inis Uladh (near Donard, Co. Wicklow); and, in 956 he defeated the forces of Hy-Kinsellagh. Dunlaing O'Donegan, Abbot of Inch and Taghmon, died in 954; and in 957 the demise is chronicled of Finnachta, son of Lachtan, Erenach of Ferns. Under date of 966 we find the *obit* of Cairbre, son of Lynam, Abbot of Ferns and Timoling (St. Mullin's). In 977 Conaing, son of Cathan, Bishop of Ferns, went the way

of all flesh : and in 980 Donald *Cluain*, King of Leinster, was ransomed from the Danes. Conn O'Lynam who entered on the episcopal rule of Ferns in 977, died 'after a well-spent life' in 996.

At this epoch, and for fifty years subsequently, various Celtic crosses were erected in Ferns ; but, owing to a piece of vandalism that cannot be too strongly deprecated, many of them were used in the construction of the boundary wall near the town where they are still to be seen. Two, at least, of those sculptural crosses seem to date from the early portion of the seventh century. There were also ancient crosses at Clone ; but, alas ! they have disappeared within the present century.

The Four Masters, under date of 1003, chronicle the fact that 'Aedh [Hugh], son of Echtighern, was slain in the monastery of Ferns, by Donnchadh, surnamed Mael-na-mbo, King of Leinster ;' and, in 1005, Mael-na-mbo, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh was killed by his own people. As a set-off to this, there is an agreeable entry for the year 1030, which is as follows :—'Tadhg, son of Lorcan, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, died on his pilgrimage at Glendalough.'

Donnchadh, son of Brian, sacked Clonmore Maedhog in 1040, and Ferns in 1042 : but those deeds were avenged by Dermot, son of Maelnambo, King of Leinster. This monarch, in 1042, gave a charter by which the Abbey of Taghmon, so famed for its university, was constituted a cell to the Abbey of Ferns, and at the same time he bestowed on the monks 'the chapel of St. Mary, together with the land of Ballygeary and all its fisheries.'

Conor O'Lynam, Bishop of Ferns, died in 1043, and was succeeded by Dermot O'Rodachain, whose demise is chronicled in 1050. In 1051 the two Saxon princes, Harold and Leofwin, sons of Earl Godwin of Kent, fled to Ireland, and remained during the winter at Ferns Castle, as the guests of King Dermot. There is an entry in the *Four Masters*, under date of 1052, to the effect that Bran MacMaelmordha, the deposed King of Leinster (whose eyes had been put out by Sitric, the Dane, in 1019), 'died in religion at Cologne.'

St. Peter's Church, Ferns, dates from about the year 1055, as may be judged by the chancel arch. It is of the Hiberno-Romanesque style, and was built by Bishop Murchadh O'Lynam, who 'slept in the Lord' in the year 1062. The reader who is anxious to learn of its architectural features may well peruse an interesting article on the subject which appeared in the *New Ireland Review* from the pen of the Rev. J. M. F. ffrench.¹

King Dermot became supreme monarch of Ireland in 1064; but, at length, was killed at the battle of Odhbha, 'on Tuesday, the 7th of the Ides of February,' 1072. The great fair of Wexford was celebrated by Conor O'Conor Faly, in 1079, to prove his claim to the sovereignty of Leinster. In 1085 Ugaire O'Lynam, Erenach of Ferns died; and in 1089 O'Conor Faly killed Donnchadh O'Murphy, Lord of the Hy-Kinsellagh. Two years later his successor, Enda, was slain by his own people.

Cairbre O'Kearney, 'the noble Bishop of Ferns,' died of the plague, in 1095. The next local entry of importance is in 1106, when Donnchadh, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, was slain in battle. In 1117 died Ceallach O'Colman, Bishop of Ferns; and, under date of 1125, we find recorded the death of his successor, Maeleoinn O'Donegan, who is described as 'a paragon of wisdom, and Bishop of Wexford.'

MacMuirgheasa, Lector of Ferns, departed this life in 1129; and, in 1135, Bishop O'Cathan, who is designated 'Archbishop of Hy-Kinsellagh,' was gathered to his fathers. Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, who, after the death of his wife, Cacht O'More, married Mor, sister of St. Laurence O'Toole, founded various religious houses between the years 1146 and 1152, including the Cistercian Abbey of Baltinglass, the Nunneries of St. Mary le Hogges, Dublin; Kilclehin, or *de Bello Portu*, near Waterford; and Athaddy, Co. Carlow, for canonesses of the Order of Aroaise. Yet, notwithstanding this apparent zeal for religion, we find the Leinster monarch plundering various churches in 1151 and 1152; and, in 1154, he burned the monasteries

¹ Vol. iii., No. 1, March, 1895.

and city of Ferns. In the latter year, through jealousy of the growing power of Tiernan O'Rourke, Prince of Breffni, and meeting with no opposition from the Princess herself, he carried off the mature Dervorgilla² from her husband's roof, and brought her to his fortress in Ferns. Soon after, King Turlogh O'Connor came and destroyed Ferns Castle, bringing back with him the Princess, whom he left as a lady boarder in the Convent of St. Bridget at Kildare.

Turlogh O'Connor died in 1156, and was succeeded by Murty O'Loughlin, to whom Dermot submitted, and was restored to his rightful sovereignty. O'Loughlin was slain in 1159, whereupon Roderic O'Connor ascended the throne of Ireland. In 1161 'a victory was gained by Donal Kavanagh [so called from having been fostered in *Cill-Coemhgen*, now Kilcavan, near Gorey], son of MacMurrogh, and the people of Hy-Kinsellagh, against the foreigners of Wexford, where many were slain, together with O'Donnell.'

Dermot re-founded the venerable monastery of Ferns at the close of 1160, or early in 1161, for Regular Canons of St. Augustine, and it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Archdall incorrectly gives 1166 as the year of this foundation, but a glance at the names of the subscribing witnesses to the charter confirms the fact that we must date it as 1160, or certainly not later than 1161. Ware and Harris say 1158, but this cannot be so, inasmuch as one of those names appended to the charter is Malachy O'Byrne, Bishop of Kildare, who only began to rule in 1160; whilst another is Laurence, Abbot of Glendalough, who was elevated to the see of Dublin in 1162.

By the terms of the foundation charter, the monks were endowed—

With so much lands of Ballysisin and Ballilacussa as would form the site of a village; Borin, Roshena, and Kilbridy for two

¹ Dervorgilla was then in her forty-fifth year, whilst Dermot was about sixty-four. In accordance with the enactments of the Brehon Code of Laws, this 'Helen of Ireland' brought with her to Ferns 'her cattle, her furniture, and the valuables which constituted her dowry.' At the consecration of the grand Cistercian Abbey Church of Mellifont, in 1157, she gave an offering of pure gold, as also 'a gold chalice for the Lady Altar, sacred vestments, and other ecclesiastical furniture for each of the nine other altars that were in the church.' She died at Mellifont, in 1193, aged eighty-four.

villages : and the lands of Ballyfislán, in Fotherth, near Wexford, and those of Munemothe in Ferneghenal ; also a cell at Thamolting, being the chapel of St. Mary ; the lands of Ballygery, with all its fisheries, and his own chapelry, together with the tithes and first-fruits of the demesne of Perhukensilich, and a scaith or flaggon out of every brewing of ale in Ferns ; the cell of Finnachta in Ferns aforesaid, and the lands of Balliculum and Balinafusin, with three acres adjoining the said cell.

In fulfilment of a vow made during a severe illness, Dermot founded the Priory of All Hallows, College-green, Dublin, early in 1166. Enna Kinsellagh, the only legitimate son of the Leinster monarch, was blinded by MacGillapatrik, Prince of Ossory, at the close of the same year. MacMurrough sailed for Bristol in August, 1167, where having tarried for some days he crossed to France to solicit the aid of Henry II. The English King had already obtained, by a base lie, a Bull from Pope Adrian IV. authorizing him to look after the interests of religion in Ireland, and he issued letters patent to all his liege subjects to further the cause of the Leinster sovereign.

King Dermot, accompanied by his secretary, Maurice Regan, and a pioneer force of Galls, or foreigners, arrived at Glascarrig, Co. Wexford, at the close of the year 1168, and remained shut up in the monastery of Ferns during the Christmas and Spring. In February, 1169, Roderic O'Connor and Tiernan O'Rourke marched to Ferns, upon which Dermot fled. After a few skirmishes, the King of Leinster made complete submission to the Irish monarch, in March, only asking for permission to hold ten cantreds of land in Ferns, and offering seven hostages to Roderic, as also 100 ounces of gold to O'Rourke. The two kings then departed, but, almost immediately, Dermot despatched Maurice Regan to Wales, to hasten the coming of the Welsh Knights.

On May 11th, 1169, Robert FitzStephen and Maurice Prendergast, with an army of three hundred archers, thirty knights, and sixty men-at-arms, landed at Bannow, Co. Wexford ; and a second contingent arrived the day following, headed by Maurice FitzGerald, accompanied by Hervecy de Monte-marisco, Meyler FitzHenry, Milo de Cogan, David

Barry, and other adventurers. On May 15th, Dermot joined his new allies, and, on the following day, the combined troops marched to Wexford. 'On their way they were joined by Dermot's illegitimate son, Donald Kavanagh, with 500 Irishmen.' The Wexford inhabitants, aided by the Danes, repulsed the enemy; but, three days afterwards, offered to surrender, promising to renew their allegiance to Dermot. The Leinster sovereign then granted the lordship of the city, with the adjoining cantreds of Forth and Bargo, to FitzStephen and FitzGerald, whilst he gave Hervey de Montemarisco two cantreds lying between Wexford and Waterford. 'Dermot then led his allies to his city of Ferns, where the soldiers were rested, and the knights feasted for three weeks.'

After a successful raid on Ossory, Dermot again retired to Ferns, where he spent the Christmas of the year 1169. Raymond *le Gros* landed near Waterford, May 1st, 1170, with a force of one hundred and thirty knights and archers; and, on August 23rd, the celebrated Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known as Strongbow, disembarked at Waterford with about two thousand men. The old city by the Suir was taken on August 25th, and immediately afterwards the nuptials were celebrated between the Norman widower de Clare and Eva, the beautiful young daughter of Dermot MacMurrough. The newly-married pair then proceeded to Ferns, where they spent the honeymoon. Dublin was captured on September 21st, but was retaken by the Anglo-Irish during the Whitsuntide of 1171. An old Norman chronicler tells us that Donald Kavanagh, in command of the Co. Wexford troops, ably seconded the efforts of Raymond le Gros on this occasion, 'who continually invoked his patron St. David, highly venerated by the Wexford allies as the instructor of St. Mogue.'

In October, 1170, Roderic O'Connor, who, by the Treaty of Ferns, had been given Conor and Art na n Gall, the son and grandson of the King of Leinster, and the son of his foster brother, O'Kelly, as hostages, remonstrated with Dermot for his flagrant violation of the conditions agreed

on, and threatened to execute the princes in case of non-compliance. The Leinster monarch laughed at the royal message, and the result was that the three hostages were put to death at Athlone. Keating, however, and others say that Roderic did not put his threat into execution.

Dermot MacMurrough¹ died under the most revolting circumstances at the monastery of Ferns on May 14th, 1171, and was buried 'near the shrines of St. Mogue and St. Moling.' His monument may still be seen in the graveyard attached to the Cathedral, though some silly legend has it that he was interred at Baltinglass.

Henry II. landed at Passage, near Waterford, October 18th, 1171, with a large force, and having remained during the winter in Dublin, spent the six weeks of Lent at Selskar (St. Sepulchre) Abbey, Wexford, and sailed from Wexford Haven on Easter Monday, April 17th, 1172. After the departure of the English king, Strongbow retired to Ferns; and in June was celebrated the marriage of the Earl's natural daughter to Robert de Quincey, Constable and Standard-Bearer of Leinster, who was assigned by his father-in-law the district known as the Duffrey—so familiar to the denizens of Enniscorthy.

The Irish Annals, under date of 1172, chronicle the death of Brighdian O'Cathan, Abbot of Ferns.² In October, 1174, Raymond le Gros was married to Basilia, sister of Strongbow, at Selskar Abbey, and was assigned the lands of Fethard, Idrone, and Glascarrig. Richard de Clare died June 1st, 1176; and in the following year we read that William FitzAdelm de Burgo³ seized on the Castle of Wicklow, which belonged to Maurice FitzGerald. This De Burgo had been given Ferns by Henry II., and, as a set-off for said annexation, he gave the three sons of that first Geraldine, namely, William, Gerald, and Alexander, the Cathedral City of Ferns. 'These brothers, wishing to

¹ Murty MacMurrough, nephew of King Dermot, Lord of Hy-Kinsellagh, and ancestor of the MacDamores, died in 1193.

² Lanigan says that he was Bishop of Ferns, but resigned the see in 1150, whereupon Joseph O'Hea succeeded.

³ De Burgo died January 8th, 1205.

render their new establishment secure, began to build a castle, which was immediately demolished by Walter Allemand [FitzAdelm's nephew, and a man of obscure origin], who has become conspicuous through the influence of his uncle, who committed to him the government of Wexford.'

In 1178, Robert le Poer, Lord of Waterford, sent troops to pillage the territory north of Ferns, 'whence they returned to Wexford loaded with booty, having assassinated Dunlaing O'Toole, Lord of Imayle.' We are told that Walter Allemand, who was Seneschal of Wexford in 1178, 'received bribes from the Murrahoos [Murphys] of Hy-Kinsellagh to prejudice the FitzGeralds;' but in the summer of 1179, Raymond le Gros was restored to his old position as Governor of Wexford town and castle.

The Venerable Joseph O'Hea, Bishop of Ferns, whose name appears as witness to the foundation charter of Dunbrody Abbey, died, full of years, in 1184, after a rule of sixty years. His memory has been traduced by writers who follow the calumnious statement of Harris in regard to the siege of Wexford; but, as Lanigan rightly observes, the honest Ware does not mention the fable. The see of Ferns was then offered to Giraldus Cambrensis, the Munchausen of the Barry family; but that astute cleric, having more ambitious views in his mind, declined it. At the close of the year 1185, Albin O'Molloy, Cistercian Abbot of Baltinglass, was appointed bishop; and most readers are familiar with the scathing rebuke he administered to the aforesaid Archdeacon Gerald Barry (at the Provincial Council of Dublin, held during the Lent of 1187), who presumed to asperse the character of the Irish clergy. Bishop O'Molloy was present at the coronation of Richard I., September 3rd, 1189. On April 3rd, 1206, King John signified his wish for the promotion of this worthy prelate to the Archbishopric of Cashel; but the Pope declined to ratify the appointment. In the same year the King confirmed Philip Prendergast in the lordship of Enniscorthy and the barony of Daffryn, or of the district called 'the Duffry,' 'the black, turfy land.'

Bishop O'Molloy, on September 15th, 1215, received letters of protection from King John, *en route* for the fourth General Council of Lateran, at which he assisted. In 1218 the see of Ferns was forcibly deprived of two manors by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who, as a consequence, was excommunicated by the Bishop. He died under anathema, and was buried in the Temple Church, London, on Ascension Thursday, 1219. Three years later Bishop O'Molloy passed to his eternal reward, after a rule of over thirty-four years.

John St. John, Treasurer of Ireland, who, in 1217, had been given a royal grant of the Manor of Newcastle Lyons, at an annual rental of 100 marks, was appointed to the see of Ferns at the close of the year 1222, and was assigned a pension of £40 yearly out of the said lands. The present Castle of Ferns was built about this time (some say by William Marshall, in 1216), and the Bishop took up his residence therein. On July 7th, 1225, the King sent him an order concerning fairs and markets.

Bishop St. John assigned the manor of Enniscorthy to Philip Prendergast and his wife, Maude de Quincey, on April 8th, 1227, 'in exchange for six ploughlands for ever to the Bishop and Chapter of Ferns, so that the said Philip and his wife might hold the said town of Enniscorthy as a lay fee for ever to them and their heirs.' Five of these ploughlands were situated in Ballyregan, and one near Clone, which had been held by the FitzHenrys. From official records we learn that, on September 6th, 1232, Henry III. granted the office of Treasurer of Ireland to Peter de Rievaulx, and ordered the Bishop of Ferns to deliver up the said office to him.

On the 1st of April, 1234, Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, was basely set upon in an ambuscade on the Curragh of Kildare by some of the Anglo-Norman nobles,

¹ William Marshall founded Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford, in fulfilment of a vow, in 1200, and peopled it with Cistercians from Tintern, Monmouthshire, with John Torrell as first abbot. The name 'John Torellus' appears in a deed of 1248. William, second Earl Marshall, who did much for the commerce of New Ross, was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland in 1224, but was replaced by Geoffrey de Marisco on July 4th, 1226.

‘and he died on Palm Sunday, the sixteenth day after he had been mortally wounded,’ being interred in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny. He was succeeded in the title and estates by his brother Gilbert, in reference to whom we find a letter, printed in Theiner’s *Vetera Monumenta*, dated June 18th, 1235, wherein Pope Gregory IX. places all the property of the Pembroke family in Ireland and Wales under the special protection of the Holy See. This Earl died childless, in 1241, and was succeeded by his brother Walter.

Bishop St. John held a Synod in the Priory of SS. Peter and Paul (Selskar Abbey), Wexford, in 1240, and his death is chronicled three years later. Walter Marshall died without issue in November, 1245, and was succeeded by his fifth and youngest brother, Anselm, who died ‘on the Nones of December, after enjoying the family honours eighteen days.’ In 1246 the Palatinate of Leinster was partitioned among the five sisters of Earl Anselm, in which most of the present County Wexford fell to the lot of Joan or Johanna, the daughter of Maud Marshall, who had married Warren de Monte Caniso, better known as William, 6th Earl of Warren and Surrey. This Joan married William de Valence, who in her right, became Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford. From the Patent Rolls we learn that the Wexford estates were at this date valued at £341 10s. 4d. per annum, Ferns being estimated at £91 15s., Wexford Borough at £42 1s. 5d., and Ros-lare at £68 19s. 11d.

In a succeeding paper I shall treat of the varying fortunes of the city and prelates of Ferns until the sad period of the Reformation, after which the diocese became one of the poorest in Ireland.

WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

AN ARCHBISHOP ASSISTING AT THE MARRIAGE OF A SUBJECT OF HIS SUFFRAGAN

REV. DEAR SIR,—Can an archbishop validly assist at the marriage of parties who belong to a suffragan diocese? It has been asserted to me that he can, but I was not aware that archbishops retain any such power.

INQUIRER.

As a rule, the archbishop, as such, cannot assist at the marriage of persons belonging to the diocese of one of his suffragans. Like any bishop, the archbishop can, of course, assist at the marriage of his own subjects, but, in ordinary cases, his power ends there. In two cases, however, an archbishop gets from Canon Law the right to assist at the marriage of the subjects of his suffragan.

Matrimonio subditi suffraganeorum [Archiepiscopus assistere potest]:—(a) Quando visitat diocesim suffraganeam in casibus a jure determinatis; (b) in casu appellationis.¹

The case brought under our correspondent's notice, was, very probably, a case of appeal. If the bishop of the parties had forbidden their marriage, and if, on appeal, the archbishop, had reversed the decision of his suffragan, the archbishop might then validly assist at the marriage, or he might delegate any priest to do so. It should be noted, however, that in the case supposed, the archbishop's power to assist at the marriage would begin only when he *had already pronounced* his sentence, and that his power would lapse, if the bishop, or one of the parties duly lodged a further appeal to the Holy See.

¹ *Vid.* Gasparri, ii., n. 935.

**DOES DELEGATION TO ASSIST AT A MARRIAGE CEASE ON
THE DEATH OF THE DELEGANS?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I was delegated by my parish priest to assist at the marriage of a parishioner. The parish priest died before the marriage came off. Would I have been justified in assisting at the marriage, as the delegate of the deceased parish priest?

COADJUTOR.

The delegation expired with the death of the parish priest: you would not, therefore, have been justified in assisting at the marriage.

Morte parochi aut ordinarii delegantis, vel amissione officii qua cunque de causa cessat licentia [assistendi]; si mors aut amissio communiter ignoratur, delegatus [vi tituli colorati] valide assistit; secus matrimonium est nullum.¹

**CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES WHERE THE LAW OF TRENT
HAS NOT BEEN PROMULGATED**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Where the law of Trent is not binding is a marriage celebrated without the presence of priest or witness lawful as well as valid?

A. B.

A marriage contracted without the blessing of a priest and in the absence of any witness was, before the Council of Trent, and now is, where the Tridentine law has not been promulgated, valid but *per se* unlawful. For, there is, independently of the law of Trent, an obligation to have marriage blessed by a priest. If the marriage, however, be celebrated publicly, and blessed by a priest, the presence of other formal witnesses does not seem to be strictly obligatory, unless where the Tridentine law is in force.

It may be, that this question is meant to refer to the case in which, owing to public necessity, the law of Trent is said to be suspended, so that persons can validly marry without the presence of the parish priest, or of the ordinary. If so, we should reply that the marriage is, in such a case,

¹ Gasparri, ii., n. 951. Rosset, iv., n. 2242, *et seq.*

valid, and lawful in the absence of the parish priest. But it would still be obligatory to have the marriage blessed, if possible, by some priest. It would be not merely obligatory, but necessary under pain of nullity, to have the marriage celebrated, if possible, in the presence of, at least, two witnesses.¹

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE CALENDAR TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE CHAPEL OF A CONVENT, &c.

REV. DEAR SIR,—May a religious follow his own *Ordo*, when saying Mass, as chaplain or otherwise, in the private chapels of convents or hospitals?

A RELIGIOUS.

A certain ambiguity lurks in our correspondent's phrase 'private chapels.' It is not clear whether he means the principal chapels of convents and such like institutions, or other chapels, distinct and apart from the principal chapels. For the former, the principal chapels, may be called 'private chapels,' inasmuch as they are not in the full and strict sense public chapels or oratories. But so far as regard the application of the decree of December, 1895, the principal chapels of the institution which our correspondent contemplates must be regarded as public oratories. Hence the phrase 'private chapel' when applied to a chapel of one of these institutions, means a chapel other than the principal chapel. But as we cannot be certain in which signification the phrase is understood by our correspondent, we will answer the question for both significations.

1. In strictly private chapels of convents, &c., that is, in chapels distinct from, and forming no part of, the principal chapels, every priest whether regular or secular, not only may, but must follow his own calendar. This follows from a decree of the Congregation of Rites dated May 22, 1896. The Congregation was asked if the decree of December 9,

¹ Rosset, *De Sacramento Matrimonii*, iv. 2138, 2139.

1895, declaring that Mass should be said in conformity with the Directory of the place wherein Mass is celebrated, extended to the chapels of colleges, convents, &c. The Congregation replied in the affirmative, *dummodo agatur de capella principali quae instar oratorii publici ad effectum memorati decreti habenda est*. Hence the change introduced by the decree of December 9, 1895, regards only the principal chapels of these institutions; and consequently the rubrics regarding the Mass to be said in the other, and strictly private chapels, are the same as before the issue of this decree. But the universal rule formerly was, that in private oratories every celebrant should say Mass in conformity with his own calendar. This, then, still remains the rule for private chapels in convents and such like institutions.

2. The decree of May 22, 1896, from which we have just quoted, declares that the principal chapels in institutions, such as those about which the present question is concerned, come within the operation of the decree of December 9, 1895. Consequently all priests celebrating in one of these chapels must follow the calendar of that chapel. Whether the celebrant be a secular or a regular, he must celebrate Mass in accordance with the calendar of that chapel, and must, moreover, use the Missal used in that chapel, provided it contains a special Mass of the saint not contained in the Missal used in his own church or Order. To this rule there is only one exception. When the rite of the feast celebrated in the chapel in question is less than double, the celebrant is free to say his own Mass—a Requiem Mass or other Votive Mass. What then is the calendar for those chapels about which our correspondent inquires? With regard to the calendar to be followed in convent chapels an obvious distinction must be made. Either the nuns are bound to recite the Divine Office, or they are not. In the former case, the calendar followed by the nuns is the calendar of their chapel, and must consequently be followed by all priests celebrating Mass in their principal chapels. In the latter case, as well as in the case of the other institutions included in our correspondent's question, the chaplain's calendar is the calendar of the principal chapel—the

calendar of the institution. Hence, if a secular priest be the duly appointed chaplain to a convent, hospital, work-house, &c., the calendar followed by the secular priests of the place must be followed by all priests celebrating in the principal chapel of the institution. Similarly, if the chaplain be a member of a religious Order, then the proper calendar of the Order to which he belongs becomes the calendar of the principal chapel, and must be followed by all priests, whether regular or secular, celebrating therein. These conclusions are fully established by a reply of the Congregation of Rites, bearing date June 27, 1896. We give the question and reply :—

Ubi unus tantum sacerdos quoad missae celebrationem adductus sit oratoriis competenti auctoritate erectis in Gymnasiis, hospitalibus ac domibus quarumcumque piarum communitatum; hic si saecularis tenetur sequi calendarium diocesis in qua extat oratorium, et si regularis calendarium ordinis si proprium gaudet; et si aliquando celebrent extranei, hi debent se conformare calendario sacerdotis ejusmodi oratoriis addicti?

Resp. Affirmative in omnibus si oratoria habenda sint ut publica; secus negative.

To give effect to the chaplaincy of a member of a religious Order it is not necessary that a certain individual of the Order should be appointed by the bishop; it is sufficient if the duty of supplying a chaplain to the institution be committed to the head of a religious house.

As we have travelled somewhat beyond the scope of our correspondent's question, it will make for clearness if we append a summary of the conclusions at which we have arrived :—

1. A priest celebrating Mass in a private chapel of a convent, or such like institution, should follow his own calendar.

2. A priest celebrating in the principal chapel should follow the calendar of the institution.

3. The calendar of the institution is the calendar of the chaplain to the institution.

4. When the chaplain is a secular priest, all priests celebrating in the principal chapel must follow the secular

calendar; when the chaplain is a regular, all priests must follow, in the principal chapel, the calendar of the Order to which the chaplain belongs.

**THE REVERENCE TO BE MADE AT THE FOOT OF THE ALTAR
AFTER THE LAST GOSPEL**

THE MASS TO BE SAID AT A DEFERRED MONTH'S MEMORY

REV. DEAR SIR,—(1) A priest, having celebrated Mass, finished the last Gospel, comes to the foot of the altar to say the *De Profundis*; what rubric is to be observed by him? Is he to genuflect—the Blessed Sacrament being in the tabernacle—to make a profound reverence, or no reverence at all? The present practice, as far as I know, is to genuflect.

2. A Month's Memory Office and Mass are to be said for a deceased person; not an exact month after the death or burial, but perhaps five weeks afterwards. What Mass is to be celebrated? Is it a *Missa Cantata*? An answer will oblige yours respectfully.

C. C.

1. The best and most general practice is to make no reverence whatever at the foot of the altar before saying the *De Profundis*. Neither positive law nor custom requires a reverence on this occasion, and analogy is opposed to it. The celebrant comes to the foot of the altar after the last Gospel, not to commence a new function, but to complete that in which he has been engaged. Theoretically, he has only come from the Gospel side to the centre of the altar; for his descending *in planum* is a mere accidental circumstance, since he might recite the psalm on the predella. Hence there is no more reason from analogy for his making a reverence before beginning the *De Profundis* than for his making one before beginning the Creed, or saying, *Dominus vobiscum* after the first Gospel. We do not, of course, mean to assert that the *De Profundis* is, strictly speaking, a part of the liturgy of the Mass; but we do say that custom in this country has so welded it to the Mass that we are justified in regarding it as a part of the Mass, in so far as external rites are concerned.

2, The Mass to be said is the *Missa Quotidiana*, with the proper prayer for the deceased, not from the Mass of the thirtieth day, but from the *Orationes diversae*.

THE PRAYER TO BE SAID FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF
ST. LELIA, WHEN IN CONCURRENCE WITH ST. CLARE

REV. DEAR SIR,—From the *Ordo* you will see that the feast was of St. Lelia on the 18th, and of St. Clare on the 19th inst., and that the Vespers of the 18th were ‘a cap. de seq. comm. praced. et Oct.’

Now the question I wish to ask you is, how is this commemoration to be made? Or, more particularly, what prayer is to be said in this commemoration?

Doubtless, you will have observed that there is only one prayer—‘Exaudi nos,’ given in the breviary, as peculiar to a ‘Virg. non Mart.’

If the question is not too small and insignificant for notice in the I. E. RECORD, may I hope for an answer to it in the October number or some succeeding issue?

Yours very truly.

C.C.

It is a general law of the liturgy that a prayer should not be repeated in the same function, or same part of the Divine Office. Hence, when the feasts of two saints of the same Order, each having the same prayer from the common, concur in Vespers, this prayer is said for that saint for whom the whole Vespers, or from the *capitulum*, are recited; while for the saint who is commemorated, another prayer from the same common is taken. But in the common of doctors, abbots, and virgins, not martyrs, only one prayer is found; what, then, is to be done when two feasts of any one of these classes of saints concur? The answer is almost obvious. For a doctor the prayer is taken from the common of bishops, or of confessors, according as the doctor was, or was not a bishop; for an abbot, from the common of confessors; and for a virgin not a martyr, the prayer *Indulgentiam* for a virgin martyr, omitting the title

et martyr. In the case proposed by our correspondent the prayer *Exaudi* should have been said for St. Clare, and for the commemoration of St. Lelia, the prayer *Indulgentiam*, with the omission just mentioned.

THE PROPAGANDA FACULTIES AND DOLOUR BEADS

REV. DEAR SIR.—Do the Propaganda faculties for blessing and indulgencing beads &c., give priests enjoying them power to bless and indulgence the 'Seven Dolours' beads with the same indulgences as the Servites attach to them? An answer would greatly oblige.

NEO-CONFESSARIUS.

We have great pleasure in giving an affirmative reply to our correspondent's question.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF OUR HOLY FATHER LEO XIII. ON THE
ROSARY OF MARY

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIE-
PISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS, ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE ROSARIO MARIALI

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS, EPISCOPIIS, ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Augustissimae Virginis Mariae foveri assidue cultum et contentiore quotidie studio promoveri quantum privatim publiceque intersit, facile quisque perspiciet, qui secum reputaverit, quam excelso dignitatis et gloriae fastigio Deus ipsam collocarit. Eam enim ab aeterno ordinavit ut Mater Verbi fieret humanam carnem assumpturi; ideoque inter omnia, quae essent in triplici ordine naturae, gratiae, gloriaeque pulcherrima, ita distinxit, ut merito eidem Ecclesia verba illa tribuerit: ‘Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi primogenita ante omnem creaturam.’¹ Ubi autem volvi primum coepere saecula, lapsis in culpam humani generis auctoribus infectisque eadem labe posteris universis, quasi pignus constituta est instaurandae pacis atque salutis. Nec dubiis honoris significationibus Unigenitus Dei Filius sanctissimam matrem est prosequutus. Nam et dum privatam in terris vitam egit, ipsam adseivit utriusque prodigii administram, quae tunc primum patravit; alterum gratiae, quo ad Mariae salutationem exultavit infans in utero Elisabeth; alterum naturae, quo aquam in vinum convertit ad Canae nuptias: et quum supremo vitae suae publicae tempore novum conderet Testamentum divino sanguine obsignandum, eandem dilecto Apostolo commisit verbis illis dulcissimis: ‘Ecce mater tua.’² Nos igitur qui, licet indigni,

¹Ecclesi. xxiv. v.

²Id., xix. 27.

vices ac personam gerimus in terris Iesu Christi Filii Dei, tantae Matris persequi laudes nunquam desistemus, dum hac lucis usura fruemur. Quam quia sentimus haud futuram Nobis, ingravescente aetate, diuturnam, facere non possumus quin omnibus et singulis in Christo filiis Nostris Ipsius cruce pendentis extrema verba, quasi testamento relicta, iteremus: 'Ecce mater tua.' Ac praeclare quidem Nobiscum actum esse censebimus, si id Nostrae commendationes effecerint, ut unusquisque fidelis Mariali cultu nihil habeat antiquius, nihil carius, liceatque de singulis usurpare verba Ioannis, quae de se scripsit: 'Accepit eam discipulus in sua.'¹ Adventante igitur mense Octobri, ne hoc quidem anno patimur, Venerabiles Fratres, carere vos Litteris Nostris, rursus adhortantes sollicitudine qua possumus maxima ut Rosarii recitatione studeat sibi quisque ac laboranti Ecclesiae demereri. Quod quidem precandi genus divina providentia videtur sub huius saeculi exitum mire invaluisse, ut languescens fidelium excitaretur pietas; idque maxime testantur insignia templa ac sacraria Deiparae cultu celeberrima.—Huic divinae Matri, cui flores dedimus mense Maio, velimus omnes fructiferum quoque Octobrem singulari pietatis affectu esse dicatum. Decet enim utrumque hoc anni tempus ei consecrari, quae de se dixit: 'Flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis.'²

Vitae societas atque coniunctio, ad quam homines natura feruntur, nulla aetate fortasse arctior effecta est, aut tanto studio tamque communi expetita, quam nostra. Nec quisquam sane id reprehendat, nisi vis haec naturae nobilissima ad prava saepe consilia detorqueretur, convenientibus in unum atque in varii generis societates coeuntibus impiis hominibus 'adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius.'³ Cernere tamen est, idque profecto, accidit iucundissimum, inter catholicos etiam adamari magis coeptos pios coetus; eos haberi confertissimos; iis quasi communibus domicilliis christianae vinculo dilectionis ita adstringi cunctos et quasi coalescere, ut vere fratres et dici posse et esse videantur. Neque enim, Christi caritate sublata, fraterna societate et nomine gloriari quisquam potest; quod acriter olim Tertullianus hisce verbis persequabatur: 'Fratres vestri sumus iure naturae matris unius, etsi vos parum homines, quia mali fratres. At quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur qui unum patrem Deum agnoscunt, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de

¹ *Ib.*² *Eccli. xxiv. 23.*³ *Ps. ii. 2.*

uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverint veritatis?'¹ Multiplex autem ratio est, qua catholici homines societates huiusmodi saluberrimas inire solent. Huc enim et circuli, ut aiunt, et rustica aeraria pertinent, itemque conventus animis per dies festos relaxandis, et secessus pueritiae advigilandae, et sodalitia, et coetus alii optimis consiliis instituti complures. Profecto haec omnia, etsi nomine, forma, aut suo quaeque peculiari ac proximo fine, recens inventa esse videantur, re tamen ipsa sunt antiquissima. Constat enim, in ipsis christianae religionis exordiis eius generis societatum vestigia reperiri. Serius autem legibus confirmatae, suis distinctae signis, privilegiis donatae, divinum ad cultum in templis adhibitae, aut animis corporibusve sublevandis destinatae, variis nominibus, pro varia temporum ratione, appellatae sunt. Quarum numerus in dies ita percrebuit, ut, in Italia maxime, nulla civitas, oppidum nullum, nulla ferme paroecia sit, ubi non illae aut complures, aut aliquae certe habeantur.

In his minime dubitamus praeclarum dignitatis locum assignare sodalitati, quae a sanctissimo Rosario nuncupatur. Nam sive eius spectetur origo, e primis pollet antiquitate, quod eiusmodi institutionis auctor fuisse feratur ipse Dominicus pater; sive privilegia aestimentur, quamplurimis ipsa ornata est, Decessorum Nostorum munificentia.—Eius institutionis forma et quasi anima est Mariale Rosarium, cuius de virtute fuse alias loquuti sumus. Verumtamen ipsius Rosarii vis atque efficacia, prout est officium Sodalitati, quae ab ipso nomen mutuatur, adiunctum, longe etiam maior apparet. Neminem enim latet, quae sit omnibus orandi necessitas, non quod immutari possint divina decreta, sed, ex Gregorii sententia, 'ut homines postulando mereantur accipere quod eis Deus omnipotens ante saecula disposuit donare.'² Ex Augustino autem: 'qui recte novit orare, recte novit vivere.'³ At preces tunc maxime robur assumunt ad caelestem opem impetrandam, quum et publice et constanter et concorditer funduntur a multis, ita ut velut unus efficiatur precantium chorus: quod quidem illa aperte declarant Actuum Apostolicorum, ubi Christi discipuli, expectantes promissum Spiritum Sanctum, fuisse dicuntur 'perseverantes unanimiter in oratione.'⁴ Hunc orandi modum qui sectentur certissimo fructu carere poterunt nunquam.

¹ *Apolog.*, c. xxxix.

² *Dialog.*, I. i. c. 8.

³ In Ps. cxviii.

⁴ Act. i. 14.

Iam id plane accidit inter sodales a sacro Rosario. Nam, sicut a sacerdotibus, divini Officii recitatione, publice iugiterque supplicatur, ideoque validissime; ita, publica quodammodo, iugis, communis est supplicatio sodalium, quae fit recitatione Rosarii, vel ‘*Psalterii Virginis*,’ ut a nonnullis etiam Romanis Pontificibus appellatum est.

Quod autem, uti diximus, preces publice adhibitae multo iis praestent, quae privatim fundantur, vimque habeant impetrandi maiorem, factum est ut Sodalitati a sacro Rosario nomen ab Ecclesiae scriptoribus inditum fuerit ‘*militiae precantis, a Dominico Patre sub divinae Matris vexillo conscriptae*,’ quam scilicet divinam Matrem sacrae litterae et Ecclesiae fasti salutant daemonis errorumque omnium debellatricem. Enimvero Mariale Rosarium omnes, qui eius religionis petant societatem, communi vinculo adstringit tamquam fraterni aut militaris contubernii, unde validissima quaedam acies conflatur, ad hostium impetus repellendos, sive intrinsecus illis sive extrinsecus urgeamur, rite instructa atque ordinata. Quamobrem merito iis huius instituti sodales usurpare sibi possunt verba illi S. Cypriani: ‘*Publica est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno, sed pro toto populo oramus, quia totus populus unum sumus.*’¹ Ceterum eiusmodi preceationis vim atque efficaciam annales Ecclesiae testantur, quum memorant et fractas navali proelio ad Echinadas insulas Turearum copias, et relatas de iisdem superiore saeculo ad Temesvariam in Pannonia et ad Coreyram insulam victorias nobilissimas. Prioris rei gestae memoriam perennem exstare voluit Gregorius XIII. die festo instituto Mariae victricis honori: quem diem postea Clemens XI Decessor Noster titulo Rosarii consecravit, et quotannis celebrandum in universa Ecclesia decrevit.

Ex eo autem quod precans haec militia sit ‘*sub divinae Matris vexillo conscripta*,’ nova eidem virtus novus honor accedit. Huc maxime spectat repetita crebro, in Rosarii ritu, post orationem dominicam angelica salutatio. Tantum vero abest ut hoc dignitati Numinis quodammodo adversetur, quasi saudere videatur maiorem nobis in Mariae patrocinio fiduciam esse collocandam quam in divina potentia, ut potius nihil Ipsum facilius permoveat propitiunque nobis efficiat. Catholica enim fide docemur, non ipsum modo Deum esse precibus exorandum, sed beatos quoque caelites,² licet

¹ *Id orat dominic.*

² Conc. Trid., sess. xxv.

ratione dissimili, quod a Deo, tamquam a bonorum omnium fonte, ab his, tamquam ab intercessoribus, petendum sit. 'Oratio,' inquit S. Thomas, 'porrigitur alicui dupliciter, uno modo quasi per ipsum implenda, alio modo, sicut per ipsum impetranda. Primo quidem modo soli Deo orationem porrigimus, quia omnes orationes nostrae ordinari debent ad gratiam et ad gloriam consequendam, quae solus Deus dat, secundum illud Psalmi lxxxiii. 12: "gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus." Sed secundo modo orationem porrigimus sanctis Angelis et hominibus, non ut per eos Deus nostras petitiones cognoscat, sed ut eorum precibus et meritis orationes nostrae sortiantur effectum. Et ideo dicitur Apoc. viii. 4, quod ascendit fumus incensorum de orationibus sanctorum de manu Angeli coram Deo.'¹ Iam quis omnium, quotquot beatorum incolunt sedes, audeat cum augusta Dei Matre in certamen demerendae gratiae venire? Ecquis in Verbo aeterno clarius intuetur, quibus angustiis premamur, quibus rebus indigeamus? Cui maius arbitrium permissum est permovendi Numinis? Quis maternae pietatis sensibus aequari cum ipsa queat? Id scilicet causae est cur beatos quidem caelites non eadem ratione precemur ac Deum 'nam a sancta Trinitate petimus ut nostri misereatur, ab aliis autem sanctis quibuscumque petimus ut orent pro nobis';² implorandae vero Virginis ritus aliquid habeat cum Dei cultu commune, adeo ut Ecclesia his vocibus ipsam compellet, quibus exoratur Deus: 'Peccatorum miserere.' Rem igitur optimam praestant sodales a sacro Rosario, tot salutationes et Mariales preces quasi sarta rosarum contextentes. Tanta enim Mariae est magnitudo, tanta, qua apud Deum pollet, gratia, ut qui opis egens non ad illam confugiat, is optet nullo alarum remigio volare.

Alia etiam Sodalitatis, de qua loquimur, laus est, nec praetereunda silentio. Quoties enim Marialis recitatione Rosarii salutis nostrae mysteria commentamur, toties officia sanctissima, caelesti quondam Angelorum militiae commissa, similitudine quadam aemulamur. Ea ipsi, suo quaeque tempore mysteria revelarunt, eorum fuere pars magna, iisdem adfuere seduli, vultu modo ad gaudium composito, modo ad dolorem, modo ad triumphalis gloriae exultationem. Gabriel ad Virginem mittitur nuntiaturum Verbi aeterni Incarnationem. Betlemico in antro, Salvatoris in lucem editi gloriam Angeli cantibus prosequuntur. Angelus Iosepho auctor est fugae arripiendae, seque in Aegyptum

¹ S. th. 2^a 2, lxxxiii. a. iv.

² *Ib.*

recipiendi cum puero. Iesum in horto prae moerore sanguine exsudantem Angelus pio alloquio solatur. Eundem, devicta morte, sepulchro excitatum, Angeli mulieribus indicant. Evectum ad caelum Angeli referunt atque inde reversurum praedicant angelicis comitatum catervis, quibus electorum animas admisceat secumque rapiat ad aetherios choros, super quos 'exaltata est sancta Dei Genitrix.' Piissima igitur Rosarii prece inter sodales utentibus ea maxime convenire possunt, quibus Paulus Apostolus novos Christi assecclas alloquebatur: 'Accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem Dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem, et multorum millium Angelorum frequentiam.'¹ Quid autem divinius quidve suavius, quam contemplari cum Angelis cum iisque precari? Quanta niti spe liceat atque fiducia, fructuros olim in caelo beatissima Angelorum societate eos, qui in terris eorum ministerio sese quodammodo addiderunt?

His de causis Romani Pontifices eximiis usque praeconiis Marianam huiusmodi Sodalitatem extulerunt, in quibus eam Innocentius VIII. 'devotissimam Confraternitatem'² appellat: Pius V. affirmat, eiusdem virtute haec consequuta; 'Coeperunt Christi fideles in alios viros repente mutari, haeresum tenebrae remitti et lux catholicae fidei aperiri';³ Sixtus V. attendens quam fuerit haec institutio religioni frugifera, eiusdem se studiosissimum profitetur; alii denique multi, aut praecipuis eam indulgentiis, iisque uberrimis auxere, aut in peculiarem sui tutelam, dato nomine variisque editis benevolentiae testimoniis, receperunt Eiusmodi Decessorum Nostrorum exemplis permoti, Nos etiam, Venerabiles Fratres, vehementer hortamur vos atque obsecramus, quod saepe iam fecimus, ut sacrae huius militiae singularem curam adhibeatis, atque ita quidem, ut, vobis adnitentibus, novae in dies evocentur undique copiae atque scribantur. Vestra opera et eorum, qui e clero subdito vobis curam gerunt animarum, noscant ceteri e populo, atque ex veritate aestiment, quantum in ea Sodalitate virtutis sit, quantum utilitatis ad aeternam hominum salutem. Hoc autem contentione poscimus eo maiore, quod proximo hoc tempore iterum viguit pulcherrima in sanctissimam Matrem pietatis manifestatio per Rosarium quod 'perpetuum' appellant. Huic Nos instituto libenti animo benediximus: eius ut incrementis seddulo vos naviterque studeatis, magnopere

¹ Heb xii 22.

² *Splendor paternae gloriae*, die 26 Februarii, 1491.

³ *Consueverunt RR. PP.*, die 17 Septembris, 1569.

optamus. Spem enim optimam concipimus, laudes precesque fore validissimas, quae, ex ingenti multitudinis ore ac pectore expressae, nunquam conticescant; et per varias terrarum orbis regiones dies noctesque alternando, conspirantium vocum concentum cum rerum divinarum meditatione coniungant. Quam quidem laudationum supplicationumque perennitatem, multis abhinc saeculis, divinae illae significarunt voces, quibus Oziae cantu compellabatur Iudith: 'Benedicta es tu filia a Domino Deo excelso prae omnibus mulieribus super terram . . . quia hodie nomen tuum ita magnificavit, ut non recedat laus tua de ore hominum.' Iisque vocibus universus populus Israel acclamabat: 'Fiat, fiat.'¹

Interea, caelestium beneficiorum auspicem paternaeque Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et clero populoque universo, vestrae fidei vigilantiaeque commisso, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XII. Septembris MDCCCXCVII., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

SOME DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE ORDINATION OF PRIESTS

I.

ORDINANDUS AD PRESBYTERATUM TETIGERAT CALICEM ANTEQUAM PRONUNCIARET FORMAM: *acquiescat*.

BME. PATER,

Sempronius Sacerdos Regularis, ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humili prece petit solutionem dubii cuiusdam, quo iam a plurimo tempore, circa validitatem suae ordinationis sacerdotalis, exagitur. Quum enim in tactu instrumentorum adhibuisset non quidem indices et medios digitos, sed indices et pollices, prius tetigit cuppam calicis; sed postea, quum Episcopus formulam pronunciavit, tetigit tantummodo patenam cum superposita hostia super calicem. Itaque, quum res non adamussim processerit iuxta praescriptiones Pontificalis, Theologorumque doctrinam, Orator pro conscientiae tranquillitate suae, petit quid: tenendum de validitate suae ordinationis?

Feria IV., 17 Martii, 1897.

In Congne Gen, S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Card. in Republica christiana adversus haereticam

¹ *Iud. xiii. 23 et seqq.*

pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio prachabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi Dni respondendum mandarunt :

Orator acquiescat.

Sequenti vero die ac feria, de praedictis relatione SS. D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Papae XIII in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

I. Can. MANNCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

II.

ORDINANDUS AD PRESBYTERATUM, AD CALICEM TANGENDUM, SED INCASSUM, CONNISUS FUERAT : *acquiescat*

BEATISSIME PATER,

Caius Sacerdos, ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humiliter petit, ut conscientiae suae tranquillitati provideatur, solutionem dubii cuiusdam a quo vexatur, circa valorem sacerdotalis ordinationis. Ex hoc profluit tale dubium, quod in traditione instrumentorum, non omnia processerunt exacte secundum praescriptiones Pontificalis, quum tetigerit tantum patenam et hostiam super calice positam, non autem ipsum calicem etsi ad istum cum digitis tangendum connisus fuisset.

Feria IV., 17 Martii, 1897.

In Congre Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio prachabitoque Rrum DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi Dni respondendum mandarunt :

Orator acquiescat.

Sequenti vero die ac feria, facta de praedictis relatione SS. D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Papae XIII in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

COMMENTARIUM IN FACULTATES APOSTOLICAS PER MODUM
 FORMULARUM CONCEDI SOLITAS. Auctore Joseph
 Putzer, C.SS.R. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago:
 Benziger Brothers.

THERE frequently arises in every parish the necessity of applying for dispensations. The clergyman interested often finds it difficult to obtain reliable information on the many intricate questions that occur to him. To whom must he apply for the dispensation? What form must the application take? What is it necessary to mention in the form? How are the faculties, when received, to be used? These and many other inconvenient difficulties disturb his equanimity. The best thanks of all concerned are due to anyone who helps to smooth the way. Fr. Putzer has done his part, and has done it well. Hence he deserves our thanks for his work.

Fr. Konings, a name to be held in veneration, began the work of explaining the faculties which the American bishops received from Rome. His treatise was published soon after his death, which occurred in 1884. The book quickly reached a second edition. Fr. Putzer then improved the work in many ways, and issued it in a third edition, in 1893. It was received with such favour that soon a new edition was called for, and it is this edition which we have before us.

The title of the work explains its subject-matter. It is a commentary on the Apostolic Faculties given to bishops, &c., in the different formulæ. The book has two parts. In the first part the author gives a general explanation of Apostolic Faculties—their nature, the rules for their interpretation, their communication and subdelegation, their cessation and expiration, their application and use. All these subjects are discussed with sufficient fulness and clearness of style. To this portion of the work is affixed a chapter on the manner of applying for faculties, which contains some model applications that must be of great service to many priests.

In the second part there is a detailed exposition of the faculties granted in Formula I., which the American bishops have received

from Propaganda. In the appendices there are copies of the Formulae given to the bishops of other countries, including the Formula VI., which is given to the Irish Hierarchy. In these appendices references for explanation are given to the corresponding portions of Formula I. The author seems not to be perfectly certain about the extension of Art. 3 of Formula VI., which Pius IX. granted the Irish bishops in 1854. A glance into the *I. E. RECORD* 1872-3, p. 240, to which he refers, ought to satisfy the author of its authenticity.

Though the work has been primarily written for American ecclesiastics it can be gleaned from what we have said that it is of immense use to Irish ecclesiastics also. We venture to hope that as soon as they are acquainted with its existence and utility many of them will purchase the little volume.

J. M. H.

MELLIFONT ABBEY, COUNTY LOUTH: ITS RUINS AND ASSOCIATIONS. A Guide and Popular History. Permissu Superiorum. James Duffy & Co., Ltd., Dublin, for the Cistercians, Mount St. Joseph Abbey, Roscrea, 1897.

HISTORICALLY there is in Ireland no more interesting ruin than Mellifont Abbey, and few, indeed, are the Irish ruins which from any point of view approach it in interest. Founded largely through the co-operation of the great St. Malachy, the bosom friend of St. Bernard, by a colony of monks sent thither from Clairvaux, it was the parent house of the Cistercian Order in Ireland. Before it had been nine years in existence it could reckon six important filiations in various parts of the country—Bective, Newry, Boyle, Athlone, Baltinglass, and Manister. In later times the number of Cistercian houses founded from Mellifont, or from its early filiations, were very numerous. Its abbots took precedence of all other Irish abbots of the order; were lords of Parliament; wielded enormous power in Church and State; and were many of them men of exalted sanctity and great learning. Of their number, four became bishops of Irish sees—Lismore, Emly, Clogher, and Achonry. The first abbot, who became Bishop of Lismore, was also Papal Legate in Ireland, and is honoured in the Church's calendar as St. Christian. Within the cloisters of Mellifont were interred the earthly remains of many princes and other notabilities; and there, too, the faithless but

penitent Dervorgilla, 'life's fitful fever over,' found a last resting-place.

Clearly, then, the story of Mellifont Abbey deserved to be told, and with all possible completeness. Told it is most interestingly and exhaustively in the unpretending, but important, work under review. This work we strongly and unreservedly recommend to our readers, and to all who take even a slight interest in Irish historical or antiquarian studies. We are convinced that no more satisfactory work dealing with any of our ruins has made its appearance for many a day. Henceforth it will be an indispensable *vade mecum* to all visitors to Mellifont.

The first chapter is descriptive. It deals with the ruins as they are at present, and tells with a completeness which leaves nothing to be desired how the abbey looked in the days of its greatness and prosperity. The remaining seven chapters are mainly historical. They deal exhaustively with the rise, progress, vicissitudes, and decline of the famous abbey. Subjoined are three appendices. The first contains a list of the abbots of Mellifont, not absolutely complete, but as nearly so as it is now possible to make it. The second consists of a copy of the charter of Newry, taken from the original in the British Museum. In the third is given an inventory of the estates of Mellifont.

The work is published anonymously ; but we consider ourselves at liberty to state that the author is a well-known member of the community of Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea. That he has been at extraordinary pains to make the work as complete as possible is quite obvious. Not only has he drawn largely upon the voluminous literature of his Order, but he has laid under contribution all the sources of information on Irish history, Annals, Monasticons, State papers, &c. In the preface is given a list of authorities, the most cursory glance at which is sufficient to show that no work at all likely to contain information suited to the author's purpose was left unconsulted. There are eight fairly good illustrations. In addition, are given two folding plans—one of Clairvaux, after which Mellifont was modelled, another of Mellifont itself ; and these add much to the value of the work. The book is sold at the very low price of one shilling. We augur for it a large sale ; its sale, if commensurate with its merits, will indeed be large. It were well if other notable Irish ruins—our ruined abbeys and monasteries especially—should be dealt with at no distant day in works of even a much less satisfactory character.

M. P. H.

THE WICKED WOODS. By Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert)
London : Burns and Oates, Limited.

WE have read through this fascinating story with unwearied and unflagging interest. The charm of narrative, and the grace of style that have popularized so widely her earlier works are not missed in the latest effort of our gifted authoress. Lady Gilbert possesses one of those touches that makes the whole world kin. She has an intimate knowledge of the various phases of peasant life she describes ; she has a thorough insight into the springs of action by which her heroes and heroines are actuated in their varying moods, and she has the art of delineation in a very highly cultured degree. Her characters, therefore, are no overdrawn creatures of the imagination, but simple, honest, God-fearing country folk, such as are to be met with in the realities of Irish life. Moreover, there is a vein of purity and wholesomeness permeating all her writings, which places them in severe contrast with the morbid productions of latter-day novelists, and makes it not only safe but desirable to have them placed in the hands of the young.

The plot of the present story is well laid and skilfully developed. To stimulate the interest of the reader in this beautiful tale, we abstain designedly from hinting at the plan, even in outline, preferring to leave him to follow the guidance of our authoress through the thrilling and touching incidents of the 'Wicked Woods,' and promising him a most delightful experience.

P. M.

THE NEW EXPLICIT ALGEBRA IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

By James J. O'Dea. London : Longmans, Green & Co.

WE have great pleasure in drawing the attention of the heads of Intermediate Colleges and Schools to the above work. It is the most successful attempt we have yet seen at simplifying the teaching of algebra. Not merely is the solution of typical problems and examples indicated, but these are worked out exactly as the student should present his answering at a written examination. Then the selection of examples is most judicious. The algebra papers, set in past years at the Intermediate, Royal University, London University, and other similar public examinations have yielded up their choicest exercises to furnish Professor O'Dea's *thesaurus* of algebraic difficulties and peculiarities. We cannot find language more suitable than the author's own to set

forth the merits of his treatise:—‘The leading features [he writes in his preface] of the *Explicit Algebra* are fulness of detail, without being uselessly exhaustive; lucidity and conciseness of statement; brevity and neatness in the manipulation of examples, which are numerous and varied; together with copiousness and variety of exercises methodically arranged; while the disposition of the various portions of the work, considered as a whole, is in strict logical sequence.’

The very favourable reception which has been accorded to the author's *Explicit Arithmetic* is sufficient testimony to Professor O'Dea's ability as a mathematician.

T. P. G.

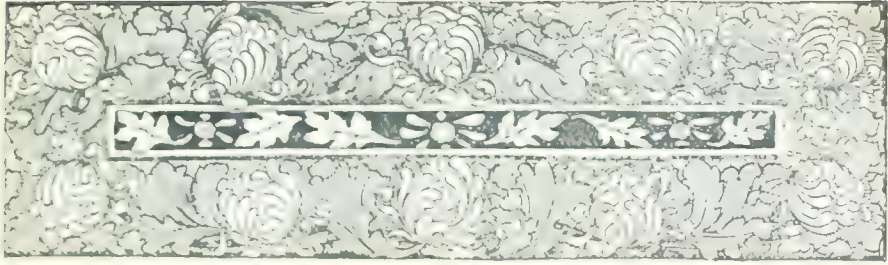
THE CREED EXPLAINED : OR AN EXPOSITION OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE ACCORDING TO THE CREEDS OF FAITH AND THE CONSTITUTIONS AND DEFINITIONS OF THE CHURCH. By Rev. A. Devine (Passionist). Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. New York : Benziger Bros.

THE author of this book scarcely needs an introduction to our readers. His previous labours in the domain of ascetical literature have already stamped him as a ripe theologian and a scholar of high attainments. He and his learned brother, Father Pius Devine, have by their prolific pens shed renown on the illustrious Order to which they both belong, and contributed to vastly increase our stores of Scriptural knowledge.

In the opening chapters of the present work we have a concise little treatise on Faith, in which everything necessary to be known about this divine virtue is accurately explained. Each article of the Creed is then taken up and treated in exhaustive detail. Nothing of importance to the thorough understanding of the truths comprised in these articles is omitted, and the method of treatment followed is very satisfactory. Proofs of dogma are given at great length from the Scriptures, fathers and councils of the Church, and we feel confident that everyone who reads these carefully will be able to render a solid ‘reason for the faith that is in him.’

That the book has a wide range of usefulness is manifest from the fact that a second edition has been demanded and published.

P. M.



THE ABERDEEN ROMANCE

THERE were few men pleasanter to know, or more delightful to chat with, than the late Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-of-Arms. He was a thorough gentleman, somewhat of the old school, of high culture and kindly tongue, who made the most of what was good, and the least of what was bad in his fellow-man; brimful, too, of the most interesting information, which he imparted freely in a genial and bright way. He once recounted to a person, who enjoyed and prized his friendship, the strange resolve, and still stranger action of a Scotch nobleman, giving him, at the same time, his own book, *Reminiscences, Ancestral and Anecdotal*, in which anyone may read of both under the title, *The Aberdeen Romance*. Romance it reads like; but romance it is not, but a history of hard and clearly-proved facts.

This romance, for let us call it such, interested and edified the friend who first heard of, and then carefully studied it. But more, he became convinced that this nobleman, in his truly extraordinary action, was influenced by a different motive, sought a different end, and was sustained by a different power from those suggested by Sir Bernard, or likely, perhaps, to occur to many. But, first of all, it is necessary to consider well the facts; this done, each may draw from them his own conclusion, or adopt his own theory, if he cannot accept mine. For these facts I have no authority, nor have I sought any save Sir Bernard's; but this

rests on letters written by the nobleman himself, and on well-authenticated sworn evidence obtained, after his death, by the Rev. William Alexander, who was sent twice to America by his family to seek it.

The hero, for I at least will call him so, of this romance, was George Gordon, sixth Earl of Aberdeen in the peerage of Scotland, and third Viscount in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He was born on the 10th of December, 1841, and, being the eldest son, succeeded his father on the 22nd of March, 1864, being then a few months over twenty-three. Gordon is a noble and historic name, linked, with honour, courage, and loyalty. Miss Strickland, in her life of Mary Queen of Scots, states that the reason why her enemies forced her to marry Bothwell was, that conduct so disgraceful might disgust the Gordons and the Maxwells, who had never wavered in their devotion to her, and that, notwithstanding this wretched act, both were the first to stand at her side, and place their swords at her service.

Earl of Aberdeen meant large landed property, stately mansions, and great influence. Still, within two years of coming into possession he practically renounced all, and left his country never to see it again. In January, 1866, he embarked at Liverpool on board a sailing vessel, the 'Pomona,' bound for St. John's, New Brunswick, where he stayed for a short time with his uncle, the Hon. Arthur Gordon, who was Governor of the Colony. Towards the end of April he was residing in a hotel at Boston, 'the Revere House,' under his own name and title; but these he laid aside about May 22nd, as the hotel register shows, and assumed that of George H. Osborne, under which he passed till his death. In the month of June he took service as a *common sailor*, in the brig 'R. Wylie,' and made a voyage to Palmas Grand Canary Island. In the years 1867, '68, '69, he sailed, in the same capacity, on board different merchant-vessels, to Vera Cruz, Mexico, Florida, Texas, and New York. In 1870 he was engaged as mate on board the ship 'Hera,' which left Boston on the 21st January bound for Melbourne. During this voyage the Earl, when engaged in lowering the

mainsail, was washed overboard and drowned. The captain gave the following account of this sad event:—

When I heard the alarm, 'A man overboard,' I came at once on deck to find that this man was Osborne. Everything was done to save him, ropes and planks were thrown, the boat was cleared away, but being very heavy, it was impossible to launch her in time to do any good. In any case the waves were so high, she could scarcely have got free of the vessel or lived. When I came first on deck I saw him struggling in the water, and heard him cry, but this ceased before it was possible to lower the boat. The water was very cold, and even a good swimmer must have perished very soon. I am quite sure he must have been drowned.

Such are the facts. Now for the reasoning conclusions or theories which they may suggest. But that these may have fair play we must bear well in mind, and give full weight to some remarkable circumstances of the case.

The Earl freely, of his own accord, renounced title, position, the wealth, pride, and pomp of this world—things dear to the heart of man, and adopted a sailor's life, selecting a *poor class of merchant-trading vessels*, making voyages on dangerous coasts to uninteresting places, bearing all the privations, hardships, and sufferings incidental to such a life—things naturally most disliked by man; leading, in a word, a life of common-place drudgery, devoid of that love of adventure or of wild and daring feats which have an attraction for some. Moreover, he remained almost to the end a common sailor, doing, as mate, a common sailor's work, although he had studied navigation in Boston Nautical College, and had a certificate of full fitness to take the command of any merchant vessel. In the words of one who knew him well, and had sailed with him, 'he was a first-rate navigator, and no calculation puzzled him.' He could have changed all this at any moment; could have taken himself away from a most severe and trying life, and gone back to one of comfort, ease, and enjoyment, but did not. For four years he lived his freely-chosen hard life, and we are not without some reasons for believing that he purposed living it to the end. His careful study of nautical affairs seems to suggest this intention on his part.

We learn all the above-mentioned circumstances from his own letters, and from several persons who sailed with him. In a letter to his mother, with whom he kept up the most affectionate relations, he writes: 'When in a small leaky vessel a furious storm arose, I, with others, was working at the pumps for seventeen hours, each moment thinking it would be the last.' In another: 'To-morrow we sail for the coast of Florida, famous for its tales of piracy, wreckage, and murder.' In another: 'I have been all this time on a barren coast with nothing interesting but the wrecks of other vessels which had ventured on this inhospitable and dangerous coast, and paid dearly for their rashness.' He writes, in the same letter, of a danger shared by him and others, who had to man a boat in order to lay out the bower anchor:—

The boat was so low in the water that every wave washed over, and threatened to swamp her. We succeeded at last, and were glad to get back to the vessel, for the sea was full of sharks. We remained for some time on this howling coast, where sandflies, horseflies, and mosquitos abound, and where at night can be heard the savage roar of the tiger and wild beasts that inhabit the impervious tropical jungle, which lines this coast down to the beach.

In another he describes a storm which lasted for three days with the 'heaviest rain and the darkest darkness,' during which he was at one moment in great danger, 'out on the main boom, swinging backward and forward.' A fellow-sailor named Small stated:—

At Vera Cruz we were employed for four days discharging a cargo of corn. I observed that Osborne, in doing his work, did not appear like a man used to it; his hands looked soft, blistered easily, his legs tottered under him when carrying the sacks; but he never gave in.

Now, for a little reasoning on the facts and circumstances of the case. Imagine for a moment a large hall, and in it two tables; one beautifully decorated with the rarest flowers, and on plates of silver and gold every viand and delicacy which could satisfy the appetite and please the palate of man; on the other, a plain board, nothing but bread and water. Let us suppose a crowd admitted, perfectly free to partake of one or

the other. If all rushed to the first, most attractive table, we certainly would not be surprised, nor would we stop for a moment to seek a reason for their doing so. But if we saw one or two turn away and go to the second, most repelling one, we should be at once forced to the conclusion that they were actuated in their strange conduct by some extraordinary, unnatural, or supernatural motive. Now, let us substitute for the two tables the life freely given up, and the life freely chosen by the Earl, and our wonder must be greater; nor can we help speculating as to the reasons which influenced him.

Some men, no doubt, have fallen from high positions, and taken to low employments, low companionship, and unworthy ways; but this, as a rule, could not be called freely chosen—it was the consequence of extravagance which brought on poverty, or of scandalous living, which ostracized them from the society of their equals, or of both. This theory could not be held for a second by any sane man, as the Earl—and it is necessary to bear this well in mind—was a noble, not only of unblemished fame and irreproachable morality, but a man of high-toned Christian and religious character. Sir Bernard gives three reasons for his strange resolve and action. Firstly, ‘a passion for seafaring life, which had taken hold of his mind from early boyhood;’ secondly, ‘a strong democratic element in his character;’ thirdly, ‘eccentricity.’ I do not believe these theories tenable, if we bear in mind the hardships and sufferings of his sailor life to one reared and educated as he was. It is true that boys have often shown a strong passion for the sea, and gratified it against the will of their parents, sometimes by running away. These were, however, generally the wild boys of the family, and were very glad, not unfrequently, to get back to the home-nest after one or two trials of such a life. Now, the Earl was not a wild boy; he did not adopt this career when a boy; and, presuming he had this passion, could he not have indulged it to his heart’s content in his own yacht, or by sailing around the world, and where he liked, as a passenger, or, if you will, as a sailor in ships of the first class.

As to 'the democratic element in his character,' we may consider it for the moment under two aspects. Firstly, that it would prompt him to become a propagandist of democratic or radical principles; secondly, that it was simply personal, and inclined him to seek companionship with persons of a lower position, and, by doing so, to assert the principle that there should be no class distinction, and that all ought to be on the same level. With reference to the first, there is no evidence that he had any such desire; but, if he had, he could have gratified it in his own country, where the spread of such principles would seem more needed than in America, and where he could have done so in an open, honourable, and popular way by identifying himself with the Radical party, and using his great influence for its advancement. As to the second, he could have indulged a mere personal inclination to mix with the masses in many ways, devoid of the toil, hardships, sufferings, and dangers which were a matter of course in the sailor life he freely selected. Indulging a passion generally, if not necessarily, supposes pleasure, enjoyment, delight of some kind. When, therefore, we find a man freely embrace a life which entailed much naturally hard and distasteful to man's nature, we must, I think, seek some reason or motive other than the wish to give full scope to mere passion.

The above theories become still more untenable when we consider the sort of man the Earl was, and the life he led during those sailor years. He was, first of all, an educated gentleman, and though remarkable for his friendly and kindly ways with his seafaring companions, he never put off this character. They knew from his bearing that he was not one of themselves, or used to their work, and they talked of this amongst themselves. They spoke of him as a 'shy and modest man, who did his hard work with great care, and was obliging and charitable to others.' A carpenter, in whose house he lodged, in Boston, stated that—

He drew beautifully; was fond of music and reading; often played on the piano for us; was very good to children; he took a good deal of notice of a child four or five years old in my house, and often brought her presents.

A man named Pearson, in whose house he lived for some time, gave him the following letter of character, the reading of which may well cause a smile :—

To whom it may concern : this is to certify that Mr. George Osborne has lived in my house for the last four months, and I can cheerfully recommend him as a young man of good habits and kind disposition.

The following is still more amusing. Small, who had been intimate with Osborne on board the 'Yeyla,' made the following patronizing statement :—

When I became mate it was my duty to select a sailor to be in my watch. I selected George Osborne, because I knew that I could chat freely with him, though I was an officer ; he would not take advantage of it as other fellows would.

He was most kind-hearted and helpful to all, using the needle at times, and when an accident happened he was physician and nurse. On one occasion, when a sailor had his leg broken, it was he who made the splints, applied them, and tended him till the bones knitted, and the limb was straight, and as long as the other. But he was more than all this : he was a truly religious and pious man. Many who sailed or lived with him for the four years spoke of him as a man 'whose morality was irreproachable.'

Who used all his influence with his companions to fix their minds on God and religious subjects. He read portions of Holy Scripture every day, and on Sundays when the captain failed, as sometimes happened, he assembled all for religious service, and used to read prayers out of an old Catholic prayer book.

Without bringing forth argument or proof for the following proposition, I have no fear of asserting it. There are few, if any, better signs of a good man than his being a good son to a widowed mother. Now, this trait of character comes out in letters which he wrote to his mother ; letters so refined, tender, and affectionate, that a stranger can scarcely read them unmoved. In one, dated August 12th, 1867, he says :

Dearest Mother, I hope you are keeping well. I am now with a very good man ; it is good for me to be here. I hope you will get this letter, and that it will cheer your heart ; it tells you of my undiminished love

Again, in 1869:—

I must come and see you soon. It is so long since I heard of you, that a sort of vague dread fills my mind, and I seem rather to go on in doubt than to learn what would kill me—I mean, were I to return and not find you. Many weary times has this thought come to me in the dark and cheerless night-watches, but I have driven it away as too terrible to think of. I wonder where you are now, and what you are doing. I know you are doing something good, and a blessing to all around.

He ends another as follows:—‘Give my love to all dear ones, and believe in the undying affection of your son George.’ In a letter written from Texas to his brother, the Hon. James Gordon, he says:—

I have never seen an approach to a double of you and mother. I know that there cannot be a double of her in the world; she has not an equal. My best love to her. I think of her only; she is always in my mind.

When off Palmas Grand Canary Island he writes to his mother:—

I saw a magnificent spectacle in passing the far-famed Teneriffe. It was a grand sight, and one which called up in my mind solemn thoughts and good resolves.

In another he writes:—

When making a voyage in a small vessel, heavily laden and very leaky, a furious gale came on; the water gained on us, and the storm increased. We carried an awful press of canvas, but the poor water-logged schooner lay on her beam-ends. We were toiling at the pumps, and throwing over our deck-load; already there were five feet of water in the hold: nothing could have saved us but a miracle or change of wind. But at 9.0 a.m., God, in His mercy, sent a sudden change of wind, with floods of rain, which beat down the sea, and in half an hour the danger passed away.

We must give one other extract. Sir Bernard states that the Earl had resolved to practise a rigid economy, in order to be able to live on his wages, and to put by a little. In the month of February, 1867, however, he drew two cheques for one hundred pounds each on his banker, in Glasgow,

payable in New York. In the following March he wrote as follows :—

I never had any self-respect since I found means to get that money in New York ; I have never had any pleasure in life since. I despise myself for my foolish weakness ; I shall never again hold up my head.

I attach a certain importance to the above words as supporting my theory. They express strongly, and in a very penitential spirit, the regret and remorse an honourable and upright man should feel for having broken a solemn resolution or vow to support himself by labour, 'to which man is born,' and 'in the sweat of his face.'

A word now on the third reason thrown out by Sir Bernard, 'eccentricity.' That the Earl was singular, exceptional, eccentric, in the fact that he did what perhaps no other man in the world would, is evident. Men, no doubt, have given up freely all things of earth, but they did this believing that God called them to do so, not committing themselves, however, freely or as a consequence of their vocation, to the low companionship and hard life selected by him. It must be said, also that outside his strange resolve there is not, in his general character, a shadow of that eccentricity which is often akin to insanity, or a dogged form of self-will, obstinacy, and selfishness. Many, whose lives his would have shamed, most probably spoke of him as a fool or a madman. Yet, I think, even these, having fairly studied the whole case, must admit that, apart from his strange action, there was no look of one or the other about him. Moreover, it appears very improbable that his, or any other man's, eccentricity would seek its indulgence in a hard life, filled in with things most distasteful to human nature, particularly to a man born to comfort, ease, and luxury : a life persevered in for four years.

It appears also unlikely, that so good, so intelligent, so sensible, so religious a man, of such refined feeling, of so high a sense of duty, so affectionately fond of his mother and relatives, would have allowed mere eccentricity to keep him away so long from them, from home and country, not without anxiety and suffering to himself, and to those

most dear to him. Besides, to attribute an action or a line of conduct to eccentricity because it is very exceptional or extraordinary, would strike at and disfigure some of the grandest and most heroic events of history ; events in which men, under no pressure of strict duty, have sacrificed all, even life itself, from some high principle or motive. To do so would be to stamp as eccentric martyrs to faith, to charity or to country, as well as those glorified by the Divine Teacher, for doing exactly what the Earl did, ' who hath left house, or brethren, or father, or wife, or children, or lands for His Name's sake.' Although Sir Bernard suggested the motives already discussed, I cannot but think that he unconsciously believed in some higher influence. If not, how could he have closed the sad scene of the Earl's death with the following words, ' so perished one of the most excellent men that ever graced the peerage of Scotland or any other country ' ?

I cannot help being convinced that we must seek, and can find, a theory more tenable than those put forward by Sir Bernard. Are there not reasons for presuming, if not believing, that the Earl's strange conduct was dictated by some supernatural motive, was planned according to some divine truths, and upheld by some superhuman power ? Is it possible that any merely human motives could have prompted such a resolve, or that any merely human power could have kept and sustained him, *the good man he was*, during the years of his freely-chosen, hard, and suffering life ?

With all Catholics I, of course, hold—first, that God's greatest grace and gift is to be born, or in time to become, a child of the one, true, Catholic Church, which our Lord founded, into which He poured all truth, and which is to last ' till the consummation of ages,' the visible, infallible organ and exponent of the dogmas to be believed, and the moral code to be observed ; second, that this Church is the only *ordinary* means settled and fixed by God for the salvation of man ; third, that outside of it there is no salvation for anyone who perseveringly rejects the grace of a call to it ; for anyone who is not at the moment of death united with it by actual membership, or by a spiritual union with what

theologians call 'the soul of the Church.' Still, we know from God's own inspired words, that 'He enlightened every man that cometh into this world ;' 'that he willeth not the death of the sinner,' but 'that all men be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.' God also proved how real and sincere this saving will was, by sending His only-begotten Son, 'to seek the perishing and the lost, not to judge the world but to save it.' And our Lord proved in the clearest and strongest way He well could, that He was one in will with His Father, by dying for all men. Holy Scripture overflows with proofs of this most consoling truth—Christ died for all men because He died for all whose nature He took. He died for all those 'against whom stood the handwriting of the decree.' He gave Himself 'a redemption for all ;' 'He came into this world to save sinners, even the worst.' So reasons and writes St. Paul. St. John tells us that 'Christ is a propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but also for those of the whole world.' We have this great truth proclaimed in the Nicene Creed, and in the name 'Saviour of the world,' given by excellence to our Lord.

Without entering into the question of what is strictly defined dogma, we can have no doubt as to the mind of the Church on this point. We find it formulated by theologians as follows :—First, God really and sincerely wills the salvation of all men ; second, Christ died for all men ; third, grace is given to all men with a view to their salvation. But someone may fairly ask, If all this be true, how can anyone be lost ? Well, the answer to this question is simple enough. God never acts violently. He always respects His gift of free will ; He never coerces it ; He gives grace, but He does not necessitate co-operation with it. Hence, a man can neglect or refuse to use grace, can even abuse it, and by doing so suffer the loss of his soul. The Council of Arles expresses this truth as follows :—'That some are saved, is the gift of the Saviour ; that some are lost, is their own fault.' And another Council says :—

As there is, was, and will be, no man whose nature Christ did not take, so there is, was, and never will be, a man for whom He did not die, though all may not be saved by the mystery of the Incarnation,

Pope Pius IX. of holy memory, treats the two sides of this question in an Allocution given on the 9th of December, 1854. He condemns, as 'impious and fatal,' the opinion of those who hold 'that we may well hope for the salvation of all who were never members of the Church of Christ, and that the way of salvation may be found in any religion.' He then adds:—

God forbid that we should dare to place limits to the divine mercy, which is infinite. God forbid that we should wish to scrutinize the secret councils and judgments of God, which are a 'great deep,' and cannot be penetrated by human reason. The dogmas of Catholic faith touching the justice and mercy of God are not opposed one to the other. It is to be held, as of faith, that no one can be saved outside the Apostolic Roman Church, This is the one ark of salvation, and he who enters not into it shall perish in the flood. At the same time it is to be held as certain that they who are ignorant of the true religion, if their ignorance be invincible, are not guilty of fault on this head before God. Moreover, charity demands that we pour forth assiduous prayers that all nations may be converted to Christ, that we labour with all our strength for the conversion of all men, for the hand of God is not shortened, and the gifts of heavenly grace are never wanting to those who wish and ask with sincere mind to be refreshed with His light.

With reference to this question of exclusive salvation, we may say, that no one is forbidden to hold as probable, or even more probable, that the majority of mankind will in the end be saved; still we should be well on our guard against making too little of God's greatest grace, the priceless pearl of true faith and of membership of the Apostolic Roman Church, and making too much of the chances of salvation outside her pale.

That a person can be invincibly ignorant of her claims is admitted by all, and is quite intelligible. We may fairly suppose that there are some, many perhaps, who, owing to their position and surroundings at home, at school, college, &c., are confirmed in the religion of their birth and family, and protected against any doubt concerning it. Every individual with whom they come in contact, every book placed in their hand or within their reach, every fact and view touching religion keep them in unquestioning good faith with refer-

ence to their own position, and too often in dislike, if not horror, of the true Church of Christ. It is, moreover, probable that such persons may have been validly baptized, or if not, may still be firm believers in the fundamental truths of Christianity, in the Holy Scriptures being the word of God, in prayer, charitable works for their neighbour, and other supernatural helps; 'wishing and asking with sincere mind to be refreshed with heavenly grace,' and to do God's holy will. Persons who never sinned against the light given to them, but, who, in God's mysterious providence, died before they came to its full glory. His Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, in his inaugural address at the late Augustine Centenary, speaking of such persons, said: 'Of those who have sickened and died in good faith on the way, how many have been saved by prayer.' To such souls, deprived without fault of their own of the ordinary means of salvation, God can and does give grace which, if corresponded with, will in an extraordinary way unite them with Himself.

I cannot resist the temptation to take a sentence or two from Lady Herbert's charming narrative, *How I Came Home*, because it expresses better than I could what I should wish to say, and because the words have that authoritative approbation which is given to those interesting and instructive tracts published by the Catholic Truth Society:—

The Catholic belief is, that no penitent soul can perish, and that one who really loves God cannot be lost, and there are holy and penitent and loving souls in the most erroneous systems.

I have no doubt [writes an eminent Catholic ecclesiastic] that through imperfect ministries and irregular systems, God shows His mercy on every soul which has the right dispositions. Therefore, no doubt could be cast on the reality of the work of grace in human souls in the Church of England or any other Church, by being convinced that its position is schismatical and its acts irregular. When convinced of this, however, it is a vital duty to submit to the law of unity and authority in the Church of God. I believe all sincere souls receive grace according to the measure in which they act up to their own light and convictions.

Now my theory places the noble Earl in this class. We

have undoubted testimony that he was a man of irreproachable life; an apostle amongst his sailor companions, doing his best to fix their thoughts on God and holy things; a man of reverent mind and religious dispositions, who loved Holy Scripture, particularly the New Testament, portions of which he read every day: a man, I believe, of good faith and will, who wished and prayed to be refreshed with the light of heavenly grace, and who corresponded with the grace given. A man of this mould would naturally take a serious view of life, present and future; would desire to know the state or manner of life safest for his own salvation and most pleasing to God, and would seek for light and direction, in this all-important matter, according to his own religious principles. God's inspired word would be his first study. This would tell him that 'man was born to labour as the bird to fly,' born 'to toil and eat bread in the sweat of his face.' Also, that the things of earth are vain, unprofitable, uncertain, unsatisfying, shortlived, and, therefore, not to be loved by one 'who has not here a lasting city, but seeks one which is above.' Nay more, that things of earth, especially those to which he was born, are a danger and a snare in the path of man, and are often so abused as to become the cause or occasion, not only of unhappiness in this world, but of spiritual and eternal ruin in the next.

Reading religiously and thoughtfully every day portions of the New Testament, he would hear of that 'wide gate and broad way which leadeth to destruction in which the many enter,' and resolve not to be of their number; of that 'narrow gate and strait way which leadeth to life,' and resolve to be of them. He would also learn that they who ambition this life 'of the narrow gate and strait way' should not set their hearts on what he had in abundance, namely, earthly treasures, which rust and moths and thieves destroy, but on heavenly treasures which these cannot touch: that they should not only fly sin, but everything which would really endanger sin, even though to do so were as painful and as harmful as cutting off the right arm or plucking out the right eye: that they should labour to acquire and practise humility, poverty of spirit, meekness, patience,

charity, purity, unworldliness, trust in God and His fatherly providence :—all which the Divine Teacher preaches so powerfully and beautifully in His sermon on the Mount. In his daily readings he would come across texts in which the Divine Teacher speaks in very striking, if not startling, terms, of the higher life which our Lord not only preached but lived : ‘ Everyone of you that doth not renounce all that he possesseth cannot be My disciple ;’ ‘ He that loveth father and mother more than Me is not worthy of Me ;’ ‘ If anyone come to Me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple.’ He would also get some idea of the value of this higher life, and be attracted to it by the magnificent rewards promised in this world and in the next to all who would embrace and be true to it : ‘ For everyone that hath left house or brethren, or sisters, or father and mother, or wife or children for My Name’s sake shall receive one hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting.’ It is not difficult to imagine a man so deeply religious as the Earl was, a true believer also in our Lord as the Divine Teacher and Model, meditating on those words, desiring to make them practical in this life, and praying for heavenly grace to do so. I am inclined to think that the Earl acted after this manner. Attracted by the life and teaching of our Lord, he resolved to lead a life as like to His as possible.

But how was this to be done ? The noble Earl had not that authoritative divine key to the right interpretation of Holy Scripture which the Catholic Church alone holds ; nor had he the advantages of that safe guidance and direction in spiritual affairs which is her gift also. If he had been one of her children, she would have given him the full true meaning of those texts. She would not only have directed him, but also have given him the opportunity and means of embracing and living this higher life. She would also have encouraged him by calling his attention to the fact that many of her children, under her guidance, had given up all, even more than he possessed, to make these texts a reality in their lives, and this without doing the strange things

which he did. The Earl, deprived, without fault of his own, of such help, had to use the only means in his power—prayer and private interpretation; and these resulted in selecting a state of life the most in keeping with our Lord's words and life, as he understood them. A life of self-denial, of renunciation of all things, of labour and toil and suffering, and of contact with the poor and lowly, a life which would lift him far above the best life he could lead in the state and position to which he was born. He believed his call to be personal, and that nothing of this world should be allowed to stand in its way: settling any scruples he may have had concerning his duties to others by the conviction that these were of minor importance dispensed with by Him who had given him a higher call, and that they would be discharged by others of his blood and name, as well or better than by himself.

Many may have, and likely did, call him a fool or a madman, or spoke of him as a man who made a big mistake. And yet, must not even they admit that there was a self-sacrificing heroism in his foolishness and mistake which they themselves would shrink from. I would answer such persons by asking them a question: Could you imagine yourself, or anyone you know, or ever knew, doing or equal to doing what he did? If the answer be negative, it almost, if it does not really, prove that the Earl must have been under influences of a higher order and of a greater power than those which belong to our common nature.

Someone may, perhaps, say, if he were so religiously disposed, why did he not give himself to the ministry of his own Church, and work for the good of others. This may be answered: first, by saying that it was to the goodness and perfection of his own life he seemed to look; and that, although he edified those he came in contact with, he never showed any inclination to what I may call the missionary career. Secondly, taking him to be the man he was, according to my theory, he would see little or no difference between the Earl of Aberdeen and the Rev., Very Rev., or Right Rev. the Earl of Aberdeen. But, supposing for a moment that he did

make a mistake in not becoming an apostle of his own Church, we may find the reason of this mistake in this Church itself, according to a view of Lord Macaulay in his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes*. He glorifies the Catholic Church because of certain extraordinary characteristics special to her and not found in any other human institution. He endeavours, weakly enough we must admit, to account for these on purely human grounds. Amongst them he places as an important item in the policy of Rome that 'she thoroughly understands what *no other Church* has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts.' 'In some sects, particularly in infant sects, enthusiasm is supposed to be rampant, in other sects, particularly in sects long established and richly endowed, it is regarded with aversion; the Catholic Church neither submits to enthusiasm nor prescribes it, but uses it.' He develops his opinion at some length. I give merely the substance of it. 'The Catholic Church knows that a religious enthusiast is no object of contempt. She accordingly enlists him in her service, assigns to him some forlorn hope, and sends him forth with her benediction and applause.' 'But for such a man there is no place within the pale of the Establishment;' he is cast off or deserts her, takes many with him, and 'in a few weeks the Church has lost for ever a hundred families, not one of which entertained the least scruple about her Articles, her liturgy, or her ceremonies.' 'Place Ignatius Loyola at Oxford, he is certain to become head of a formidable secession; place John Wesley at Rome, he is certain to be the first general of a new society devoted to the interests and honour of the Church.' 'Place the Earl of Aberdeen at Rome, and he would most probably have become a contemplative like Bruno, or a contemplative and missionary like Bernard. But being a member of a Church 'which has no place for such a man' he became of himself what he was, not, however, without some extraordinary supernatural help and power. Nothing merely human could have suggested to such a man so strange a life, and kept him, the good man he was, so long faithful to it. It is not in our corrupt nature, when unaided by divine grace, to restrain, crush, and crucify

itself in things most dear to and loved by it. In any case, the Earl's career, view it as we like, contrasts favourably with the lives of many, and the world would not be the worse if all men, particularly of his class, no matter of what religion, lived more according to the spirit of his heroic and edifying life.

N. WALSH, S.J.

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

I HAVE read Dr. MacCarthy's attack on my *Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*. It appears in the August number of the I. E. RECORD (pp. 166-170), which I have only now had an opportunity of seeing, and forms, certainly, a notable contrast to the high, perhaps I should say too high, encomium passed upon that book, by the liberality of a learned reviewer, in the April number. Visibly, Dr. MacCarthy has no liking for the volume to which he devotes four and a-half querulous pages. He may be said, adapting the poet's language, to wave all his banners and charge with all his chivalry against it. However, with permission of the Editor, he shall not have everything his own way. I will reply, or endeavour to reply, to his somewhat Scioppian strictures.

Taking his remarks in their order, Dr. MacCarthy, in the first place, objects (pp. 166-167) to the use which I have made of the ancient Bobbio Missal. I have included this document among my sources of evidence on the doctrine professed by the early Christian Irish; I have referred to it on several primary points, and my quotations from it are numerous. 'They total pretty large,' as Dr. MacCarthy elegantly says (p. 167), in a parenthetical piece of jargon, that sounds like pigeon English, or some other foreign attempt at expression in the language. But let us pass away from that. My critic contends (p. 167) that the Missal in question 'was drawn up for a church in France, most probably in

Burgundy.' Be it so. I am sure I have nothing to say to the contrary. I am so far of his opinion, as my *Appendix* shows.¹ On the other hand, the MS. is allowed by Dr. MacCarthy to be of Irish execution. In his monograph *On the Stowe Missal*, he says:²—'The Bobio [*sic*] Missal, in transcription, was the work of an Irishman.' Now, this is quite enough for me, and will be for most people. The script of the Bobbio Missal being ours, by Dr. MacCarthy's own confession, its dogma may, fairly and justly, be adduced as ours also, unless he holds, or means to maintain, as I am satisfied he does not, that Irish monastic scribes, at home or abroad, were in the habit of copying and preserving liturgies, and other religious writings, *from the characteristic theology of which they dissented*. If, like Todd or Warren, Dr. MacCarthy denied the Irish nature of the penmanship exemplified in the Bobbio Missal, now a settled point with most paleographers, his objection to the use that this document is put to by me would then have at least the force of consistent logic to recommend it; but, as things are, it is not for my present critic to lecture me on 'due discrimination of the material,' and bid me omit, as he does, all my citations from the Bobbio Missal as 'irrelevant.' I have proved nothing, from the Bobbio Missal, which is not equally proved by me, or provable, from documents that were in undoubted employment in Ireland; and if I allow that the Bobbio Missal was not actually employed over here, Dr. MacCarthy will surely not assert that it was not in daily use and requisition in the seventh and following centuries at the monastery of Bobbio itself, where, for a long period, there were always Irish monks in more or less numbers, whom reason will accept as types of their fellow-countrymen at home, in what regarded the national faith.

The foregoing remarks, which justify me in appealing to

¹ *Irish Church History, or History of Celtic Christianity*, p. 227. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1897.

² *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxvii, p. 151. Dublin, 1877-86. Would Dr. MacCarthy consider whether 'Bobio' for 'Bobbio'—the orthography which he adopts throughout the whole of his paper *On the Stowe Missal*—has the sanction of Italian writers, who are surely the proper judges of what it ought to be?

the Bobbio Missal, will equally justify me in appealing to the Penitential at the end of it. I, however, have little concern in Dr. MacCarthy's paragraph on this Penitential. I have not quoted Cardinal Moran for what Dr. MacCarthy produces from him. If the Cardinal has ever 'transformed an *old woman* into a *village*,' I have not. 'Thou canst not say I did it,' as Macbeth exclaims. I cheerfully leave all such feats of legerdemain to the Herr Döblers, the Professor Andersons, and the Dr. Lynns.

We come, next, to Cummian's Penitential. This, it should seem, or at least portions of this, I ought not to have cited, as casting any light on early Irish dogmatic or disciplinary history. And for what reason? Because, forsooth, 'every indication denotes decisively that Cummian wrote his work not in his native but in another land, and drew from Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Frankish Penitentials.' 'This being so,' Dr. MacCarthy continues (p. 167), 'ordinary prudence would suggest what has, unfortunately, not been done here, to verify the origin before adopting the citation.' Just as if, in tracing the current of Irish religious sentiment, it mattered a jot whether Cummian compiled his Penitential at home or on the continent! Just as if Anglo-Saxon and Frankish Penitentials were not consonant to the spirit of his native training, when we have the fact that he embodied some of their provisions in his work, and so made them his own!

Dr. MacCarthy is apparently much displeased that, by extracting fifteen *capitula* from Cummian's Penitential, I should imply the existence of such a thing as heresy in Ireland in the early Christian ages; whereas, he says (p. 167), 'St. Columbanus boasts that Ireland produced no heretic.' True; but that does not settle the matter. St. Columbanus died in 615, and, of the three Cummians to whom the authorship of the Penitential has been variously assigned, two did not depart this life till some half a century after that great missionary abbot, and the third flourished, at the very least, another half a century, or more, after either of his namesakes. It would be possible for heresy, and even much heresy, to spring up in any country, the Island of

Saints not excepted, in fifty or a hundred and odd years, and the testimony of St. Columbanus is not to be strained beyond his personal knowledge. Pelagianism made its appearance among our forefathers during the lifetime of St. Cummián the Tall, and that of his contemporary St. Cummián the Fair, to both of whom the Penitential, which deals with heresy, has been attributed; but to what extent this poison prevailed is not precisely known. At any rate, the fact is alluded to in 640, only twenty-five years after the death of St. Columbanus, by John, pope-elect, and three others of the dignified Roman clergy, in their joint letter to certain Irish bishops and priests on the Easter observance.¹ A little later on, a suspicion of at least some partial prevalence of heresy may be inferred from the *Hibernensis*, which, as Dr. MacCarthy says, in his paper *On the Stowe Missal*, 'was admittedly compiled for the Irish Church.'² The fifty-seventh book of this Collection of Canons has six *capitula* on heretics (*De hereticis*), the fourth containing an extract from a Synod in which it was decreed that heretics should be avoided.³ This, more or less, supposes their existence amongst us. We need not stop, however, at generalities. Irish heretics are not unknown to history even by name. Here and there, one can be picked out. In 745, St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, complains to Pope Zachary of two heretical blasphemers—Aldebert (sometimes called Adalbert), a native of Gaul, and Clemens, a *Scotus* or Irishman, who, like so many of his race, had travelled to the continent.⁴ Both were condemned at

¹ They say . . . 'Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus Pelagianæ hærescos apud vos denovo reviviscit: quod omniñ o hortamur, ut a vestris mentibus iniquissimi venenatum superstitionis facinus auferatur.' See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. ii., c. 19, p. 150; London, 1838.

² *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxvii., p. 152; Dublin, 1877-86.

³ 'Scimus aut. Definimus, hereticum esse vitandum, sicut enim cancer serpit per membra, ita doctrina ejus serpit in animas.' See Wasserscheleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, p. 223; Leipzig, 1885.

⁴ St. Boniface writes:—'Maximus tamen mihi labor fuit contra duos hæreticos pessimos, et publicos, et blasphemos contra Deum, et contra Catholicam fidem. Unus qui dicitur Aldebert, natione generis Gallus est: alter qui dicitur Clemens, genere Scotus est: specie quidem diversi, sed pondere peccatorum pares.' See Ussher, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge* (*Works*, iv., p. 457; Dublin, 1847-64).

Further on (*ib.*, p. 459), St. Boniface gives the opinions of Clemens:—'Alter autem hæreticus, qui dicitur Clemens, contra Catholicam contendit

Soissons in 744, and at Rome in the following year.¹ No branch of the early Christian Church, perhaps, can rival—none certainly can excel—the doctrinal purity of the ages of faith in our island; but to suggest, or seem to suggest, that the whole nation was ‘one entire and perfect chrysolite’ of orthodoxy, or that heretics never by any chance had their origin or their abode amongst us, is not going the right or reasonable way about to be historical. It even ‘strains credulity’ worse than anything that I have attempted. The above remark applies equally to the state of morals; and this brings me to Dr. MacCarthy’s next accusation.

‘To the same lack of discrimination,’ he says (p. 168), ‘is due a still more aggravated libel on the morality of the ancient Irish Church.’ And what is that? Just this: that I have fetched forward from the Irish MSS. at St. Gall a musty *Ordo* of Penance, in which the confessor is directed to inquire whether or not his penitent is living in incest. I might have added that there is another copy of this *Ordo* among the Irish MSS. at Basle.²

The very head and front of my offending
Hath this extent, no more.

But Dr. MacCarthy is patriotic. He is a champion of champions. He will not have an *Ordo*, alluding to such a crime as incest, to be Irish. He casts about to deposit the shame of it elsewhere. The natural enemy must sustain it. The *Ordo* is to be—‘purely Anglo-Saxon.’ It is too bad, though, that the Anglo-Saxons should have all the odium. The obnoxious interrogatory was formerly not an uncommon

Ecclesiam: canones Ecclesiarum Christi abnegat, et refutat tractatus; et intellectus sanctorum patrum, Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorii recusat, synodalia jura spernens, proprio sensu affirmat, sc. post duos filios sibi in adulterio natos [sub nomine episcopi] esse posse legis Christianæ episcopum. Judaismum inducens, judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam, fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Ipse etiam contra fidem sanctorum patrum contendit, dicens: quod Christus filius Dei descendens ad inferos, omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit, inde liberasset, credulos et incredulos, laudatores Dei simul et cultores idolorum: et multa alia horribilia de prædestinatione Dei contraria fidei Catholicæ affirmat.’

¹ Peltier, *Dictionnaire Universel et Complet des Conciles*, ii., cols. 626, 893: Paris, 1847. Alzog, *Universalgeschichte der christlichen Kirche*, p. 400: Mainz, 1844.

² *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1st series, i., p. 480: Dublin, 1864-65.

one in the circumstances. Dr. MacCarthy, while his hand was in, might just as well have shifted it on as far as France and Germany, for it is found in *Ordines* of those countries too of the ninth or tenth century. 'Possibly, therefore,' as Warren says, 'the question was a necessity of the times rather than indicative of any special degradation in the morality of Ireland. It should also be remembered that marriages with persons occupying positions of spiritual affinity as well as with near kindred fell under the designation of incest.'¹ There is no use in closing one's eyes to facts. There is as little in crying 'Libel !' where no libel has been perpetrated. Marriage, with all its purity in the era of our saints, was not without its occasional abuse. The prohibited degrees were sometimes not sufficiently observed, and sometimes a man wedded the widow of his deceased brother. A *Synodus S. Patricii*, so called, though of a later age than our apostle, condemns this Jewish custom in its twenty-fifth canon, reciting the decree of an early Council of the Church.² It is also condemned in the ancient *Hibernicusis* Collection.³ Marriage with a deceased brother's widow was favoured by Clemens, the Irish heretic before mentioned, as St. Boniface notes,⁴ and the practice maintained some hold here as late, at least, as the twelfth century.⁵ It was, however, generally reprobated, and in the seventh century we have St. Kilian losing his life in Franconia, through female vengeance, for his efforts to break such a union between Duke Gozbert and Geilana. So much on matters matrimonial.

Dr. MacCarthy then descends to trifles, and I am constrained to follow his bad example.

¹ Warren, *Lectures on the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 151-152: Oxford, 1881.

² 'Audi decreta synodi: "Superstes frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendit, Domino dicente: Erunt duo in carne una." Ergo uxor fratris tui soror tuæ est.' See Villanueva, *Sacra Patris Hibernicæ Apostoli Synodi, Canonis, &c.*, p. 108: Dublin, 1835.

³ Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, p. 191: Leipzig, 1885.

⁴ See note 4., pp. 405-406.

⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hiberniæ*, dist. iii., c. 19, apud Camden, *Brit. Topog. Antiquæ, Hiberniæ, Cambrensiæ & Valentiniæ Scripta*, pp. 712-713: Frankfurt, 1603.

⁶ O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, viii., pp. 130-131: Dublin, n.d., Alzog, *Encyclopædie der katholischen Kirche*, p. 358: Mainz, 1844.

In the Memento of the Living, in the *Stowe Missal*, the Mass is stated to be offered, among other purposes, *pro . . . actuum emendatione eorum*, and construction shows that *eorum* is an error demanding correction. I amend it by [*? nostrorum*]: Dr. MacCarthy by [*r*]eorum. His emendation has the advantage of requiring only one letter: mine, *nostrorum*, makes the clause in question run in verbal consonance with the one in the preceding line, *pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum*. I keep to the orthography of the MS. The Holy Sacrifice is offered 'for the amendment of *guilty* actions' in Dr. MacCarthy's reading: 'for the amendment of *our* actions' in mine. Where is the difference in sense? Surely it is not so extreme that my conjecture should be made a fault. But Dr. MacCarthy has another hair to split. The Memento also has *uti eos in aeterna summae lucis quietae pietas divina suscipiat*, translated by me, 'that the divine piety may receive them into the eternal regions of sovereign light and peace.' Dr. MacCarthy suggests a construction which would translate, 'that the divine piety may receive them into the eternal rest of sovereign light.' Is the difference in sense between us worth all this quarrelling? It is a pity to see the I. E. RECORD space so wasted. The suggestion that I failed to recognise the *e* sound denoted by *ae* in *quietae* is not correct. I was well aware of it, but translated the clause as I did, for the sake of a little more roundness of expression than could be got from it by servilely observing the strict grammatical construction; and this without any injury to the general meaning. I have good translators on my side for such harmless departures from literality.¹ But to proceed. The *Stowe* Offertory has: *Sacrificium tibi domine celebrandum placatus intende quod et nos a uitiiis nostrae condicionis emundet, &c.*, which I translate: 'O Lord, graciously dispose the Sacrifice to be celebrated to Thee, that it may cleanse us from the

¹ Dr. Rock translates 'pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae' in the Commemoration of the Living, in the Ordinary of the Mass, 'for the health and salvation they hope for.' See his *Hierurgia*, i., p. 39: London, 1833. The construction is here entirely disregarded; yet, who will say that he has not given the true sense?

vices of our condition, &c.’¹ Dr. MacCarthy tells us (p. 169), that he ‘must play the pedagogue,’ and that the meaning is: ‘Graciously regard the Sacrifice,’ &c. I have examined a number of Latin Dictionaries, but none of them have ‘regard,’ or any synonym of ‘regard,’ among the significations of *intendere*. They give ‘design,’ ‘direct,’ ‘apply,’ &c. Substitute any of these for ‘dispose,’ and what is the amount of my error? Tried by the Dictionaries, I may claim an acquittal.

As to my emendation of a passage in the *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick, as we now have that *Life*, it is true that it has the *Book of Armagh* against it. It is no less true that there is nothing forced about the emendation, so simply is it made, as any reader will see who will consult my book;² and, remarkably enough, it brings the passage, so far, in accord with the *Tripartite* as possessed by Colgan, in very old MSS., not now known, and perhaps utterly lost. As far as my chain of argument is concerned, my suggested emendation may go by the board, if necessary. I have adduced facts enough, without its aid, to show that there were three bishops at our episcopal consecrations, and, if there were only two at Cairell’s, perhaps Cairell was only made a *chorepiscopus*. In that case one bishop was sufficient. The other may, of course, have assisted at the ceremony.

As regards the testimonies given in Irish, Dr. MacCarthy is not ordinarily reasonable when he selects ‘the arbitrary scribal joining and disjoining of words,’ to take exception to (p. 169), as a matter that ‘will scarcely afford “special satisfaction” (p. xiii.) to scholars.’ In quoting venerable writings, edited by Zimmer or Whitley Stokes, I am justified in adhering to their text, just as they themselves are in keeping to the well-known agglutination of words characteristic of the original MSS. which they edit. In this way the individuality of old literature is preserved and placed before the student; and many would have thought better of Dr. MacCarthy himself, if, in his edition of the *Stowe Missal*,

¹ *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, p. 89. Dublin, 1897.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

he had refrained from modernizing the orthography (though he does append clues to the state of the words in the original, on each page, in a host of notes), and had set forth the text of the MS. just as it stands, with all its quaint peculiarities, as in the edition given by Warren.

I come now to faults of the press. Man composes one thing: compositors sometimes compose another. Few books, especially learned books, are published without printers' errors. Dr. MacCarthy, *On the Stowe Missal*, contains a number. There are even some in his article in the I. E. RECORD. Distressing circumstances prevented me, during part of the time that my work was at the printer's, from giving that last attention to the press that I otherwise should have done. I know what it is to have marked errors for correction, and to have afterwards found the sheet, in one instance, to have passed to the machine uncorrected. Still, the work was most carefully proofed, as a whole. Dr. MacCarthy pitches upon the weakest spot; but page 231 is no fair or honest criterion of the remainder, and candour ought to have made him say so. It is not here a case of *Ex uno disce omnes*. In the other 230 pages, combined, there are not half as many errors of the press as there are in that one page. A Dr. MacCarthy is well able to correct page 231 for himself; to most persons, the page, though it were as free from *errata* as a page of a Bagster's Bible, would have to remain a dead letter. In over eleven hundred references, spread through some seven hundred and forty notes, there are not three figures astray. I have verified them, with the works before me, since the book came out. The printers' errors have been corrected in a number of the fifteen hundred copies sold since Patrick's Day, the date of publication. They are not of such a nature as to incommode any well-disposed or generous-minded reader. Only one is in any way unfortunate. In a note to page 22 it is said, of the Quartodecimans, that they kept Easter 'on the 14th March, no matter what day of the week it fell upon;' and, in another note, page 230, it is said: 'In strictness the Irish were not Quartodecimans. They did not celebrate Easter on the 14th March unless that date fell on a

Sunday.' In both cases my manuscript contains '14th moon,' not '14th March.' I suppose, as this seemed a kind of date, the compositor jumped at the erroneous reading.

I am next twitted (p. 169) for referring to 'an ancient treatise, in Irish, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*.' The original, Dr. MacCarthy says, is Latin. But if, as he also says, 'the sentences of this Latin original are respectively followed by versions, sometimes literal, sometimes paraphrastic, in the native tongue,' assuredly these versions constitute 'an ancient treatise, in Irish, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*;' and then wherein am I to be blamed?

In sense there is no shadow of difference between Dr. MacCarthy's translation of the passage pointed at, the Irish in this case forming the better illustration, and my gathering of its import; not represented, be it observed, as a quotation, as I have not marked it with inverted commas in my book; and I even find that a scholar like the Rev. Sylvester Malone makes a very similar collection from the same passage.¹ It is matter for regret that Dr. MacCarthy's criticism should so often resemble what lawyers call vexatious proceedings.

We arrive now at the last of his strictures as yet unnoticed. It has as little pith as its predecessors.

At pages 134-135 I deal, in connection with clerical celibacy, with an entry in the *Annals of Ulster*, in which it is stated that Archbishop O'Murray, who died in 1185, was 'buried at the feet of his father Bishop O' Coffey. I point to the dissimilarity of surnames, and remark, from this, that Bishop O' Coffey was apparently Archbishop O'Murray's 'father' only in the metaphorical sense. Dr. MacCarthy will have him to have been the 'father' in the natural sense. 'The most elementary knowledge of Irish,' he says, 'shows that the word was employed with the primary meaning.' Now there is nothing in the word itself to indicate this. Words, in all languages, remain the

¹ Malone, *Church History of Ireland*, i., p. 145: Dublin, 1880.

same—they undergo no change in themselves—whether employed in the primary or the metaphorical sense. Therefore, the passage itself will not enlighten us. True, Hennessy, the editor of the *Annals of Loch Cé*, suggests that the Archbishop's mother 'may' have been of the family of O'Murray, and that the Archbishop 'may' have adopted her name;¹ and true, also, Dr. MacCarthy takes these 'mays' to his bosom, in a short note on the *Annals of Ulster*.² But I challenge some proof that, in the Ireland of the twelfth century, children, especially sons, ever received, or took, their mother's name in preference to their father's; and until that is forthcoming, I claim to have given a not unreasonable solution of the difficulty. O'Donovan himself never thought of saying that Archbishop O'Murray was named after his mother. There is no evidence who his mother was. There is none that she was an O'Murray. All that O'Donovan could state, in explanation of a Bishop O'Coffey being an Archbishop O'Murray's 'father,' was, that it was 'very odd.'³ To him there would have been no 'oddity' in it had he known of any such practice as the one inferentially suggested, but supported by no proof, by Hennessy and Dr. MacCarthy.

A word now, in conclusion, on the tone of Dr. MacCarthy's article. It makes no compensating acknowledgments. From first to last he is all censure. He is not a critic with any art. My book, whatever its defects may be, is obviously one that cost much trouble. For the research and the patient toil which it represents it has received the kindest possible notices, even from the adverse Protestant press. It cannot evoke, however, a single genial word from Dr. MacCarthy. Its intention is laudable; it is not unlikely to do good; it is published with episcopal sanction; but all this cannot move him to a syllable of toleration. He is even quoted in it himself for the valuable information contained in his treatise, *On the Stowe Missal*, and opportunity is

¹ *Annals of Loch Cé*, i., p. 170: London, 1871.

² *Annals of Ulster*, ii., p. 205: Dublin, 1887-95.

³ *Annals of the Four Masters*, iii., p. 69: Dublin, 1856.

taken in the text to preface the mention of his name with an epithet of respect for his attainments; yet, courtesy and good taste dictate to Dr. MacCarthy to be the first Catholic to fall foul of my book, and to have no name for its author at all, but to refer to him throughout by the one monotonous expression, 'the compiler,' which is evidently used in the spirit of depreciation and contempt, and from which he might have varied occasionally if only for the improvement of his style; while he winds up his ungracious remarks with a sentence, in which Horace is cited for my benefit, and I am curtly advised to defer the appearance of my proposed enlarged edition for nine years.

Should Dr. MacCarthy decide to rally his dissipated forces, and advance once more at the head of his Anglo-Saxons, Franks, and Burgundians, with the other as yet unemployed levies hinted at by him in italics, I am not indisposed to encounter his motley hordes again, and may, perhaps, send them back to Youghal in the company of defeat.

JOHN SALMON.

DR. TROY, AS BISHOP OF OSSORY, 1776-1786

THE POLICY OF 'RALLY' AND CONCILIATION

A HISTORY of the episcopacy of Archbishop Troy would include a history of the Catholic Church of Ireland for almost half a century of one of the most eventful periods of her existence. The present writer cannot claim to have access to the documents which would be required in order to do justice to the long and memorable episcopacy of this illustrious Irish prelate. Still, it may not be amiss to make some effort to supply information which might be useful to historical students, almost a century after some of the most important events which rendered his episcopal rule one of the most momentous in Irish ecclesiastical history. John Thomas Troy was born of respectable parents near Lucan or Porterstown, Co. Dublin, May 10, 1739.¹ In his diary, published in the *I. E. RECORD*, May and June, 1872, he writes: 'While yet very young, I was removed to Smithfield, and sent to school in Liffey-street. I was received into the Order of the Most Holy Rosary, at Dublin, July 5, 1755.' The same diary informs us that he sailed from Dublin for Leghorn, on his way to Rome, February 18, 1756; and that he arrived in the City of the Popes, and commenced his ecclesiastical studies at the Dominican Convent of SS. Sixtus and Clement, April 11, of the same year. There he was ordained priest by Dominic Gindane, Patriarch of Antioch. There also he acted as Master of Novices, as Regent of Studies, and as Prior from 1763 to 1776. In the years 1768 and 1769, Father Troy was employed by his illustrious predecessor in the see of Ossory, Bishop Burke, to procure for him many important documents from the archives of the Vatican and other Roman

¹ The name Troy must have been formerly one of considerable importance in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny. The still surviving appellations Troy's Wood and Troy's Gate attest this. A beautiful antique embroidered silk escutcheon, bearing the Nolan-Troy arms, is in the possession of E. Nolan, Esq., Parliament-street.

libraries for the *Hibernia Dominicana*. Father Troy was then a bachelor of theology. Dr. Burke refers to him as—
'Troio isto bacculareo, non minus religioso, quam docto.'

Bishop Burke (De Burgo) having died, September 26, 1776, great efforts were made by influential personages in favour of a very distinguished and popular priest of Ossory, Dean Mulloy. In a letter written from Rome at this time by Mr. Stonor to Lord Fingall, he informed him that neither Mr. Mulloy 'nor the principal candidate opposed to him will be appointed, but a Mr. Troy, who, I am persuaded, had no such views, and who, from what I know of his piety, learning, and prudence, will give satisfaction to the clergy and people of Ossory.'

The Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Butler, having written to the Propaganda in favour of Dean Mulloy, was informed by the Cardinal Prefect, Castelli, that the Prior of St. Clement's had been already appointed, 'Vir pietate, doctrina, caeterisque optimo pastore dignis virtutibus commendatissimus.'

The Archbishop and his suffragans were at the same time exhorted to exercise their influence in favour of the new bishop, in order that he should be received by his subjects with becoming filial love and reverence. It is on record that Dr. Troy was the last episcopal nomination made by the 'Pretender.' If so, it brought very little advantage to the Stuarts, and it may have been one of the reasons why Dr. Troy was so little uneasy about granting the veto to the House of Brunswick. A record of his appointment and consecration, in his own handwriting, is preserved in the Ossory diocesan register.

It records that John Thomas Troy, Prior of the Convent of SS. Sixtus and Clement, Rome, and for about twenty-one years successively employed in all the offices of that community, was nominated to be Bishop of Ossory in a congregation of the Propaganda, held on the 26th November, 1776, at which Cardinals Castelli, Corsini, Visconti, Antonelli, Orsini, and the Secretary Borgia were present. The nomination was approved of and confirmed by Pope Pius VI., on Sunday, the 1st of December, and the Apostolic letter of the appointment stamped with the seal of the

Fisherman on the 16th of the same month. Dr. Troy did not leave Rome on his homeward journey until March 21, 1777. Probably he was receiving full instructions relating to the settlement of the Armagh controversy.

From his diary we learn that at Pistoja he paid a visit to General O'Reilly, formerly governor of that city, and that at Leghorn he was often hospitably entertained by Messrs. Cosgrave, McCarthy, and Brennan, a ship-chandler from Kilkenny. At Paris he met the Nuncio, who talked of the Test Oath; and at Versailles he met the King and Queen in their private way. Dr. Troy was consecrated on the 8th of June by His Excellency Ignatius Busca, Archbishop of Emessa, Nuncio of Flanders, assisted by two mitred abbots of the Premonstratensian Order—Joseph De Rondeau, Abbot of Grimberg, and Francis Genere, Abbot of Park, near Louvain, where the ceremony took place.

In order to counteract all feelings of opposition, the Bishop elect addressed his first pastoral to the chapter, clergy, and people of Ossory, Feb. 2, 1777. It was dated from outside the gates of Rome, and opens with a declaration that it had pleased the Almighty, the author of consolation and peace, whose ways are unsearchable, and judgments inscrutable, to summon such an insignificant, unprepared, and weak individual, and one not dreaming of any such dignity, from the secure harbour of the religious life to face the perils of the deep, and to undertake the guidance of the Church of Ossory.

He consoles himself with the reflection, that, according to the teaching of his Angelic Master, St. Thomas, God never elects any person to any special office or dignity without endowing that person with suitable and proportional graces. He refers to his immediate predecessor, Bishop Burke, as one whose life and episcopal rule was a bright example, and one calculated to reflect great lustre on the entire hierarchy, his own religious family—the Friars Preachers, and the Irish nation. For all the circumstances relating to himself, '*quae circa me sunt qui agam*,' he refers them to his illustrious metropolitan, Archbishop Carpenter. He concludes with a most earnest appeal for the assistance

of the prayers, in the first place, of the chapter, his crown and his joy; of the secular clergy called on to share in his pastoral solicitude; and of the regulars, '*Ecclesiae divitiae, et episcoporum coadjutores, quos in perfectionis spiritu ambulantes impense colo.*'

Dr. Troy took possession of his diocese, by procurator, on the 1st day of March. He reached Ireland, July 21, and arrived in Kilkenny on the 14th August, 1777. His residence during the time of his sojourn in the 'Marble City' was a very humble one-story cottage, on the north side of Dean-street, somewhat apart from the main thoroughfare, and under the shadow of the venerable Cathedral of St. Canice. It is now in ruins, but in its best days it could not have been a desirable residence.

The new Bishop pontificated for the first time in his diocese, August 17, in the parish church of St. Canice; and, by a special brief from Pius VI., was empowered to grant a plenary indulgence to all the faithful assisting at the ceremony.

Dr. Troy was honoured with the full confidence of the Holy See from the time of his arrival in Ireland. And he succeeded in retaining this confidence against very powerful undermining influences to the end of his career.

His first important employment was, when as Delegate Apostolic he restored his primatial jurisdiction to Archbishop Blake, and endeavoured to compose the unhappy differences that had arisen between the Primate and an influential section of the clergy of Armagh. As we learn from the *Renahan MSS.*, p. 113, Dr. Troy's conduct in the whole course of this affair was 'applauded in the highest strain of panegyric by his superiors,' notwithstanding the misrepresentations made against him at Rome, by a considerable number of his episcopal brethren.

October 25, 1777, there was a communication to the clergy of Ossory, written from Dublin, notifying to them that they were in future to make use of the Directory published there by Rev. Mr. J. Kelly.

His first Lenten Pastoral, dated Kilkenny, Feb. 7, 1778, prescribes the fast of Lent to be strictly observed; people

who might require a dispensation, from infirmity or feeble old age, were allowed the use of flesh meat on certain days, provided that they 'had it boiled, and the broth given to the poor.'

Dr. Troy came to Ireland with the intention of giving a strenuous support to the policy of 'rally' in favour of the house of Brunswick, and of their representatives in the Irish Government. This policy appears to have been inaugurated by Bishop Burke as early as 1760, in a pastoral in which he exhorted his people to behave themselves with all that respect and submission which becometh pious Christians and peaceable subjects, not giving the least shadow of offence to the Government; but, on the contrary, let your words and actions be such as deserve a continuance of that moderation and lenity which we experience these many years. Furthermore, we earnestly desire you to join us in offering most fervent prayers to the all-merciful God, beseeching His Divine Majesty to preserve this kingdom from intestine war, or any other national calamity. A similar exhortation was read from the altars of the archdiocese of Dublin, Oct. 2, 1757. The above was repeated on the occasion of the fast ordered by the Government in 1762; and the people were exhorted to avoid 'all tumults, especially when soldiers were being enlisted for His Majesty's service.' In the pastoral published against the Whiteboys, Nov., 1764, Bishop Burke reminds them, that, if they think themselves grieved in any respect, they might seek redress by lawful ways and means:—

They ought to be amenable to the laws of the nation, and not to provoke the Government, which is mild beyond expression. Hence, in the name of the Roman Catholic Church, I abhor and detest their doings, and I declare that their combination oath does not bind them. Wherefore I command them to behave as peaceable subjects, and so deserve a continuance of that lenity and moderation we have experienced these many years past. Otherwise, I will punish them to the utmost of the power I have from God and the Church. I am not only encouraged, but likewise requested to do so by personages in power. To be read in an audible voice, and to be explained in Irish from the altar for three Sundays,

In the Ossory register, a note is appended to the above stating, that it was published in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, *The Dublin Gazette*, in the *News Occurrences*, *The Dublin Gazetteer*, *The Universal Advertiser*, *The Dublin Courier*, *Freeman's Journal*, *The London Chronicle*, and many other newspapers. In 1771, under the viceroyalty of Lord Townsend, an Act was passed enabling Catholics to lease and reclaim fifty acres of bog, and one-half an acre of arable land adjoining thereto, as a site for a house, but it should not be within a mile of any city or town.

This policy of conciliation and loyalty to the King and Government, was taken up and urged on the Catholics of Ireland by Dr. James Butler of Cashel, Dr. Moylan of Cork, but above all by Dr. Troy. It has been the means of saving our national Church in trying times from terrible perils, if not from destruction, and of raising her to her present position of prosperity, and of world-wide renown and beneficence. In the stress of the war with the American colonies, a proclamation was issued by the Viceroy, Lord Buckingham, for a general fast. As on a previous occasion, in 1762, copies were forwarded to all the Catholic bishops. Dr. Troy, in a letter written to Archbishop Carpenter of Dublin, Feb. 18, 1878, gives his reasons for publishing the Government fast :—

Your opinion on the propriety of publishing the Government fast coincides with mine. Our neighbours of Munster deserve no compliment, and their example is no rule for me. Other circumstances, however, make me apprehend that my silence on the occasion would be misinterpreted, perhaps to the disadvantage of the clergy of this diocese in general; the spirit of Whiteboyism is not yet extinct in this county, and jurors, and non-jurors equally wish for opportunities to show their abhorrence of every combination against Government.

The following pastoral was accordingly published on Sunday, Feb. 22. It is remarkable for its reference to the war with the American colonies, and as introducing for the first time, in prayers publicly offered up by Irish

Catholics, the names of a Protestant king, queen, and viceroy:—

DEAR CHRISTIANS,—You have been frequently reminded of the obedience you owe to the powers whom the Almighty has appointed to rule over us. Your pastors and teachers have not ceased to inculcate and enforce that indispensable duty after the example of our Divine Redeemer, who commands us to ‘give unto Cæsar what belongeth to Cæsar, and unto God what belongeth to God.’

You have experienced the lenity of Government in the execution of penal laws which continue to distinguish you from other subjects, notwithstanding your irreproachable demeanour in times of temptation and trial.

Impressed, as I know you are, with these considerations of duty and gratitude, I cannot doubt of your persevering endeavours to merit an increase of indulgence from His Majesty, and every other branch of the legislature. A cheerful compliance with this important obligation is particularly requisite in these days of discord and calamity. . . . And whereas it has pleased His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council to order a general fast on Friday next, the 27th inst., I desire you will observe the same with that religious decency and exactness which are expressive of compunction and a lively feeling of our present situation. Offer up your most fervent prayers on that occasion for the spiritual and temporal happiness of our Most Gracious Lord and Sovereign King George the Third, his Royal Consort and Family, approach with confidence the Supreme Ruler of Empires and States, by whom kings reign and legislators determine what is first, humbly imploring Him to direct His Majesty’s Councils and render him the happy instrument of a speedy, honourable, and lasting reconciliation between Great Britain and all her once flourishing colonies in America, without further effusion of blood.

Your love for your native country will induce you to recommend this poor kingdom in your prayers, and also His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Governor thereof, who like his Royal Master has nothing more at heart than the happiness of all His Majesty’s subjects, without distinction. I wish you all every blessing, and am, &c., &c.,

JOHN T. TROY.

The above was printed in Finn’s *Leinster Journal*, Kilkenny, and in all the Dublin newspapers. Writing to Dr. Sweetman of Ferns, September 24, same year, Dr. Troy refers to ‘the alarmed Protestant strictures on my pastoral letter, and the different replies.’

In a letter to Dr. Carpenter, written from Kilkenny, March 13, he informs him that his letter publishing the Government fast 'pleased everyone here, particularly the non-jurors.' The non-jurors were those who did not wish to take the test or oath of allegiance, which was then a source of so much controversy amongst Irish Catholics.

Dr. Troy informs the Bishop of Ferns, December 23, 1778, that he had long reconciled his mind to the formulary, and that he had declared his opinion and resolution to his clergy without an injunction on any person to adopt them; and in a letter to the same prelate, dated Kilkenny, April 1, 1779, he states, 'Last Monday I took and subscribed the famous test oath in the court-house of this city before the Attorney-General Scott (afterwards Lord Clonmell); the major part of my clergy and a prodigious number of the laity went through the same ceremony. I fancy you will think this an odd preparation for Easter.'

Dr. Troy also wrote a letter on the same subject to his Metropolitan, Dr. Carpenter of Dublin, October 28, 1778, which had the effect of removing his hesitation, as after much consultation he also subscribed the oath in open court. The advantage to be gained by subscribing this oath was the Catholics might thereby, from the Act of the Irish Parliament passed the previous year, take, enjoy, and dispose of a lease for 999 years certain, or determinable on the dropping of five lives, and that the lands then seised by Catholics should in future be descendable, devisable, or alienable, as fully as if they were in the seisin of any other subject of His Majesty. It was no longer in the power of a child to dispossess his parents by pretending to become a Protestant. Catholic priests were allowed to celebrate Mass, and their flocks to assist at Mass without incurring the penalties previously exacted.

This was the first important breach made in the fortress of the penal enactments, and Archbishop Butler and Dr. Troy are entitled to their full share of credit for their part in such a successful and far-reaching effort. The eulogium passed by Mr. Burke on another Co. Kilkenny man, Sir Hercules Langrishe, who was one of the warmest supporters

of the Emancipation Bill in the Irish House of Commons may be applied to his fellow-county-man, Dr. Butler, and to the Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Troy :—

My opinion ever was (in which I heartily agreed with those that admired the old penal code) that it was so constructed, that if there was once a breach in any essential part of it, the ruin of the whole, or nearly of the whole, was, at some time or other, a certainty. For that reason I honour, and shall for ever honour and love you, who first caused it to stagger, crack, and gape. Others may finish; the beginners have the glory; and take what part you please at this hour, your first service should never be forgotten by a grateful country.

We have on record a striking effect of the policy of ‘ rally ’ and of the loyalty of Dr. Troy and of the Irish Catholic Bishops. Theobald M’Kenna relates that :—

In 1780, when the French Court made preparations to invade Ireland, very high offers were held out to any *Irish Priest*, who would embark in the expedition. There were above two hundred on the foundation of the Irish College at Paris. I recollect that the proposal was made and rejected unanimously and indignantly. I understand it was repeated through the entire French dominions with the same effect.¹

On the 27th January, 1779, another pastoral was published for the purpose of further impressing on the faithful the duty of loyalty and submission to their temporal rulers :—

As to the fast ordered by the Government, on Wednesday, the 10th of next month, I require you to exhort your several congregations to the observance thereof, and to join all other good subjects in fervent prayers for success to His Majesty’s arms by sea and land; and a speedy, honourable, and lasting reconciliation and peace with all the enemies of these kingdoms. On that occasion, you will not fail to inculcate the sentiments of loyalty, respect, and gratitude to Government, expressed in my circular letters of the 20th February, and the 10th September, 1778.

This pastoral concludes with a repetition of the sentence of excommunication, fulminated against the Whiteboys, by Bishop Burke, in September, 1775. The same censure was again fulminated in a more solemn and impressive form by Dr. Troy, October, 1779.

¹ *Thoughts on the Civil Condition, &c., of the Roman Catholic Clergy*, p. 52.

The following notice has reference to a celebrated abduction case, fully described in all the magazines of the closing years of the last century :—

On Saturday, December 2nd, 1780, Messrs. Garrett Byrne, James and Patrick Strange, were executed in Kilkenny for forcibly carrying away Catherine and Anne Kennedy. It was afterwards rumoured about the city that the High Sheriff refused the Roman Catholic clergy admittance into the jail during the confinement of said Byrne and the Stranges. Therefore, it was thought proper to publish the following lines from the different altars of Kilkenny: 'Whereas it has been reported through this city and neighbourhood that John Warren, Esq., High Sheriff of this County, refused the Roman Catholic clergy admittance into the jail upon a late occasion, we think it incumbent on us to declare in this solemn and public manner that said report is entirely groundless, as we had access to the prisoners whenever we required it.'

A new Catholic Relief Bill had been introduced, January, 1782, into the Irish House of Commons, by Mr. Gardiner (afterwards Lord Mountjoy, killed at the battle of New Ross). Its progress was slow and very much disputed, although advocated by some of the ablest and most eloquent members of the House, viz.:—Sir H. Langrish, Mr. Connolly, Mr. Ponsonby, Kilkenny county; Mr. Hussey Burgh, the Provost of Trinity; Sir Boyle Roche, Gowran; Mr. Mossom, Kilkenny city; the Attorney-General, Mr. Scott, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Mr. Grattan. In the meantime the Volunteers held their Convention at Dungannon, February 15, and passed the following (14th) resolution :—'Resolved, that as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the Union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.'

Within five days after the passing of this resolution, Mr. Gardiner, the sponsor of the Bill, declared to the House that 'he was happy to find that the liberal spirit of toleration which had originated in that House, had so universally diffused itself through the whole kingdom; and he rejoiced that in the north, where ill-nature had supposed that prejudice would prevail, benevolence was seen to flourish.'

Mr. Grattan, in giving his constant support to the

measure, bore the following testimony in favour of his Catholic countrymen :—

When this country had resolved no longer to crouch beneath the burden of oppression that England had laid upon her ; when she armed in defence of her rights, and a high-spirited people demanded a free trade, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen ? No ; they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue : they did not endeavour to take advantage of your situation ; they did not endeavour to make terms for themselves, but they entered frankly and heartily into the cause of the country, judging by their own virtue that they might depend on your generosity for their reward.

The Act, when passed, enabled Catholics to take, sell, and dispose of lands and hereditaments in the same manner as Protestants, except advowsons and manors, or boroughs returning members for Parliament. It removed several penalties from such of the secular clergy as shall have taken the oath and been registered, and from the regular clergy then within the kingdom. Officiating in a church or chapel with a steeple or bell would deprive them of the benefit of the Act. It repealed several of the most obnoxious parts of the Acts of Anne and George I. and II.—such as the power given to a magistrate to fine and imprison every Papist refusing to appear and declare upon oath when and where he heard Mass, who celebrated and assisted at it, and the residence of any Popish ecclesiastic, prohibiting a Papist to have a horse of the value of £5 under certain penalties, or to take or purchase a house in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs thereof, giving power to grand juries to compel Catholics to make good the depredations committed by robbers in the country in which they resided. The Act also enabled Catholics, except ecclesiastics, to be guardians to their own or any other Popish child. It did not enable them to take any, even the lowest, office of trust or profit, to vote at an election, to be freemen in a corporation, to serve on a grand jury, to become barristers, solicitors, &c. But Catholic schoolmasters, on taking the oath of allegiance, and with the license of the Protestant Bishop of the diocese, were permitted to instruct Catholic scholars in their own (Catholic)

schools. One of the first of the Irish bishops to take advantage of this Act was Dr. Troy.

Writing to Dr. Fallon, Bishop of Elphin, September 23, and November 9, 1782, he informs him that :—

The Education Act does not regard the clergy as such, but is confined to schoolmasters, who can teach in future with impunity on taking the oath of allegiance, and obtaining a license from the respective Protestant Bishops. I have intimated a Diocesan Synod for next year, and ordered my clergy to provide themselves with soutanes, surplices, and caps, to be made use of within the precincts of our places of worship. The enclosed printed paper will explain the nature and design of an academy now erecting here. I have the pleasure to assure you it meets with general approbation and encouragement.

In the Diocesan Register, under date September 4, 1783, the following entry appears in the handwriting of Dr. Troy :—‘ The Rev. John Dunne, Con-Rector of the Kilkenny Academy, is appointed Canon of Tasscoffin ; Rev. James Lanigan, Con-Rector of the Kilkenny Academy becomes Canon of Killamery.’

These two distinguished clergymen became the immediate successors of Dr. Troy. Dr. Dunne ruled the see of Ossory from 1787 to 1789, and Dr. Lanigan from 1789 to 1812. In the letter of Cardinal Antonelli to Dr. Lanigan, intimating his appointment as bishop, the school is mentioned in the most flattering terms. The site of the old Kilkenny Catholic Academy had been at one time occupied by a member of the Clifden family, and the occupation of such a house by Catholics for a Catholic school was then considered an immense progress for the Papist Church. The Academy was at that time chosen for the education of the children of the most respectable Catholic families of Ireland. It numbered amongst its pupils Shee and Clarke, who rose to great honours in the French army, under the Republic and Napoleon. The learned Dr. Milner, in a letter written to Edmund Burke, mentions that he visited the old Catholic Academy of Kilkenny whilst the public examinations were being held, and that—‘ The Established Bishop, who was formerly Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, frequently honours the examinations there with his presence, and was expected the morning when I attended.’

It appears that the custom of wearing garlands and other decorations, generally known as May Balls, because given by young married people, and carried about on the 1st day of May, was at one time very prevalent in different parts of Ireland, and a cause of much scandal. Dr. Troy published an order, December 12, 1782, commanding his priests not to administer Sacraments to any person or persons who shall hereafter demand or give said May Balls, or call for money, liquor, or anything else in place of them, till such transgressors declare their repentance and promise amendment before the assembled congregation. The first child of any couple giving May Balls was to be baptized in the parish chapel!

In 1781 the disunion amongst the Volunteers upon the question of granting the Parliamentary franchise to the Catholics had a most injurious effect. The bond of union was in some measure broken, and the divisions were encouraged by the Government. In the Munster diocese, and from thence to Ossory and Ferns, there was a revival of the Whiteboys, now calling themselves "Right Boys," led by an imaginary "Captain Right." These not only committed outrages against the tithe-proctors, agents, and middlemen, but even went so far as to prohibit the usual offerings to their own clergy.

Archbishop Butler and the Munster Prelates, as we learn from the Renehan MSS., pp. 346 and 347, not content with denouncing the members of this illegal and sinful confederacy, made strict regulations against any unreasonable or rigorous exaction of dues. Dr. Troy acted in like manner. His ordinance regulating the amount and manner of collecting dues was published in the parish of Camross, Queen's County, and is so lenient in favour of the laity that one cannot imagine by what contrivances the unfortunate clergy were able to keep themselves alive and in working order. This ordinance is only to be found in the old parochial registry of Castletown, Queen's County, and is dated August 29, 1786. The clergy of Ossory were amongst the most determined opponents of the veto, and were almost unanimous in supporting the celebrated declaration or address of Dean O'Donnell, of Kilkenny, which started such

a strong wave of public opinion contra, as eventually submerged that ill-starred measure.

February 1, 1783, a circular letter was read from all the altars of the diocese, announcing the glad tidings of the peace lately concluded between the contending powers, and inviting the faithful to join in fervent thanksgiving for this long-wished-for blessing; and, likewise, 'for the religious toleration and freedom of trade which they then enjoyed.'

A Pastoral which attracted much public notice, and is dated, November 12, 1784, concludes as follows :—

We condemn these deluded offenders (White or Right Boys), who call themselves Roman Catholics, as scandalous and rotten members of our Holy Church, from which they have been already cut off by sentence of excommunication, solemnly fulminated against them in all the chapels of the diocese. We cannot conclude without beseeching you, dearest Christians, to join us in fervent and constant prayer for the speedy conversion of these unthinking creatures. Their condition is truly deplorable in this life, exposed by their nocturnal excursions and wanton depredations, to sickness, loathsome imprisonment, and an infamous death; whilst in the next their obstinacy will be punished with endless torture. May our gracious God, by His efficacious grace avert this greatest of all evils, and thereby prevent the bitter recollection of their having disregarded our timely and pastoral admonitions.

We shudder at the very apprehension of the manifold evils which must necessarily ensue to themselves, to their families, and to their country, from a continuation of their unwarrantable proceedings.

It being equally our wish and duty to promote the happiness of mankind in general, and that of our country and flock in particular, we shall invariably conduct ourselves in a manner becoming ministers of the Gospel, and members of society; uninfluenced by fear, or any worldly consideration, we are determined to adopt such further means as shall be found conducive to the above-mentioned and other great objects of our vocation.

The Duke of Rutland, who was then Lord Lieutenant, had the following acknowledgment of the merits of the Pastoral conveyed to the Bishop of Ossory :—

DUBLIN CASTLE,

20th November, 1784.

SIR,—I read with pleasure your forcible and well-timed exhortation to the Roman Catholics of the Diocese of Ossory

upon the re-appearance in the County of Kilkenny of these execrable rioters, formerly called Whiteboys. I thought it a justice to you to lay it before the Lord Lieutenant, and I have his commands to assure you of the great satisfaction he feels on the part you have taken for the preservation of the peace, and preventing the unhappy consequences which must follow from those wicked and deluded people persisting in such outrageous violation of the law.

I trust your endeavours will have that success which they merit,¹ and which claim the esteem of all good men.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS ORDE.

It was during the time of Dr. Troy's sojourn in Ossory, that an important and prolonged discussion was started as to the reception of, and the advisability of publishing the law of clandestinity, and its effect on the validity of mixed marriages in Ireland. Dr. Troy was in favour of the receipt and publication of the law, but he wished that the marriage of a Protestant and a Catholic should be regarded as valid in Ireland without observing the form of the Council of Trent, if no other impediment intervened.

His letters on this subject may be seen in the Renehan MSS., pp. 441 to 451. They are masterpieces of reasoning and judgment, and prove that their author must have been deeply versed in the knowledge of theology and canon law. Although he was at this time only Bishop of Ossory, he succeeded in bringing over to his views the entire Irish Church, together with the Roman Propaganda. The question was finally discussed in the presence of Pius VI., March the 3rd, 1785, and a decree, signed by Cardinal Antonelli, given in favour of the opinion advocated with so much ability by Dr. Troy, from the year 1777.

N. MURPHY, P.P.

¹ They may not have had any immediate visible success, but it is remarkable how comparatively free Ossory and the Munster dioceses were from the '98 movement. How was such a change brought about?

WINGED WORDS OF FATHER KNEIPP

IN the matter of eating and drinking we should think rather of our stomach than of our palate.

* * *

The finest children are to be found amongst the poorest people, who live on potatoes and bread soup.

* * *

I was brought up on potatoes and bread, and at eighteen years of age I was a powerful fellow.

* * *

My native home was an old cabin. There was a little window in it, which stood wide open, winter and summer; under that window I slept.

* * *

The night air is in no wise poisonous; if it were, all the birds would die.

* * *

The Kur-guests are always in too great a hurry. When they have been doctored for years elsewhere, they come to Wörishofen, and ask for instructions how to treat themselves at home, and want to be off by the next train.

* * *

People think they have only to come to Wörishofen and produce their diseases; then the old Pfarrer blows on them and they are well.

* * *

Put a fashionable boot on the floor beside your foot, and just see how far the work of the bootmaker corresponds to the work of the Creator.

* * *

Who walks barefoot will never have a headache.

* * *

For the healthy, cold water is an excellent means of preserving health and strength ; for the infirm, it is the most natural, the simplest, the cheapest, and, if rightly applied, the surest means of cure.

* * *

Madame Influenza has no more dreaded enemy than cold water.

* * *

I say it to you in all truth, whatever is curable can be cured by water.

* * *

You must not think that I invented the water-cure, or that I got it out of books ; I simply learned it from experience.

* * *

I should like to teach the whole world what they ought to do ;—if I had only time enough.

* * *

When a man is seventy years old, as I am, he is like a soldier on furlough, who knows not the moment he may be called back.

G. M.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF ANGLICANISM

WHEN the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century began to take shape, it alarmed those who believed in an indestructible Catholic Church. When in later centuries, the Bible and English dominion went hand in hand, and when, together with her losses on the Continent, the Catholic Church had lost her hold on the English throne and the English people: it seemed, for a time, as if the Church which Jesus Christ established was about to be superseded, or rivalled, by the institutions of men. But, as was natural to expect, the spiritual kingdom could not prosper in the keeping of the temporal monarch. And the Church of England, divorced from her spouse by the monarch who had divorced his wives, pined, as in bondage, in the hands of his successors. And after three hundred years we find that, even in England, the boasted conquest of the Reformation, the cloud is breaking, and the 'city on the mountain' begins to appear in her ancient comeliness.

If the diminishing proportions, and waning influences, of the Church of England indicated a corresponding growth of the Catholic Church, then indeed would the harvest be great. But this is not so. For although we see small, perhaps increasing, numbers of converts, and greater numbers who by conviction, or by the fear of coming danger, are drawn to the threshold of the Vatican; the tendency of the vast majority is to the broad ways of indifference, or infidelity, or of creeds whose definite teaching retains scarcely a vestige of Christianity.

This tendency is manifest from the way in which parents choose to have their children educated. There are two systems of primary education in the country: one established and endowed, the other tolerated and inadequately assisted. The former may be said to be purely secular, the latter combines religious with secular instruction. In the former, known as the Board School system, all dogmatic teaching is excluded. The doctrines of the Blessed Trinity and the

Incarnation would be irregular, because they may be offensive to the consciences of Unitarians or others. And the moral teaching is scarcely nominally religious. And, even if it were in accordance with the moral laws of the Gospel, there is nothing to give it a hold on the minds of the children ; it is put before them on no authority that can command their respect. Perhaps an example would best explain my meaning. A correspondent from one of the London newspapers, some short time ago, visited various schools, and gave a description of the religious instructions he had heard. In a Board school the teacher was explaining the Parable of the Ten Virgins, and his explanation was to this effect. Several boys were invited to a wedding ; but were first sent on errands. Some went directly and brought their messages, and went to the wedding ; while others delayed, looking in at shop windows, and were late ; and he gravely informed the children that these latter boys were not asked to any more weddings. The moral he drew from the parable was punctuality. And this is the divine teaching confided by Jesus Christ to His Apostles, and by His Apostles to the nations ! Surely this is not religion, even in its broadest sense. Would it not be better if the very name of religion were excluded ? For it might then be brought to the knowledge of those children, in after years, that there was a treasure of sacred truth they had not heard of. But when religion is first profaned, and then offered to them ; they will grow up, thinking that they have as children learned Christianity, which as men they cannot respect ; since it was put before them with the same authority, and the same worth, as Æsop's Fables.

And if we apply the wise test of the Gospel, judge the tree by the fruit, we arrive at the same conclusion. For those who have been educated in Board schools practise no religion. They believe in the Christian law as far as it coincides with the civil law. By their duty as Christians they understand their duty as citizens. And for the future, they have a vague doubtful trust in some undefined providence. It is only twenty-five years since this system of secularism was adopted, and now half the children of

England are educated in it. Take then from the schools, where religion is taught, the Catholics and Jews; and the remnant represents the numbers of the rising generation, in the once powerful, prosperous, Anglican Church. And a large proportion of those who are trained in Anglican schools, and profess membership of that communion, grow out of the practice of their religion, as they grow out of their boyhood; and think no more of the Church, when they have left the school. This is true, especially of the cities, and large towns; for in the country districts the old subserviency still exists, and the people are found at church, for the service of God, or to catch the eye, and gain the graces of the squire and parson. It was estimated last year, by some of the newspapers, that four-fifths of the population of London never enter a place of worship, and unfortunately the number is not exaggerated. And when the Non-conformists, and Catholics whose proportionate attendance is much the largest of any denomination, are subtracted, we can form some idea of the practical strength of the Anglican Church, in the metropolis of more than four millions. Nor is this the worst, for we must bear in mind that the Church of England, besides her decay, and her losses, has still to reckon the difficulty of reconciling the many jarring sections that dwell within her fold. There are High Church, and Low Church, and elements of dissension breeding in each of those, which have no bond of sympathy between them, except the golden bond of endowment while they remain within the broad lines of the Established Church. All this goes to show how much those were mistaken, who thought that by a reunion with the most advanced High Church Anglicans, they could bring about the conversion of the whole, or the majority of the English people.

But I would here caution my readers lest they may conclude from what has been said, that the Church of England has already passed away; that there remains but some ruined gable of the great imposing edifice that was raised on the sands of human power. For she still comprises many millions of subjects, who are heart and soul devoted to, or at least in sympathy with, her welfare. And the millions

whom she can no longer reckon as hers are, to a great extent, the poor, or those who are in the lower grade of the social scale; so that she still possesses her wealthy patrons, and, endowed at home, can disburse her thousands of pounds to those, who go as missionaries to the heathens, and practise the charity which begins at home, by providing themselves with temporal, and promising themselves eternal, welfare. And other thousands of charities endowed, or charities subscribed, are in her hands, for the pious use of encouraging worshippers to attend her churches at home. The visiting lady goes her rounds with the Bible in one hand, and a shilling in the other, to pay for the privilege of reading to those who will hear and receive. The excursion, or the free holiday in the country, or by the seaside, is held out to the denizens of the city, as an inducement to attend the services in the churches. And need I say that even yet the Catholic, who has faith to sell, can find a market for it, and sell it at a premium. The pieces of silver are ever ready for the purchase of a betrayal. And the pious Protestants think it a most godly use for their Church's wealth to purchase the hated, the jealously-dreaded Roman faith. But it must be said that the spirit of proselytism, which inspired their ancestors, has much diminished; perhaps, because the needs of their own household are sufficient to occupy their energy.

It is evident from what has been said that the Church of England is not what she used to be, in power or influence, and like all things human, time has brought about the beginning of her dismemberment. But will she be won back to the fold of salvation, and how? Or will she drift into that broad Christianity which differs but little from infidelity, and what then? Two ways of bringing her back to her place in the true Church have been suggested; reunion, and reconversion. The reunion movement has deceived many. It began in the Anglican community, or rather in that portion of it known as Ritualists, and it does not seem as if it were destined to bring about any appreciable results. When they had adopted almost every paragraph of the Catholic Ritual, when the parson sat down to act as minister in the much-abused confessional, and vested as the Catholic

priest attempted to celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass, which his ancestors since the Reformation had declared idolatrous; when Protestants invoked the Virgin Mary, and declared the Pope the first bishop in Christendom; then it might be said, there was needed only to arrange a few details of discipline, and call them Catholics once more. But, narrow as the space which separates truth from error may seem, still a vast deep chasm heaves between them. Those were only advanced outposts of the Anglican communion, and those who would follow them would be comparatively few. And even the most advanced would still regard England as a national branch of a Universal Church, as a branch establishing in itself, laws and customs, and discipline, not in keeping with, or contrary to, those observed in the Catholic Church. In a word, they would be with us, not of us; they would claim to be a sister, rather than a child; a self-sufficient Church which did not need the spiritual waters from the spiritual rock.

Reunion of this sort would be impossible, or undesirable; and therefore, the two methods are reduced to one reunion by re-conversion. And we can expect to see the Church of England brought back to Catholic unity, only when individually, or bodily, her members renounce the faith they hold, and embrace that which their ancestors, some few centuries ago, renounced. There are many difficulties which bar the way to this reunion, the difficulty of prejudice, the difficulty of the position in which the Anglican clergy find themselves, and the difficulty of renouncing the laxity of conscience which Protestantism permits. Those are human, is there a higher difficulty between God and the nation that renounced His truth? The depths of His wisdom are too great for us. And in reviewing those difficulties it seems as if the first were likely soon to become the least.

The day has passed, or soon shall have, when the Protestant threw up his hands in pious horror, and raised his indignant voice against the imaginary abominations of 'Popery.' In sermons, in prints, in conversation, the gospel promulgated as the religion of Protestant England used to be: trust in God, hate the Pope, and glory in the

liberty and enlightenment of the national Church; and then all was heaven, no matter how often God's Commandments might be violated. This bigotry against Catholics has, to a great extent, disappeared; and when Leo XIII. declared Anglican orders invalid, we no longer see the tide of indignation which burst over the country when, nearly half a century ago, Pius IX. re-established a Catholic hierarchy. Nevertheless there exists, here and there through the country, much latent prejudice against us, which may fester anew into violence at any moment. There is still much of the old bitterness against Rome handed down from father and son, and the decline of prejudice corresponds with the decline of Protestant faith. Liberty and tolerance for Catholics have been warmly supported by, and owe much to those who had little, if any, faith themselves; and cared but little what others professed. And they have contributed to form the public opinion which forbids too greedy a display of public bigotry. But even yet, where Protestant faith is strong, there lurks much prejudice against the spiritual sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff, and it is a difficulty in the way of conversion.

But, apart from this prejudice, this fear of the Pope's jurisdiction, real or simulated, there are many ties which bind the Anglicans fast to the position they occupy. The people, as far as they follow religion, are naturally guided by their clergy, and for the clergy change of faith will lead in many instances to destitution. They cannot fulfil the office of priests in the Catholic Church, for they are men of wives and families. And the sacrifice of celibacy in Catholic clergy, even for a limited time, and under extraordinary circumstances, would strike a blow at the noblest endowment, and most attractive feature of Latin Christendom; and would lower the Church to such an extent in the eyes of her children, and in the eyes of the world, that it would take very many conversions to compensate her loss. And it is to be feared that this is a serious obstacle in the way of many ministers, who feel themselves drawn towards the Catholic Church. It is to be feared that the cry of the

children for bread, and of the wife for comfort, has stifled the cry of many a conscience seeking greater certainty and security of faith.

The day the Church of England submitted to force, and placed herself under the patronage of, and bargained servitude to, the state, for a state endowment, she was bound by a golden chain to the throne of the monarch, and that chain is still strong and hard to break. The day she acknowledged the monarch as her head, she gave to Cæsar the things that were God's, and she has ever since remained the servant of Cæsar, and not the servant of God. And how far the way, how trying the journey, to Rome must seem to the Archbishop of Canterbury, when it would cost him £15,000 a year. If the conscience points there, as in many instances it does, the cost is a sordid motive to bar the way to rewards a hundredfold; but man is not all soul, his motives are not all spiritual; a doubtful conscience, and a comfortable home are often weighed against, and preferred before, what seems the securer, but rougher, way to heaven. 'The young man went away sad, for he had great possessions.'

Would it not then be a benefit to the Church of England if she were disestablished by the state? would it not instil new life into her if she were thrown on her own efforts for maintenance? Disestablishment might have had this effect before the Church had lost, as she now has, her high place in the esteem of the people; but now it is too late; she has grown fat, and morbid, and feeble, in the luxury of her state alliance. And besides the English people are not yet prepared for disestablishment. Ever since their heresy of the sixteenth century a national Church has been part of their national pride. When an Englishman sees qualities he admires in those of other nationalities, he says how like an Englishman. In his own mind he himself is the model of what man should be, and his nation the model of perfect nations; and he claims not only a model kingdom of earth, but also a model kingdom of heaven. He will have no religious jurisdiction unless its source and administration are English. He regards the Pope as a foreign prelate ever plotting for the destruction of his liberty. And he forgets that in the kingdom

of salvation there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. He forgets that the human nature of Jesus Christ was Galilean, and that the Apostles He appointed teachers and rulers in His kingdom were also many of them Galileans, and none of them Englishmen. He forgets that the Popes so hated were, like their Master, enduring prisons and death for the Christian Gospel, while yet Englishmen were searching the heavens and the earth to find an idol for their worship. It is true, however, that the position of the Church of England is due more to statesmen than to churchmen. The state is the keeper of the will of the Church, and requires that the Church should sway the consciences of the people according to the purposes, religious or otherwise, of the state; and when she can no longer do this she shall have served her political purpose, and disestablishment may come; and one difficulty, at least, to England's conversion shall be removed.

But I do believe that one of the greatest hindrances to England's conversion is generally overlooked. The fall of the country into heresy has been followed by the lapse of great and increasing numbers into indifference, if we may not call it infidelity. The loss of faith, however, was followed by the loss of moral virtues; so that we see a tendency to the repetition of cause and effect, as described by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, where he treats of the religion of the heathens. And England having lost the moral virtues with her ancient faith, both obstacles have to be overcome, she must ascend the steps she has descended, before the Church, without spot or wrinkle, can regain her lost dominions. Liberty of conscience was the watchword of England's apostacy; and it meant liberty from the law of God, liberty for every excess, while the Saviour was called upon to remain on Calvary, and bleed and die, that a fallen people may trust in Him, and go from a life of sin to the life in heaven. This religion was bound to fail; it was the offspring of private judgment, and the gates of hell were too strong for private judgment. And the result was that God was driven from the people's

hearts; then He left their national Church. Will those who threw off His yoke renounce their false liberty, pay homage to His law, and to His Church? and when? The answer will decide the question of England's future religion.

But beneath the superficial indifference, which seems spreading fast amongst the English people, there lies a strong Christian respect for the supernatural, and a yearning for the knowledge of it. They will have a religion; every people must be compelled by the conviction of their own conscience; and England will soon want a religion. For the Anglican Church is doomed; losing in numbers, losing in influence, she is passing slowly, but steadily, to the end of all things human. With contending elements within her, High Church, Broad Church, and Evangelicals, she may at any moment, be divided into many so-called Churches; she is, in reality, only a name embracing many sects. Divided against herself she cannot stand. Dissensions within her, and the contempt rather than the hostility of her enemies, will decide her fate. The fingers are beginning to trace the fatal *Manc* on her walls. And Nonconformity—thus the beliefs of dissenters from the Church of England are named—will never be, in any of its forms, the religion of the nation. It cannot convince the intellect; it does not appeal to the heart; it is too thin, too cold; its seeds are too near the surface; and beneath the sun of unbelief, which is testing every seed, they will be scorched, and because they have not root they will wither away.

But when all those have failed, when the absence of a Church, the want of a religion for the nation will lead to the desire of it, who will be there to give it? Where else can we look save to that nursery of true religion, from which an Augustine was sent, in far back ages, to lay the foundation of a noble Church in England? We must look to the Catholic Church, who had seen and fearlessly weathered the roughest storms before the heresiarchs who seduced England from her were born. She had seen many years before the Anglican Church began, and she is still fresh and strong, still growing and maturing, while the Anglican Communion is feeble with old age. And

the divine hand that guided and supported her when the nations raged against her, can give her victory alike over those who rebelled against her authority, and those whom she has never numbered in her fold. But will it? Will God give the grace sufficient to draw back reluctant England through the sins of her fathers and the prejudices she has inherited to the communion of His Church? The secret is locked infinitely deep in the bosom of the Lord, and who hath known His mind?

Nevertheless we may be permitted to conjecture according to human light. What then is the status of the Catholic Church in England? And what are her prospects? In numbers she is comparatively small, her power and influence are growing far beyond her numbers. She is losing some, but she more than compensates her losses by those she is winning back to the fold. Her progress is not as rapid as we could wish, although perhaps as great as we could, humanly speaking, expect it. She is holding her own, and gaining somewhat, while the tide of religion is ebbing from the country, and the life and strength of other denominations are floating on it. It is true that the neglect, and indifference, which are gnawing to the vitals of the Church of England, and the dissenting sects, have also left a passing mark on the Catholic Church. When all around them have lapsed into apathy, the contagion has spread amongst the Catholics, and they too in great numbers live in neglect of their religion; but with this difference: they preserve their faith. They respect their Church; they respect their priest, and will die for the religion they do not practise. Their children by their own desire are educated as Catholics, and they anxiously ask for the sacraments when they are about to die. No wonder that neglect, the dust of the decaying edifices around her, should fall upon the Catholic Church as well; but it lies upon the surface, and beneath the rock of faith remains unmoved, unbroken.

Therefore the Catholic Church in England is not, like the Anglican communion, betrayed or denied by those whom she has fostered in her own bosom; but only forgotten for a while, by some who still love her dearly in their hearts.

And I believe that if much of the energy which is expended in trying to bring Protestants back to the true faith, were exerted in bringing Catholics who already profess that faith to the practice of it, there would be more fruitful results; for the Catholic Church, freed from the scandals which her own children bring upon her, would draw all things to herself. And the example of the early Christians, more than the eloquence of their preachers, was used by God as an external grace to draw the nations to that Church. But looking at her as she is there can be little doubt that, when the other religions, which usurped her birthright, have failed, and they are failing fast, to satisfy the English people, the Church, which for more than three centuries lay bleeding beneath the persecutor's lash, and could not die, will come back to the full possession of her own again. The stone which the builders, in the sixteenth century, rejected under false pretences, shall be made the head of the corner again. But when? God knows; but do the angels in heaven? Four thousand years the world waited for a promised Saviour. It is not yet two thousand since He came. Will the periods of the New Testament exceed those of the Old? And if so, how short the period, not yet four hundred years, in the eyes of God, since England threw off His yoke. How long He may leave her in error as a punishment for her sin, we cannot tell; but the ways of heaven, and the ways of men, point to the conclusion that, after their years of religious wanderings, the sons will come back to rest in the bosom of the Church their fathers left.

M. RYAN.

HISTORY OF TRIM, AS TOLD IN HER RUINS

ON the banks of the Boyne about seven miles from the chief seat of royalty, on the Hill of Tara, and twenty from the City of Dublin, stands the town of Trim, the capital of Royal Meath. There are few places in Ireland, rich as she is in historic reminiscences, more worthy of notice. The majestic ruins of ancient buildings, civil and ecclesiastical, that meet the eye on every side open up a wide field for reflection. Standing out in all their rugged grandeur the many time-worn monuments of by-gone days that are to be seen scattered around arrest the attention of all who pass by the way, and awaken in their minds a multiplicity of thoughts regarding the many battles, sieges, forays, and skirmishes formerly witnessed within the hoary walls of this stronghold of the Pale. The old Church of St. Patrick, with its ivy-clad tower, the stately form of the 'yellow steeple,' and the other remnants of ecclesiastical structures, are even more suggestive than the frowning walls, and the jutting battlements of 'King John's Castle,' and speak to the soul more eloquently than words.

Here you stand,
Adore and worship when you know it,
Pious beyond the intention of your thought,
Devout above the meaning of your will.¹

Like many other places in Ireland, Trim is an historic spot that deserves to be better known. Within its gates there are treasures enough to woo the footsteps of the student and the stranger, and full of the deepest interest to the scholar and the antiquarian. Here, undoubtedly, all lovers of ancient lore can make themselves at home. They can come close, and feast their eyes on every precious remnant of the past. They can gaze intently on the massive walls so imposing even in their ruins, and scan the delicate moulding

¹ Wilde's *Beauties of the Boyne*, p. 79.

and tracery of the finely-chiselled windows; they can pace to and fro, and gauge the proportions and symmetry of the entire building, and think of the genius that devised the plan, and the hands that executed the work, and of the voices long silent that once resounded within the walls. In a word, they can carry away with them a whole host of historic memories that 'round them, like visions of yesterday, throng,' and that fill the imagination with pictures of real though undefined pleasure. A man of refined archaeological tastes, a careful gleaner in the field of antiquarian research, one, 'who finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything,' tells us the impressions made upon him on the occasion of his visit to this classic locality :—

To see Trim aright [says this competent authority] the tourist must approach it by the Blackbull-road from Dublin, when all the glorious ruins which crowd this historic locality, and which extend over a space of above a mile burst suddenly upon him.

The remains of St. John's Friary and castellated buildings at the bridge of Newtown, a little further on the stately Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, raising aloft its tall light and ivy-mantled windows, the neighbouring chapel with its sculptured tombs and monumental tablets, the broad green laws through which the Boyne winds between that and Trim, the silver stream itself gliding smoothly onward with unbroken surface, the grey massive towers of King John's Castle, with its outward walls and barbican, the gates and towers, and bastions, the fosse, and moat, and chapel, the Sheep-gate, and portions of the town wall, and towering above all, the tall commanding form of the Yellow Steeple, which seems the guardian genius of them all. All these beauteous objects, with the ancient church tower of St. Patrick, the town itself, the Wellington monument, and the modern public buildings, form a combination of scenery and an architectural diorama such as we have rarely witnessed.¹

Though every one of these 'beauteous objects,' so graphically depicted by Sir William Wilde, has its own peculiar history, I shall pass them over for the present, and in this paper draw attention to a very curious fact of which little or no notice is ever taken, even by the close student

¹ Wilde's *Remains of the Boyne*, p. 79.

of sacred history, viz., that Trim is the *oldest* Church in Ireland, being established by St. Patrick, at least twelve years before the foundation of the Church at Armagh, and consigned to the care of Loman, who accompanied our saint into Ireland, and was constituted first Bishop of Trim.

Before entering on the evidence which goes to show that Trim is the oldest Irish episcopal see, it may be well to remind our readers that the ancient name of which the present is only an abbreviated form, was 'Ath-Truim,' or 'Ford of the Elder Trees.' About the meaning of the first part of the patronymic there is no controversy or doubt. The ford to this day is still quite discernible, and young folk, especially in Summer time, not unfrequently amuse themselves by running across barefoot from one bank to the other. The ford is only a few perches above the Town bridge, and quite close to the mill in possession of Mr. Kennedy, the present Chairman of the Town Commissioners. Above and below the 'Ford' the river itself is deep, and the current rather rapid. As an illustration of this I may be permitted to put on record a remarkable and melancholy incident that occurred at this very place last year. On the night of the 11th of April, a poor man living in the neighbourhood, named Goggins, was missed by his friends at Galtrim. He had been in Trim during the day, and in such company as begot in the minds of his friends a strong suspicion of foul play. The services of the police were accordingly requisitioned, scouts were despatched in all directions, but all to no purpose. After a fruitless search of several days, on the evening of the 22nd of April, a little boy espied on the north side of the river something in the shape of a human being. When the officers of the law came upon the scene, they found it was the body of the missing man. At the inquest it transpired the poor creature was seen going late at night down a lane leading to the 'Ford' or shallow. Some persons stated that when they were retiring to rest about eleven o'clock on the 11th of April, they heard something like a sudden splash, and a shrill cry of a swan whose favourite resort is near the ford at the mill,

and so the jury came to the conclusion that the poor man missed his footing, and fell into the deep water beside the 'ford' and was drowned. The body was not found in the spot where it fell, but was borne down by the rapidity of the current below the bridge, where it was discovered after eleven days, with the hands clasped upon the muddy sedge caught up by the drowning man in his efforts to save himself. The second portion of the name owes its origin very probably to the profusion of the 'elder trees' found growing in former times along the banks on this part of the river, or, according to another authority, to the formation of the bank itself, which here assumes the form of a long low hill, and hence the name 'Ath-Druim' the 'Ford of the Ridge.'¹

But whether the latter derivation of Dr. Todd, or the other more commonly adopted, be the correct one, is a matter of little consequence, compared with the proposition with which this paper proposes to deal, viz., whether there is sufficient historic evidence for the statement, that Trim is the *oldest* Irish episcopal see, older by at least twelve years, than the primatial see of Armagh.

The statement, on the face of it, seems to be a rather bold one, the fabrication of some fiery enthusiast, of some one unduly anxious to put 'Ath-Truim' in a position of prominence to which she can lay no claim. At all events, one cannot be expected to accept the assertion without proof; and the interesting question then arises for discussion, is that proof forthcoming. Let us see. In the first place, we have the very valuable evidence of Tirechan, who flourished in the early part of the seventh century. He was a pupil of the renowned and saintly Bishop of Ardbraccan, St. Ultan, and subsequently his successor in that see. This eminent scholar, whose collections of Church History are found embodied in the famous *Book of Armagh*, wrote a life of St. Patrick, the particulars of which, he 'learned from the mouth of his master, Bishop Ultan.' It may be well to remember that Ultan was an uncle on the mother's side to St. Brigid, and may be said therefore to belong to the

¹ Dr. Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 150.

Patrician era.¹ He died at a very advanced age, in the year 656. Now the testimony of such an ancient writer as Tirechan, brought up in the school of such a master, who had such opportunities of knowing the truth, is manifestly of supreme importance. What account does he give us of the foundation of Trim? We quote from the *Primordium of Ussher*:—²

In the year 433, when Patrick, in his holy navigation, came to Ireland, he left St. Loman at the mouth of the Boyne, to take care of his boat forty days and forty nights; and then he (Loman) waited another forty out of obedience to Patrick. Then, according to the order of his Master (the Lord being his pilot), he came in his boat against the stream, *ad vadum Truim*, as far as the ford of Trim, near the fort of Feidilmid, son of Loiguire.

And when it was morning Fortchern, son of Feidilmid, found him reciting the Gospel, and, admiring the Gospel and his doctrine, immediately believed; and a well being opened in that place, he was baptized by Loman in Christ, and remained with him until his mother came to look for him; and she was made glad at his sight, because she was a British woman.

But she likewise believed, and returned to her house, and told her husband all that had happened to her and her son. And then Feidilmid was glad at the coming of the priest, because he had his mother from the Britons, the daughter of the King of the Britons, Scothnoessa. And Feidilmid saluted Loman in the British tongue, asking him in order of his faith and kindred; and he answered: 'I am Loman, a Briton, a Christian, a disciple of Bishop Patrick, who is sent from the Lord to baptize the people of the Irish, and to convert them to the faith of Christ, who sent me here according to the will of God.'

And immediately Feidilmid believed, with all his family, and dedicated, *immolavit*, to him and St. Patrick his country, with his possessions and with all his family; all these he dedicated to Patrick and Loman, with his son Fortchern, till the Day of Judgment.

But Feidilmid crossed the Boyne, and Loman remained with Fortchern in Trim until Patrick came to them, and built a church with them twelve years before the foundation of the church of Armagh.¹

Stripped of its quaint style and cumbrous Irish names, so difficult in appearance to one not acquainted with the language, we find on a brief analysis of the above narrative, four events very circumstantially detailed:—(1) Patrick's

¹ *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 115.

² *Prim. Uss.*, p. 853.

boat left in charge of Loman at the mouth of the Boyne, probably near the River Nanny, where our saint landed and met his future coadjutor in the person of the boy Benignus. (2) The launching of the boat by order of St. Patrick, after a stay of eighty days at the river's mouth, and its coming up against the stream, *Deo gubernante*, as far as the ford of Trim, *Usque ad radum Truim*. (3) The preaching of the Gospel the morning after the arrival, when God opened the hearts of Fortchern, his royal mother, and father, and the whole household, to listen to the words of Loman, to accept his teaching, and to receive the great grace of faith and of baptism. (4) Supernaturally enlightened by faith, and filled with sentiments similar to St. Paul, who said of himself, *Omnia detrimentum esse et arbitror ut stercora ut Christum lucrificam*,¹ 'I esteem all things to be but loss, and count them but as dung that I may gain Christ,'—Felim gave up, *immolavit*, his possessions around Trim to Patrick and Loman, together with his son Fortchern, till the Day of Judgment; and there on that royal site granted by Felim, Patrick with them, built a church twelve years before the foundation of Armagh.

Another Roman character, x, is inserted in the text, as I suspect, through an error of the copyist, which would make the foundation of Trim twenty-two years previous to Armagh.

Having consulted the best authorities on the subject, I find Armagh was founded A.D. 445, when the site of a cathedral was granted by Daire to Patrick on 'Macha's Height,' and Trim was founded the first year of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, A.D. 433, leaving a difference between the foundation of both of twelve years, as stated above. Bishop Ussher examined the foregoing narrative of Tirechan in all its details with the eye of a critic, and, whilst passing no encomium on the venerable author for his language or his style, '*licet minus eleganter explicata*,' he can find no reason whatever to question the accuracy of the account itself.

The next authority in favour of the antiquity of the Trim Church is Jocelyn, a celebrated monk of Furness, in

¹ Epist. Pauli ad Philipp, c. 3, v. 8.

Lancashire, who flourished in the twelfth century, and was placed in Iniscourcey, in Down, by John de Courcey, Prince of Ulster. At the request of Thomas O'Connor (Archbishop of Armagh), Malachy (Bishop of Down), and John de Courcey, he wrote a life of St. Patrick. His selection for such a work by a trio of such eminent men was, in truth, a very high compliment paid to Jocelyn, as well as a strong proof of his special fitness for the task assigned him.

Now, this learned monk thoroughly endorses Tirechan's account regarding Trim, and gives even fuller details of the manner in which Loman's boat came up as far as the ford of Trim, together with the other important events that took place the morning after his arrival.

Again, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, marked at the year 432, we read: 'Ath-Truim was founded by Patrick, it having been granted by Fedhlim, son of Laighaire, son of Niall, to God and to him, Loman, and Fortchern.'

It would exceed the limits of space allowed in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, if I were to proceed and make separate quotations from the Bollandists, the Tripartite, Dean Butler, Colgan, and Cogan. Suffice it to say, that these and the other authors whom I consulted, with the single exception of Dr. Lanigan, are *all at one* in conceding to Ath-Truim the singular distinction of being the *oldest* Irish see, the first established in our midst by our national apostle, and presided over by St. Loman, Patrick's nephew.

The *Book of Armagh* gives a list of eight abbots of Trim previous to 741, and of these it observes: *Hi omnes episcopi fuerunt et principes venerantes Sanctum Patricium et successores ejus.*

Before closing this preliminary sketch, I may be permitted to add, that Colgan quotes from the Martyrology of Tallaght a very interesting passage in reference to Ath-Truim:—

Lomain Athrumensis cum sociis suis id est, Patricio, 'hostiario' Lurecho filio Cuanach, Fortcherno, et Coelo. Ochtra Aido, Aedo Cormaco Episcopo Lacteno Sacerdoti Ossano Sarano Conallo Colmano Luctano Episcopo et Finnescha Virgine. Hi omnes Athrumiae requiescunt.¹

¹ *Dean Butler*, p. 139.

Here the Martyrology tells us where the hallowed bones of Loman and his companions are laid to rest. The Cormac mentioned in the above list of saints, nephew of King Laighaire (being the son of his brother Enda), was in the year 482 transferred from Trim to Armagh as Coadjutor to Patrick, who was then very old, and wholly intent on Divine contemplation. Having governed the Church of Armagh fifteen years, he (Cormac) died on the 17th of February, 497. His saintly remains, I presume at his own request, were brought back to Trim, and laid by the side of Loman, and within sight of his ancestral home at Tara.

This quotation of Colgan's, and indeed all the accounts given by historians, ancient and modern, relating to Trim, are assailed by Dr. Lanigan with a virulence quite unintelligible, and hardly consistent with his eminent position. But with the kind permission of the Editor of the I. E. RECORD, I shall, in a subsequent paper, endeavour to reply to the objections raised by that learned, but hypercritical writer, and to remove the aspersions which he strives to cast upon the antiquity of the Church of Ath-Trim.

PHILIP CALLARY, P.P., V.F

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

A CASE OF CLANDESTINITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly state in next issue of I. E. RECORD, if a marriage contracted in the following circumstances is valid :—

A man and woman living in Ireland wished to be married. The parents of both parties objected, and so they came to Scotland. On arrival here, their intention was to settle down, wherever they could secure work, and to remain until such time as their parents should request them to return to Ireland. They had, therefore, the intention of returning to Ireland in the event of their parents asking them to do so; but if not asked, and, at all events, until such time as they should be asked, they intended to stay wherever they got work in Scotland. Having secured a promise of work, there was a probability of their settling down in a certain parish, the priest in charge of which assisted at their marriage a few days after their arrival in the country.

As a matter of fact, they did stay a few months after their marriage; but the pardon then came, and they returned to Ireland rejoicing.

Was the marriage valid?

SACERDOS.

In various forms, the points involved in this case, or closely connected with it, have been repeatedly submitted to us. Perhaps, therefore, the most satisfactory way of replying to this question will be found to be by enumerating briefly the various hypotheses bearing on this matter, in which two persons may be conceived to cross over from Ireland—where the Tridentine law of clandestinity is in force—to contract marriage in Scotland—where the same law has not been promulgated. In each hypothesis we shall, as we proceed, indicate the validity or invalidity of

the marriage, in so far as the law of clandestinity is concerned.

I. And first, we may distinguish between (A) those who, on arriving in Scotland, acquire there a domicile or quasi-domicile; and (B) those who do not.

(A) If either of the contracting parties has acquired a domicile or quasi-domicile in Scotland, they may *validly*, though not lawfully, contract in Scotland without any witness whatever—priest or other. It may be useful to note explicitly, (1) that this power to contract validly dates from the moment that the person has taken up his residence in Scotland with the intention of dwelling there permanently, or, as the case may be, for the greater part of a year; (2) that the power to contract is independent of the fact, whether or not the parties had or retain a domicile or quasi-domicile in Ireland; and (3) that it is unaffected by the intention with which the new domicile has been acquired. It may be that the domicile in Scotland has been acquired for the express and sole purpose of evading the Tridentine law, as it affected the parties in Ireland; still **their marriage will be valid.**

(B) If neither of them acquired a domicile or quasi-domicile in Scotland, we must further distinguish various cases. (1) Both parties may retain a domicile or quasi-domicile in Ireland, or (2) one, at least, may be a *vagus*.

In the latter hypothesis, (B 2) they may contract validly in Scotland without priest or witnesses. If the man, for example, be a *vagus*, he is himself, while in Scotland, in no wise affected by the Tridentine law, and he communicates his own privilege to the other contracting party—even though she may have a domicile in Ireland, may have come to Scotland precisely in order to evade the law of Trent, and may intend to return to her home immediately after the marriage. Where, therefore, one or both contracting parties are *vagi*, no question of invalidity can arise, when their marriage is celebrated in a place where the law of Trent is **not in force.**

(B 1) If, however, both the contracting parties retain a domicile or quasi-domicile in Ireland, while neither acquires,

even a quasi-domicile in Scotland, a further distinction is necessary. (a) Both may be Catholics, or (b) one, at least may be a baptized non-Catholic. We pass by the case in which both are unbaptized, because ecclesiastical impediments do not affect such persons; also, the case in which one is baptized, the other unbaptized, because, there we should have the distinct impediment of *disparitas cultus*.

Now (b) if either of the parties be a baptized non-Catholic, their marriage in Scotland would be valid, even though they intended, as far as they could, to act in *fraudem legis*. The reason is, that the Tridentine law of clandestinity does not, in Ireland, affect heretics marrying *inter se* or with Catholics. A mixed marriage in Ireland between persons domiciled in Ireland is not invalidated by clandestinity. And, manifestly, an Irish Protestant, for example, does not lose his privilege or dispensation by crossing over to Scotland. The non-Catholic party, then, being capable of contracting a clandestine valid marriage, communicates this privilege to the other party to the contract.

(a) Finally, if both parties are Catholics, both domiciled in Ireland, neither in Scotland, they can, of course, contract in Scotland before the *proprius parochus* of either, or before any priest delegated by the *proprius parochus*. But, without the *parochus proprius* or his delegate, can they validly contract in Scotland? We make three cases:

(1) If they go to Scotland solely or mainly for the purpose of evading the Tridentine law of clandestinity, *i.e.*, for the purpose of dispensing with the presence of their *proprius parochus*, their marriage will be certainly invalid. Theologians are agreed that to this extent, at all events, the law of Trent is personal. The law follows those who, being bound to it territorially, leave the place of their domicile or quasi-domicile in *fraudem legis*, for the purpose of evading the law. So far there is no room for controversy. A marriage contracted in *fraudem legis* is, as all admit, invalid; all recognise *fraus legis* in the case just made.

(2) If, however, the parties seek the exempt territory for the purpose, indeed, of getting married there, but not for the purpose of evading the jurisdiction of their *proprius*

parochus, can they without delegation contract validly? We can conceive, for instance, persons going over from Ireland to Scotland to get married there rather than at home for some reason, who would be quite willing to contract before their own parish priest if he were to accompany them. Are they to be considered as acting *in fraudem legis*? If so, their marriage will, as in the previous case, be invalid. Or is there *fraus legis* only when they go to Scotland for the purpose of evading the jurisdiction of their parish priest? Undoubtedly, the law is often stated, by theologians, as if nothing else than an intention of evading the jurisdiction of the *proprius parochus* would constitute the fraud that entails invalidity. Such a position, however, cannot be maintained. We refrain from enumerating a list of theologians that can be quoted for our interpretation of the law. With D'Annibale, we are content to base our opinion on repeated decisions of the Roman Congregation. According to a decision of the S. C. of the Council, 26th August, 1873, the marriage of persons who were ignorant of the very existence of the law of clandestinity, and could not, therefore, have fraudulently intended to evade it, was declared invalid, because, though they contracted in an exempt territory, they belonged to a place where the law of clandestinity was in force. Again the same Congregation decided, 3rd April, 1841, against the validity of a marriage contracted in similar circumstances, where the parties left their home and sought the exempt territory, not by any means to elude the jurisdiction of their own pastor, but merely to evade the opposition of their parents and the consequent impediments of the civil law. A further decision, given 16th June, 1866, declared a marriage invalid where the object of the parties in leaving their own territory and contracting in a place exempt was that they wished to have the marriage blessed there by a priest who was a relative of one of the parties.

In view of these decisions, it appears to us abundantly clear, that an *intention of evading the law of clandestinity* is not necessary in order to make a marriage contracted in an exempt place fraudulent in the sense of the Canon Law; at *the very least*, these decisions seem to show that, when a

man subject (*i.e.*, by reason of, at least, a quasi-domicile) to the law of clandestinity seeks an exempt place for *the purpose of getting married*, no matter what his motive may be for wishing to marry *in loco exempto*, he goes *in fraudem legis*, and his marriage will be invalid. The assumption, of course, is that not even a quasi-domicile is acquired in the exempt territory.

(3) Lastly, we can conceive a case in which the parties leave home for some reason wholly unconnected with marriage. At home, they were bound by the law of clandestinity. Now, however, they happen to be in an exempt place. Are they free to contract there without the Tridentine formalities? Two persons having domiciles in Ireland become acquainted for the first time, let us suppose, during a holiday in Scotland. Assuming that both are Catholics, and that neither has a domicile or quasi-domicile in Scotland, can they validly contract there without reference to their parish priests in Ireland?

The more common opinion, certainly, seems to be that there is, in this case, no *fraus legis*, and that such persons are free, therefore, from the law of clandestinity. This is the opinion of Sanchez, Lugo, Reiffenstuel, Viva, Schmalzgrueber, Billuart, Gury, Ballerini, and others. On the other side we find Sylvius, Roncaglia, Benedict XIV., St. Alphonsus, Carriere, Gasparri, Rosset, holding that a marriage in these circumstances is invalid.¹ Apart from the great authority on which the first opinion rests, we should have no difficulty in asserting that the second is the only tenable opinion.

We incline to the second opinion, for the following reasons:—

(1) The Council of Trent makes those who have a domicile or quasi-domicile, where the law of clandestinity is promulgated, incapable of validly contracting marriage without the presence of the *proprius parochus*, and, at least, two other witnesses. Nothing in the law restricts the inhabilitv to the case in which the marriage is contracted where the law of clandestinity is in force. But we need not

¹ *Ibid.* Rosset, iv., n. 2092.

delay in enforcing our interpretation of the law. We find that this interpretation rests on, what appears to us, unimpeachable authority. We proceed to adduce our evidence.

(2) The following question was proposed by the Archbishop of Cologne, and the reply given 5th Sept., 1626:—

(1) An incolae tam masculi quam foeminae loci in quo Conc. Trid. in puncto matrimonii est promulgatum, transeuntes per locum in quo dictum Concilium non est promulgatum, retinentes idem domicilium, valide possint in isto loco matrimonium sine parocho et testibus contrahere? (2) Quid si eo praedicti incolae tam masculi quam foeminae solo animo sine parocho et testibus contrahendi se transferant, habitationem non mutant? (3) Quid si iidem incolae tam masculi quam foeminae eo transferant habitationem illo solo animo ut absque parocho et testibus contrahant?

There can be no ambiguity about these questions. The third makes the case, where two persons domiciled in Ireland, for example, would go to Scotland, and acquire a domicile¹ there for the express purpose of dispensing with the presence of their Irish parish priest. The second puts the case, in which the same persons might go to Scotland for the purpose again of evading the law of clandestinity, but without acquiring a new domicile in Scotland. The first question, which, of course, must arise from distinct hypothesis, can regard no other than that case precisely which we are discussing, where, *e.g.*, the same two persons are merely passing through Scotland, or sojourning there. The only difference, manifestly, between the second hypothesis and the first is in the intention with which the parties left their homes. The second question supposes on the part of the persons concerned an intention of evading the law of clandestinity; the first, by necessary implication, excludes such intention.

The reply must seem equally clear:—*Ad primum et secundum non esse legitimum matrimonium inter sic se transferentes et transcuntes cum fraude. Ad tertium, si domicilium vere transferatur matrimonium esse validum.* In the first case, therefore, as in the second, the marriage is invalid.

¹ Or quasi-domicile. It will be understood throughout that in the matter of clandestinity, a domicile and a quasi-domicile have precisely the same effect.

In both cases there is fraud, or an infringement of the rights of the *proprius parochus*.

If these same questions were put to those who differ from us, assuredly they would give an affirmative reply to the first question. Not so the Congregation. According to the Congregation, in the only legitimate sense of the reply, the answer to the first and to the second question is the same, viz., as long as persons retain a domicile, where the law is promulgated, and do not acquire one in a place exempt, their marriage in an exempt place will be invalid,—whether they have, as the second hypothesis, or have not, as in the first, an intention of evading the Tridentine law.

(3) The reply of the Congregation of the Council just quoted was confirmed by Urban VIII. And Benedict XIV. in the Constitution, *Paucis ab hinc* refers to the reply and to the confirmation.

Both Pontiffs interpreted the law of Trent and the reply of the Congregation as we have done. We shall only quote the words of Benedict XIV. from the Constitution *Paucis ab hinc*. Commenting with approval on the opinion of Sylvius—the same that we adopt—Benedict XIV. writes:—

Sapienter animadvertens, matrimonium esse validum, si quis, admissa etiam fraude patriam suam deserens ubi Tridentinum Concilium promulgatum fuit illud contrahit in loco ubi non est promulgatum, postquam tamen ibidem verum quasi domicilium acquisierit; ex eo infert, nullum esse matrimonium, quoties cumque ille, qui contrahit regreditur illico ad locum unde decessit, quin speciem quandam domicilii adeptus fuerit in loco ubi matrimonium contraxit.

Altogether, irrespective of a man's intention, he will, therefore, according to Benedict XIV., contract invalidly in the circumstances named. And, further on, referring to the decision of the S. Congregation, 5th Sept., 1626, already quoted, he says:—

Hujus vero definitionis contextu bene perpenso, facile intelligitur, matrimonia primo ac secundo loco exposita, irrita ac nulla ab eadem Congregatione decerni, eo quia fraus intercessit.

Benedict XIV., therefore, (1) distinguishes the first case from the second, (2) he discovers *fraus* in the first case, as

well as in the second. Yet, as we have already shown, the hypothesis in the first question necessarily excludes the intention of evading the Tridentine law. Evidently Benedict XIV. required no intention of evading the law.

All extant decisions and instructions from the Roman Congregations have been consistently, as far as they can tell one way or the other, in favour of this opinion of Benedict XIV.

In recent times, a case has been decided by the Congregation of the Council which seems to us to end, as far as an authoritative decision can, the controversy with which we are dealing, and to place the opinion for which we contend beyond reasonable dispute. We take the account of this case from Gasparri.¹

Albertus L. an 1867 illicitis amoribus sese implicuit cum Armanda R. muliere perditissimis moribus. Aegro animo parentes hanc Alberti calamitatem ferebant, et nihil intentatum reliquerunt, ut a pessima consuetudine juvenem abducerent. Tandem indignatione parentum, bonorum interdictione ac vitae turpitudine defatigatus, Albertus melioris consilii propositum amplecti visus est, atque, ejus matre suadente, in Americam profectus, eo appulit die 10 Mart, 1868. Hoc animo iter suscepit, ut peregrinatione distractus, obscœnum amorem deponeret, et revera in America continuo huc illuc vagatus est. Interim Armanda juvenem litteris tentare coepit; deinde, die 11 Augusti, in Neo-Eboracensem civitatem pervenit; et triduo post in eadem civitate, in qua decretum Tridentinum pro Catholicis publicatum non fuit, coram sacerdote rectore ecclesiae Catholicae S. Vincentii de Paulo ac duobus testibus matrimonium initum fuit. S. Cong. edixit nullum hoc matrimonium, Jan. 25, 1873.

Now, in this case, Albert left his home without any intention of evading the Tridentine law. He simply found himself *in loco exempto* solely for quite another purpose. It was not even contended that, being already in New York, he expressly conceived the idea of evading the Tridentine law, by marrying before his return home. According to the opinion against which we are arguing, Albert was, on his part, perfectly capable of contracting validly before the New York rector. And if Albert himself were free, his marriage with Armanda would, by universal consent, be valid, no

¹ *Ibid.* ii., n. 989.

matter what her intention may have been in going to New York; the marriage would, therefore, be valid. But, unfortunately, the Congregation judged otherwise, and pronounced this marriage invalid; the only assignable reason, of course, being that the parties, while they retained their former domicile, and had not acquired one in New York, were bound by the law of clandestinity, were necessarily infringing—whether intentionally or not—the rights of the *proprius parochus*, and attempting to marry *in fraudem legis*. The force of this decision did not escape the decision of those whose opinion, as we think, it overturns. A writer in the *Acta S. Sedis* virtually confesses the difficulty raised against his opinion to be insurmountable, by having recourse to the arbitrary hypothesis that this marriage was declared invalid, not because of *fraus contra legem clandestinitatis*, but for some other reason not alleged during the process of trial. Decisions are valueless as an authentic source of legal interpretation, if it is open to anyone and everyone to maintain that they may be based on some unassigned reasons.

Before concluding these arguments, it is worthy of note that, as late as 1867, the Congregation of the Holy Office, with the nature of this controversy before it, simply repeats, without qualification, in an Instruction to the English and American bishops, the old doctrine of Benedict XIV. and Urban VIII.:—

[Lex clandestinitatis] quatenus localis afficit territorium eosque qui ibi matrimonio jungendi sunt obligat; quatenus vero, personalis eos obligat qui domicilium vel quasi-domicilium habentes in loco ubi Tridentinum decretum promulgatum est et viget, in altero, ubi illud non viget contrahere vellent.

Unless, therefore, we introduce into this Instruction a distinction which the Instruction itself does not make or insinuate, we must conclude that the Tridentine decree, *qua personale*, affects not merely those who seek an exempt territory *for the purpose of evading the law*, but also those—and all those—who *retain a domicile where the law exists and have not acquired one in a place exempt from the operation of the law*.

In view of the reasons we have advanced, and of the

authority by which our opinion is supported, we agree with Gasparri, when he concludes his discussion of this question as follows :—

In praxi si agitur de matrimonio ineundo [a partibus Catholicis domicilium in Hibernia retinentibus nec domicilium in Scotia habentibus] in [Scotia] fieri non debere nisi coram paroco aut ordinario proprio aut coram alio sacerdote de eorum licentia et duobus saltem testibus; sed etiam si agitur de matrimonio contracto et ad forum contentiosum deducto, officialis debet ni fallimur, ob auctoritatem SS.CC. pro nullitate pronuntiare.¹

And, now, we reply, in a few words, to the question proposed to us. Applying the principles laid down above, we say :—

(1) That if either of the parties were a *vagus* or a heretic their marriage was valid; at all events, it was not invalidated by the Tridentine law of clandestinity.

(2) If both were Catholics, and retained their domiciles in Ireland, their marriage would still be valid if either had antecedently to the marriage acquired a domicile or quasi-domicile in Scotland. But, did they acquire, at least, a quasi-domicile? We are merely told that there was ‘a probability of their settling down,’ and that they intended to remain until such time as their parents may relent. Of course, ‘a mere probability of settling down’ where they had got a promise of work, would not be sufficient to constitute a quasi-domicile; you require *habitatio actualis jam inchoata*. But, we take it, the meaning is that they had actually taken up their residence in a certain place, and that there was a probability of their remaining in that place. There was *habitatio inchoata*, therefore. Had they, moreover, the requisite intention of remaining for the greater part of a year? The priest who assisted at the marriage might put a different complexion on the facts, if we had his statement, and the change may affect our opinion. But as the facts have been presented to us, we should not undertake to say that the intention of these persons was sufficient for the acquisition of a quasi-domicile.

(3) In default of a domicile or quasi-domicile, may the

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 985.

marriage have been valid, without delegation from a *proprius parochus* in Ireland? In our opinion, the marriage would be invalid. For (a) if they went to Scotland, solely or mainly, with the intention of evading the law of clandestinity, the marriage would, as all admit, be invalid; (b) if they went, at all events, with the primary intention of getting married—as they undoubtedly did—it is, we think, equally certain that the marriage would be invalid; (c) and lastly, even if they had gone to Scotland merely for a holiday, and while there decided on getting married, their marriage would, in our opinion, be invalid. *Ante factum* the Scotch priest should not, we think, assist at their marriage without delegation. *Post factum*, no individual priest or theologian should take the responsibility of declaring the marriage certainly null; he is quite free to hold, and—until the Roman decisions and Instructions are explained away or modified—we think ought to hold, that the marriage is invalid, and that if the matter comes before the Roman authorities, the decision will be, as in like cases already decided, against the validity of the marriage.

ARE RELIGIOUS IN A PROTRACTED ILLNESS EXEMPT FROM THE FAST BEFORE COMMUNION?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following question, and oblige a subscriber.

Is it true that Rome has granted a concession in favour of religious, exempting them from the Communion fast in cases of protracted illness? If so, does the concession carry with it the privilege of receiving Holy Communion whenever the community does?

SACERDOS AMERICANUS.

The obligation to be fasting when receiving Communion, being a matter of ecclesiastical law merely, might, of course, be removed by the Holy See. As a matter of fact, dispensations have been granted from time to time, though rarely. Konings (n. 1309) says: ‘S. Pontifex raro et gravi tantum de causa, attamen etiam cum privatis (quemadmodum ex casu particulari ipse nosco) et non tantum, sicut olim fere, cum

publicis, ceu publica de causa, ut semel, ter, aut etiam pluries in anno communicare possint, dispensare solet.'

It is, therefore, quite possible that individual members of religious communities have got this Papal dispensation. It is possible—though we have no reason to think it the fact—that certain orders or congregations have a privilege in this matter. But religious, as such, have no general dispensation exempting them from the Communion fast, even in the case of protracted illness.

Needless to say, a religious, like anybody else, may in a protracted illness in which there is danger of death receive Communion repeatedly and frequently *per modum viatici*.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRIALS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following question in your next issue? In these countries we have not all the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. To whom then are we to have recourse for the settlement of a case assigned by Canon Law to the adjudication of such a court? A case in point, the separation of husband from wife for sufficient reasons. Theology directs that, as a general rule, recourse must be had to the ecclesiastical judge in such a case. Does the bishop take the place of this court contemplated by Canon Law for us? Are we bound in the same way to have recourse to him for the settlement of such a case? Or are we free to regard it as a matter of prudence to consult the bishop in the circumstances?

SACERDOS.

The bishop is the official to whom the cases contemplated by our correspondent should be submitted. Nor is it ever competent for parish priests or confessors to look upon reference to the ordinary in such cases as a mere matter of prudence, and to constitute themselves judges. When the case is stated to the bishop he will, as the case may admit or require, constitute a court for the trial or take steps to have the matter sent on to the proper tribunal.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

METHOD OF EXPOSING THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—There is a slight diversity of procedure in exposing the Blessed Sacrament in connection with the Rosary, &c., during the month of October; and as the authors generally at hand do not distinctly provide for this new development of devotion, may I ask your direction in the matter?

It is supposed that the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for adoration during the recitation of the Rosary, &c., and that, in a particular church, the priest who has performed the ceremony of exposition finds it necessary to retire from the altar in order to lead the recitation of the Rosary, &c., from the pulpit.

Now, in this case, is it the correct course for the priest, when proceeding from the sacristy to perform the ceremony of exposition, to wear a cope with the stole, &c., as for the ceremony of ordinary benediction; and, having incensed the Blessed Sacrament on the throne, to lay aside cope and stole and proceed to the pulpit, resuming these vestments to give benediction?

Or is it correct to proceed from the sacristy without cope but with stole over surplice, and thus to expose the Blessed Sacrament; then, having performed the incensation as in the last case, to lay aside the stole, and proceed to the pulpit, taking stole and cope on his returning to give benediction?

The latter course is suggested by Hughes on the *Ceremonies of High Mass*, pp. 134-135, and to some degree by a response of the Sacred Congregation given in the *Manuale Sacerdotum* (Ed. nona), pp. 730-731, note 2. C. C.

The use of the cope while merely exposing the Blessed Sacrament is not prescribed,¹ and, though recommended,² is not, we think, common. The following general directions for exposing the Blessed Sacrament, taken from *The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions*,³ will be a guide to our correspondent in the particular case to which he refers:—

If the Blessed Sacrament is to be exposed before the clergy enter choir, the priest who is to perform the ceremony, vested in

¹ S.R.C. 22 Jan. 1701. 3426-3575.. De Carpo, Par. 3., n. 186.

² De Herdt, *S. Lit. Prax.*, tom. 2, n. 26.

³ Part 2, chap. 2, p. 148.

surplice and white stole, and wearing his biretta, goes to the altar preceded by a thurifer with the censer, and by two or more acolytes with lighted torches. Arrived at the foot of the altar he gives his biretta to one of the assistants, genuflects *in plano*, and kneels on the first step to say a short prayer. He then mounts the altar, spreads the corporal, and takes the biretta containing the Blessed Sacrament from the tabernacle, and places it in the monstrance, observing the proper reverences. Having placed the monstrance on the throne he genuflects on the predella, and having descended to the foot of the altar kneels on the lowest step, inclines his head profoundly to the Blessed Sacrament, and then rises to put incense into the censer. Having replenished the censer, without blessing the incense, he again kneels on the lowest step and incenses the Blessed Sacrament, making a profound inclination of the head before and after. He then hands the censer to the thurifer, rises, and having genuflected on both knees, as those who accompany him also do, returns to the sacristy.

The only modification in these directions which the case in question calls for is the following: Having handed his censer to the thurifer, and while still kneeling he removes the stole, rises, genuflects on both knees, and goes to the pulpit to recite the prayers.

THE PRAYER IN THE OFFICE AND MASS FOR THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH.

REV. DEAR SIR,—The following additional question suggests itself to me.

On the anniversary of the dedication of the churches of Ireland, should a priest, in saying the prayer of the feast in the Office and Mass, say it with reference to all the churches of Ireland, and therefore always in the plural form? Or, should he say it with reference only to the church or churches of his own parish, or to which he is attached, and therefore in the singular or plural form, according to the circumstances of the case?

C. C.

The kernal of this question is: Should the prayer in the Office for the Anniversary of the Dedication of a Church ever be said in the plural? For if we must give a negative reply to this question, it matters little what we say regarding

the other part of the question. And to this question as we have stated it, a negative reply must be given. For, in the first place, no rubric, either general or particular, of either missal or breviary prescribes the use of the plural form when the anniversary of the dedication of more than one church is commemorated. But, it may be objected, the rubrics do not contemplate the commemoration on the same day of the anniversary of more than one dedication. In reply to this we have only to point to the anniversary of the dedication of the basilicas of SS. Peter and Paul, which is commemorated on November 18th. Here we have the anniversary of the dedication of two churches commemorated on the same day and by the same Office and Mass. And two is a plural number. Yet the only directions given in the missal for the Mass of this feast, are :—*Missa Terribilis de Comm. Dedicat. Ecclesiae*. The directions in the breviary correspond with those in the missal. Now if the prayer should be said in the plural when the anniversary of more than one dedication is commemorated, both missal and breviary should indicate the change in their directions for this feast. But since no indication of this change is contained in either, we are not at liberty to make; we must follow the directions given, and say ‘all from the common,’ including the prayer, just as we find it in the ‘common.’

We have employed this argument taken from the anniversary of the dedication of the two basilicas, because this feast is to be found in all breviaries and missals, and each one, consequently, can verify for himself the accuracy of our statements. But in recent breviaries and missals, especially those for use in France, the feast of the dedication of all the churches—a feast similar in every respect to our own—is put down for the first Sunday after the Octave of All Saints. And here, again, the only directions given in the special rubrics are the same as those given in the special rubrics for the feast of the dedication of the two basilicas: *Omne. de Comm. Dedicat. Ecclesiae*. We have now said more than enough in reply to a question for the solution of which the authority of the *Ordo* might have

sufficed. If the prayer should be said in the plural on the feast of the dedication of the churches of Ireland, surely the compiler of the *Ordo* should call attention to this change; he calls attention to many things much less obvious; and since the *Ordo* is silent about the matter, it should follow that the change is not to be made.

Now, what is the object to which the prayer is to be referred? In replying to this question we do not intend to enter on a grammatical or metaphysical disquisition as to how the *veritas verborum*—*hujus sancti templi*, &c.—can be preserved when the prayer is said in commemoration of the dedication of more than one church. We consider it a sufficient reply to say that the prayer should be referred to the object for which the feast was instituted.

**SHOULD THE BLESSED SACRAMENT ALREADY EXPOSED
BE INCENSED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OFFICIALS
COME TO THE ALTAR?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly inform me, is it correct on a day of Exposition *not* to incense the Blessed Sacrament when the priest goes on to the altar for Benediction in the evening? May he recite the Rosary, Litany of B. V. M., and prayer to St. Joseph—though these prayers take up fifteen or twenty minutes—before the *Tantum Ergo* is sung, and the Blessed Sacrament incensed?

Any reference to the point that I can find supposes that the *Tantum Ergo* is begun immediately the priest goes on the altar.

C. G.

Our correspondent's question contemplates a case which must frequently occur. The Blessed Sacrament has been exposed during the day, and the adoration is to be brought to a close with Benediction. The officiant, vested for Benediction, and accompanied by the required ministers, comes to the altar. But before the actual ceremony of Benediction begins, certain prayers are to be recited or sung, such as the prayers prescribed for the month of October, which are referred to in our correspondent's

question; the Litany of the Saints, which is sung at the close of the Forty Hours' Adoration, when exposition of the Blessed Sacrament takes place in the evening; or the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, which may be sung on ordinary occasions. Our correspondent, then, wishes to know whether, in such circumstances, the officiant should not incense the Blessed Sacrament immediately after coming to the altar, instead of waiting until the choir begins to sing the *Tantum Ergo*.

We reply that he should not incense the Blessed Sacrament immediately after coming to the altar, but should wait until the *Genitori Genitoque* of the *Tantum Ergo*. The following extract from De Carpo¹ will serve both to explain and confirm what has just been said:—

Ad reponendum SS. Sacramentum quod spectat . . . celebrans erit semper pluviali indutus quum impertire debeat benedictionem cum SS. Sacramento. Ipse porro ac sacri ministri simul atque in conspectum venerint SS. Sacramenti caput detegunt, et in plano ante altare utrumque flectunt genu, ac profunde se inclinant . . . Mox celebrans, sacri ministri ac caeremoniarius erecti genua flectunt in infimo altaris gradu. . . . *Deinde invocantur preces*, si quae sunt dicendae, dummodo sint ex approbatis, alioquin *Tantum Ergo* dumtaxat concinetur, atque *ad hymnum hunc SS. Sacramentum thure adolebitur*.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Par. 3, n. 190.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE BLOODY SWEAT ON THE PICTURE OF OUR LADY IN JAURIN RAAB, ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1697¹

REV. DEAR SIR,—In his very interesting letter on this wonderful event, Dr. Healy says :—

(1) *Hæc una tantum* fuit sed omnium ferocissima legum quæ in hoc Parlamento contra Religionem Catholicam sunt latae? (2) Quo die lex illa infamis regium placitum obtinuerit reperire adhuc non potui.

And, again, Father Ryan, in his able paper of March, admits that he '*cannot fix the day this enactment became law.*'

These two queries are answered very clearly in (Irish) *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ii., p. 939.

Monday, 25th September, 1697.

A message by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

That their Excellencies the Lords Justices commanded this House to attend them in the House of Peers immediately.

Whereupon this House, with their Speaker, attended their Excellencies the Lord Justices accordingly ; and being returned,

Mr. Speaker reported that this House, with their Speaker, had attended their Excellencies the Lords Justices in the House of Lords, and that their Excellencies had given the Royal assent to the bills following :—

1. An Act for banishing all Papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish religion.

2. An Act for the confirmation of articles made at the surrender of the City of Limerick.

3. An Act to prevent Protestants from intermarrying with Papists.

The two last were as injurious to the Catholic laity as the first was to the clergy. The second was constitutionally more unjust and illegal, as it deliberately and avowedly violated almost the whole of the stipulations contained in the articles of the Treaty of Limerick, which were solemnly signed and ratified by the King and his commanding officers. It was, in one way, more injurious to religion than the first Act ; for as long as the

¹ See I. E. RECORD (Fourth Series), vol. i., p. 178 ; and *ibid.*, p. 193.

articles of the Treaty remained in force, the first Act could not be put into execution. Hence, the Orange faction in that Protestant Parliament passed it *unanimously*, as we see here, in the diary of *Journals of the Commons*. They, however, met with an unexpected and vigorous resistance in the House of Lords. To their eternal honour, a protest was signed against it by Lords Duncannon, Londonderry, and Tyrone, the Barons of Limerick, Howth, Ossory, Killaloe, Kerry, Strabane, and Kingston, and also by the Bishops of Derry, Elphin, Clonfert, Kildare, and Killala.

It gave the following reasons:—

1. Because the title did not agree with the body of the bill; the title being ‘An Act for the Confirmation of Irish Articles,’ *whereas no one of said articles was therein fully confirmed.*
2. Because the articles were to be confirmed to them to whom they were granted; but the *confirmation of them by that bill was such that it put them in a worse condition than they were before.*
3. *Because the bill omitted the material words, ‘And all such as are under their protection in the said country,’* which were, by his Majesty’s titles patent, declared to be part of the second article; and several persons had been adjudged within said articles who would, if the bill passed into law, be entirely barred and excluded, so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his Majesty after a solemn debate in council, some express reason ought to be assigned in the bill in order to satisfy the world of that omission.
4. Because several words were inserted in the bill which were not in the articles.

The same *Journals* give us the following petition of ‘Robert Cusack, Captain Francis Segrave, and Captain Maurice Eustace, in behalf of themselves and others, comprised under the Articles of Limerick, setting forth, that in the said bill there were several clauses that would frustrate the petitioners of the benefit of the same, and if it passed into law would turn to the ruin of some, and the prejudice of all persons entitled to the benefit of the said articles; and praying to be heard by counsel to said matters. *It was unanimously resolved that the said petition be rejected.*’

This was in direct contradiction with the promises made in the Treaty of Limerick, which said:—‘Their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.’

And this was duly ratified by their Majesties' letters patent. So that, to use the words of Canon O'Rourke:—'It was beyond the power of King or Parliament to curtail or alter such a treaty. . . If the Parliament did not like the terms of the Treaty, they had no power to set them aside, without putting the other contracting parties in the same position which they held before the Treaty was made. This could not be done, and there was, therefore, no course open but to fulfil the terms of the Treaty.'¹

The 'opening' of this Parliament took place on the 16th March, 1697, the day before this miraculous sweat of blood on this picture of the Blessed Virgin in Hungary. It is quite certain that these three infamous penal Acts were a foregone conclusion, and were already prepared by the Orange members of that Parliament on that memorable 16th March, now two hundred years ago. No wonder, then, that our Blessed Lady should show her sorrow and sympathy for the faithful children of St. Patrick, on his feast day, the 17th March, as the Queen of Heaven already knew the bloody enactments drafted against Irish Catholics, and the dreadful persecutions and cruel spoliations of their properties they were about to endure. We are sure your readers will be glad to see a summary of these nefarious statutes, which we here subjoin. It will show them that, if there is a vestige of faith or religion remaining in Ireland—and where is there such faith and practical religion?—it is owing to a higher Power than the vain efforts of man. Never, perhaps, since the first persecutions of the Church were there such Machiavellian laws enacted to destroy the religion of a country than those passed in this and the subsequent Irish Parliaments. Hell and earth seemed to have combined in this fatal year of 1697 to crush out the very name of Catholic from our faithful people. 'But He that dwelleth in heaven has laughed at them . . . and He has broke them in pieces like a potter's vessel.' To-day there is no nationality in the world which shows its gratitude to the Mother of God, and proclaims her glory, like the children of St. Patrick, over whose sorrows and persecutions she showed such sympathy in this Sweat of Blood two hundred years ago. And well may they do so, for without her all-powerful aid with God, and her loving care of our poor martyred forefathers, religion and the Catholic faith would have passed away from our country, as has happened to England

¹ *Battle of the Faith*, p. 499.

and all the Northern nations of Europe. That sympathy shown by the Queen of Heaven two hundred years ago is still continued by her, not only in Ireland, but in every clime watered by the blood and hallowed by the sufferings of the Irish race, as we priests have good reason to know. May she now, in our present disturbed state, bring back peace and union to our land, and save us, as she has often done in the past, from the effects of the worldliness and materialistic spirit of this nineteenth century.

Friday, 3rd September, 1697, p. 892.

A message from the Lords by the Lord Chief Justice Pyne and the Lord Chief Justice Hely.

That their Lordships have passed a bill, entituled [entitled] an Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy, out of this kingdom, to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

Then the said bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow morning.

Saturday, 4th September, 1697, p. 895.

An engrossed bill from the Lords, entituled an Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy, out of this kingdom, was read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Monday.

Monday, 6th September, 1697.

They postpone this Committee till the 7th, and on the 7th they put it off till the Thursday morning after; *i.e.*, 9th September.

Thursday, 9th September, 1697, p. 897.

Then the House, according to the order for the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of an engrossed bill from the Lords, entituled an Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy, out of this kingdom, and, after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair.

Mr. Weaver reported from the said Committee that they had gone through the said bill, and agreed to the same, *without any amendment*. [This was worthy of the miscreants who framed these and all the other diabolical penal laws of Ireland.]

Ordered—That the bill be read a third time to-morrow morning.

Friday, 10th September, 1697, p. 897.

An engrossed bill from the Lords, entituled an Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy, out of the kingdom, was read a third time, and passed.

A SUMMARY OF THE THREE¹ ACTS AGAINST CATHOLICS SANCTIONED
BY WILLIAM, SEP. 25, 1697.

II.

An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the surrender of the City of Limerick.

In reference to this Act it must be remarked—1. The title omits the word ‘the’ before ‘Articles.’ 2. The preamble of the Act shows the intention of its authors was to evade what ought to have been its proper object. It runs thus: ‘That the said Articles or so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty’s subjects of this kingdom may be confirmed.’ 3. The first Article of the treaty, which guaranteed to the Catholics the free exercise of their religion, and an exemption from all disturbance on account of it, is wholly omitted. 4. In the second Article, the following words, ‘and all such as are under their protection in the said counties’ followed after the words, ‘any of them,’ in the original draft of the treaty which was signed by both parties. Through inadvertence they were omitted by the scribe, but later, attention being called to the omission, the king when ratifying the treaty, ordered them to be inserted and to be part of the said article, ‘and ratified and confirmed the said omitted words.’ By the omission of them now, the benefit of the treaty was confined to the Irish army, the inhabitants of the city of Limerick, and of a few other garrison towns, the rest of the Catholics of the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo being excluded, though in the preamble of the treaty, it is stated that the Irish Generals acted on behalf ‘of the Irish inhabitants of these counties.’ 5. After the words ‘freehold and inheritance,’ a semicolon was substituted for a comma; and after the words, ‘privileges, and immunities,’ the words ‘to the said estates,’ were inserted, and in this way ‘the rights, privileges, and immunities,’ is made to refer only to the estates of the Catholics, and not to their persons and liberties also, to which the original Article referred. 6. The whole of that part of the second

¹ As the full text of the first of these three Acts was printed in the April Number of the I. E. RECORD (p. 370 *et seq.*), we omit F. Jarlath’s summary of it. [Ed. I E. R.]

Article which guaranteed to Catholics the exercise of their several respective trades, professions, and callings is omitted. The 9th article is omitted.

III.

An Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists.

1. If any Protestant woman possessed of lands, &c., to the value of £500 or more, shall after January 1st, 1698, marry any person without having first obtained a certificate, under the hand of the minister of the parish, or bishop, or some justice of the peace, that he is a known Protestant, such Protestant person so marrying, and the person she shall so marry, shall be for ever afterwards rendered incapable of having any of the aforesaid estates, but they shall go to the next Protestant of the kin, to whom such estate would descend by law, were such Protestant woman, and all other intervening popish heirs, &c., really dead and intestate at the time of such marriage. And any Protestant minister or Popish priest, who shall after January 1st, 1698, join in marriage any Protestant woman having any of said estates, &c., without having certificate as aforesaid, being convicted thereof, shall suffer one year's imprisonment, and forfeit the sum of £20.

2. In case any Protestant shall marry any woman without a certificate of his being a known Protestant, such person shall be deemed to all intents and purposes, a popish recusant, and shall afterwards be rendered incapable of being executor or guardian, or being heir to any person whatever, and disabled to sit in either house of Parliament, and of having any civil or military employment whatever, unless within a year after such marriage, he procures such wife to be converted to the Protestant religion, and shall procure a certificate under the hand of the Bishop of the diocese that she is so converted.

3. Any popish priest or Protestant minister that shall marry any soldier enlisted in his Majesty's army to any wife, without such certificate, shall forfeit £20 for every such offence, or in default of goods, &c., be committed to the county jail till he shall pay the said sum, one moiety to such person as shall give information, the other to the Treasurer of the county.

F. JARLATH, O.S.F.

¹ See Parnell, *History of the Penal Laws*, p. 30. Mitchel, *History of Ireland*, p. 26. Canon O'Rourke, *Battle for the Faith*, p. 499. *Our Martyrs*, p. 51. *Haverty* (who evidently did not consult the original authorities, as he gives the year 1695), p. 677.

The extracts from the Journals and Statutes are from the copies in the library of the Friary, Killarney.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND

At the October meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held at Maynooth College, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted :—

We, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, deem it our duty to submit to the Government of the country the statement of our conviction, founded on the personal knowledge of several members of our body, that the failure of the potatoe and cereal crops in many districts of the country, particularly on the Western and Southern coasts, must lead during the coming winter and spring to very acute distress amongst large numbers of the population, and, unless well-conceived measures of relief are taken in good time, may result in disastrous consequences.

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| ✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
and Primate of All Ireland, <i>Chairman.</i> | |
| ✠ FRANCIS J. MACCORMACK, Bishop of
Galway and Kilmacduagh, | } <i>Secretaries to
the Meeting.</i> |
| ✠ JOHN HEALY, Bishop of Clonfert, | |

The following Resolution in reference to the annual payments under the Glebe Loan Acts was also unanimously adopted :—

The Bishops warmly sympathize with the efforts of borrowers under the Glebe Loans Acts to get a reduction of the annual instalments payable to the Board of Works, and recommend that, with a view to procure concerted action in the matter, a priest should be named in each diocese to organize the borrowers and urge the question on the attention of the Government.

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|---|--|
| ✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
and Primate of All Ireland, <i>Chairman.</i> | |
| ✠ FRANCIS J. MACCORMACK, Bishop of
Galway and Kilmacduagh, | } <i>Secretaries to
the Meeting.</i> |
| ✠ JOHN HEALY, Bishop of Clonfert, | |

ABSOLUTION IN CASES RESERVED TO THE POPE

THE Holy Office recently arrived at an important decision with regard to cases reserved to the Holy Father, and the decision has been ratified by His Holiness. The following is the text of this decision, which is in the form of a reply to an inquiry by a bishop :—

Ex decreto S. Inquisitionis 23 junii 1886 cuilibet confessario directe absolvere licet a censuris etiam speciali modo S. Pontifici reservatis in casibus vere urgentioribus, in quibus absolutio differri nequit absque periculo gravis scandali vel infamiae, iniunctis de jure iniungendis, sub poena tamen reincidentiae in easdem censuras, nisi saltem infra mensem per epistolam et per medium confessarii absolutus recurrat ad S. Sedem.

Dubium tamen oritur, pro casu quo nec scandalum nec infamia est in absolutionis dilatione; sed poenitens censuris palpalibus innodatus in mortali diu permanere debet, nempe per tempus requisitum ad petitionem et concessionem facultatis absolvendi a reservatis; praesertim quum theologi cum S. Alphonso de Liguorio ut quid durissimum habeant pro aliquo per unam vel alteram diem in mortali culpa permanere.

Hinc, post decretum 23 junii 1886, deficiente hac in quaestione theologorum solutione, quaeritur:

I. Utrum in casu quo nec infamia, nec scandalum est in absolutionis dilatione, sed durum valde est pro poenitente in gravi peccato permanere per tempus necessarium ad petitionem et concessionem facultatis absolvendi a reservatis, simplici confessario liceat a censuris, S. Pontifici reservatis directe absolvere, iniunctis de iure iniungendis, sub poena tamen reincidentiae in easdem censuras, nisi saltem infra mensem per epistolam et per medium confessarii recurrat ad S. Sedem?

II. Et quatenus negative, utrum simplex confessarius eundem poenitentem indirecte absolvere debeat, cum monens ut a censuris directe in posterum a superiore absolvi curet vel apud ipsum revertatur, postquam obtinuerit facultatem absolvendi?

Feria IV., 16 Junii, 1897.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. cardinalibus in rebus fidei generalibus inquisitoribus, proposito supra scripto dubio praehabitoque RR. DD. consultorum S. Officii voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi DD. respondendum censuerunt.

Ad I. affirmative, facto verbo cum SS. mo.

Ad II. provisum in primo.

Insequenti vero feria VI. die 18 ejusdem mensis et anni in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de omnibus SS. mo D. N. Leoni PP. XIII. relatione idem SS. Dominus Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

J. WAGNER.

SOME DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE ORDINATION OF PRIESTS

ORDINANDUS QUI A MANIBUS COORDINANDORUM IMPEDITUS EST NE TANGERET INSTRUMENTA: *acquiescat.*

BEATISSIME PATER,

Gaspar Sacerdos ut suae conscientiae consulatur, humiliter postulat sequentis dubii solutionem. Quum Orator sacrum suscepit presbyteratus ordinem, quatuor vel quinque insimul erant ordinandi qui omnes certatim instrumenta tangere conitebantur. Meminit se prius talia tetigisse, sed quando prolata est formula, etsi conaretur illa denuo tangere, impeditus fuit a manibus caeterorum: inde timores agitationesque circa suae ordinationis validitatem.

Feria IV., 17 Martii, 1897.

In Congre Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi ac Rmi Dni respondendum mandarunt:

Orator acquiescat.

Sequenti vero die et feria facta de praedictis relatione SS. D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Papae XIII in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Not.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

TENNYSON : A MEMOIR. By Hallam Lord Tennyson.
2 vols. London : Macmillan & Co.

How difficult a task it is to portray with detailed accuracy the life of a great man, and at the same time to produce a volume the attractions of whose style will rivet popular attention, may be inferred from the very small number of biographies that have become lasting memorials of those whom they were intended to commemorate. The difficulty that primarily besets the biographer is to arrive at a true estimate of the character and guiding principles of him whose life he writes ; to enter into his mind, and trace his actions to their source ; as the late Laureate himself expressed it in an unpublished preface to *Becket* :—

For whatsoever knows us truly, knows
That none can truly write his single day,
And none can write it for him upon earth.

Moreover, where special facilities for knowledge of the subject's inner life are had, not always are the graces of style at the command of the biographer. These difficulties, however, are largely surmounted in the volumes before us, for, while we are admitted into as close communion with the life of the great poet as the most eager can desire, the work evinces also a high degree of literary and artistic merit.

In his biographer Tennyson has been singularly favoured. His life is written by one who knew him better than anyone else on earth, who had been the constant companion of his later manhood and declining years, who had watched him with solicitude—affectionate even for a son—and who had treasured up his utterances with a jealous care that might outrival Boswell. The writer of the memoir had at his command the knowledge derived from the unconstrained intercourse of years ; he has utilized, in addition, the diary of his mother, in which the conversations and actions of 'A' are minutely recorded, the letters and manuscripts of the Laureate himself, and the poems, with every line of which he shows thorough acquaintance, and in which long familiarity has taught him to see a perfect reflex of his father's spirit.

All these poems it has been his privilege to hear his father read and explain: nay, in many cases he has himself been the witness of their conception and elaboration. Nor with this large store of materials has he been content, for he has supplemented the recollections of the domestic circle by those of many learned men who have been the intimate friends of the great poet. Reminiscences furnished by Jowett, Froude, Gladstone, Tyndall, Palgrave, the Duke of Argyll, and Aubrey de Vere, find a place in the volumes, and contribute much to their interest.

The history of the literary life of the poet is given in his own riddle of *Merlin and the Gleam*, and explained by his son as he himself read it. The story of his birth, boyhood, homes, school, college, friendships, and travels is very exhaustive, and though containing many things of slight importance in themselves, will be read with avidity owing to the lustre which the subsequent eminence of the poet reflects upon them. For his later life the compiler's difficulty has been to choose from the abundance of materials at his disposal what was most suitable for the work in hand. For instance, with the assistance of Professors Palgrave and Sidgwick, he has made a selection for publication from upwards of 40,000 letters.

He has aimed throughout at letting his own hand appear in the biography as little as possible, supplying merely the setting and the connection for the whole. While the authentic value of the work is thus perhaps enhanced, its unity and continuity is somewhat marred. Many poems or fragments, rejected from his publications by the author, are inserted by the biographer. These show us what a rigid critic the poet was of his own work. Interesting notes also detail his manner of collecting materials, the incidents, often accidents, that led to the conception of his poems, and the history of their production and reception.

Full of interest, too, are the notices of Arthur Hallam that appear in the work, and the testimony of many of his learned college contemporaries silences for ever the cavil that Tennyson had exaggerated the merits of his companion, and that Hallam was not really worthy of such sorrow as his poet friend's, or of such a lament as '*In Memoriam*.'

To the student of Tennyson the work is invaluable, as it gives the poet's own interpretation of many difficult parts of his poems. Thus, a manuscript note of its author gives the key to

'In Memoriam,' tells the circumstances in which it was written and the divisions of the poem; the poet's MSS. also furnishes an explanation and a lengthy analysis written to remove the many misconceptions of reviewers and commentators of the structure and idea of *Maud*. The *Memoir*, too, sets forth the poet's own conception of the Allegory in the *Idylls*—how far it is to be sought for and insisted on—and the scheme of Epic Unity in the poem. These are but a few of the obvious advantages to the student from the poet's own commentary on his work. Most of the *Idylls* were originally written in prose; the perusal of the prose version of *Balin and Balan* under the title of 'The Dolorous Stroke,' makes us regret that further specimens of these interesting compositions are not found in the volumes.

In an Appendix are published the letters of Tennyson and the Queen; the former largely characterized by their effusive loyalty, the latter progressing with time from the cold formalities of stately courtesy to affectionate condescension for an old friend. The *Memoir* is dedicated by permission to the Queen, the title page bearing an unpublished ode to Her Majesty the Queen, by the Laureate.

The volumes are beautifully illustrated. There are ten photographs of Tennyson, besides those of Mrs. Tennyson, of their children Hallam and Lionel, views of their homes at Aldworth and Farringford, and facsimiles of many of the poet's manuscripts.

We are informed by Messrs. Macmillan that the first edition of 5,000 copies is already exhausted, and that a second edition has just been issued. We are not surprised at this rapid sale. No genuine student of English literature, and no true admirer of Tennyson, as a poet, can afford to dispense with these beautiful volumes.

C. M.

THE ENGLISH BLACK MONKS OF ST. BENEDICT. By Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton. 2 vols. London: John C. Nimmo.

THESE two volumes are full of interest from many points of view. The author has evidently laboured long and hard in collecting and collating materials for his work. He has consulted many authorities, and gone to the sources of genuine history, making use of the materials placed at his disposal with a courage

and spirit that relieve the monotony of history. If it be true that the civilization and supremacy of Europe are due to the Popes and Bishops and monasteries of the middle ages, it is no less clear that England's power and domination at the present day can be traced without much difficulty to the great and liberty-loving prelates, and to the powerful religious bodies that directed and moulded its civil and religious life during the eventful centuries that witnessed the evolution and definite establishment of its institutions. In that great development the Black Monks of St. Benedict undoubtedly played a leading, if not a preponderating, part.

The first of these volumes deals with their achievements up to the time of Henry VIII.; the second, with their restoration and growth in modern days.

As we are struck by the fact that so few great names stand out in the whole history of the Order in England, we feel bound to attribute the great influence of the Benedictines much more to the system and organizations of monastic life than to any great master-mind, of native origin, that directed and guided them. With a few well-known names in the early days of the Order in England, the first volume is practically exhausted. It is no wonder, therefore, that the author devotes so much of his space to an exposition of the mode of life and methods of work which led to the vast influence of the Black Monks in England.

The second volume is mainly dominated by the personality of Dom Leander, who may justly be called the second founder of the Benedictine Order in England.

A considerable amount of space is given in this second volume to the rivalries and bickerings of different religious bodies, lay and clerical, secular and regular, and weighty indictments are drawn up against illustrious personages whom Catholics had hitherto regarded with a certain amount of veneration. These charges are, in our opinion, not unlikely to call for protest. Whether any good may result, either from the charges or their refutation, is another question. The different policies and the rival intrigues of zealous men did a great deal, in critical times, to weaken the action of the Catholic body in England. Anything like a revival of these buried ghosts would serve no good purpose at the present day. History, however, has its lessons and its warnings, and an honest and impartial historian cannot afford to keep them in the background.

J. F. H.

CATHOLIC DOCTRINES EXPLAINED AND PROVED. By
Rev. P. Ryan. London: Washbourne. Dublin: James
Duffy & Co., Ltd.

IN this little volume many questions are treated of that are of special interest to converts. Many difficulties that they labour under are solved. There is, first of all, the difficulty of learning what exactly is the teaching of the Catholic Church. This is often the greatest obstacle to the conversion of souls. In the little book before us the author explains the truths of faith, and thus removes to a great extent this impediment. Another difficulty of non-Catholics is to realize that the Catholic Church is the Church of early Christianity, the Church of the fathers. A perusal of this work will help to remove some of the doubts that may exist on this point; for many extracts from the writings of the fathers are given to bear out the truth of Catholic doctrines.

If often happens that it is not the books which display the grandest style, the most correct punctuation, and the best grammar that do the greatest good. We hope it may be so with this work. Though the arguments are sometimes not sufficiently developed, and though some improvement might be made in the grammatical construction of sentences, still we hope that the zeal displayed by the author will gain for those who read his work the grace of accepting the truths of Catholic faith such as they are presented.

J. M. H.



THE TEACHING OF MUSIC IN IRISH SCHOOLS

AT their meeting in October, 1895, their Lordships the Trustees of Maynooth College passed a resolution, asking the Scholastic Council of the College to report to them 'on any measures they may think it desirable to take with a view to improve, strengthen, and complete the teaching department of the College.' In accordance with this resolution, a large number of meetings were held, during the academic year, by the Scholastic Council, the condition of the various studies of the College was discussed, and suggestions as to improvements were formulated. At one of these meetings I submitted a memorandum on my own department, the Class of Church Music. This memorandum was favourably received by the members of the Council, and ordered to be submitted to the Trustees for consideration. At subsequent meetings of their Lordships the Trustees, the various proposals of the Council were considered, and some very important alterations, such as the establishment of two new chairs, were decreed. At the last October meeting, then, my memorandum was brought under the notice of the Trustees. Their Lordships did not see their way to granting at once the institution of an Entrance Examination in Music, as proposed in my memorandum, but they passed the following resolution :—

Resolved, that Father Beveridge is requested by the bishops to publish in the *I. E. RECORD* the useful suggestions he has made

in his letter to the Council of Studies, in reference to the improvement of the work of his department. It is considered that, in this way, the suggestions will at once be brought under the notice of the Managers of Primary Schools, and the Presidents of Intermediate Schools and of Diocesan Seminaries, throughout the country; a necessary preliminary to their adoption in reference to the examination of students entering the College.

In accordance with this resolution I here publish the text of my memorandum, to which I will add some further considerations :—

GENTLEMEN, I beg to submit to your consideration, the fact, that the class of Church Music is at present in an unsatisfactory condition, and to suggest a means which, in my opinion, would go far to remedy the defect.

The object of the teaching of music in a college like this must be twofold : first, to enable the students to sing in a becoming manner all the chants which the liturgy assigns to the celebrant and the sacred ministers ; secondly, to place the future parish priests in a position to control the music in their churches to such an extent that they may be able to judge whether that music is in accordance with the laws of the Church, and the dignity of Divine Worship.

As to the first point, the proper state of things would require that all the students, or at least the large majority of them, should be able to sing the Prayers, Gospels, Prefaces, *Itē Missa est*, &c, correctly and with a well-trained, agreeable voice. As to the second point, the theoretical instruction ought to comprise subjects like the following :—The Legislation of the Church concerning Church Music ; a History of Gregorian Chant and the Elements of its Theory (tonality, rhythm, forms) ; a History of Church Music in general, as far as necessary to understand the various styles and forms of harmonized Church Music ; the Aesthetic Principles of Church Music.

As things are at present, both these aims can but very imperfectly be attained. Only a small number of students are, at the end of their course, able to sing the melodies prescribed by the Church for the *Itē Missa est* and *Benedicamus Domino*. A considerable number are not even able to sing the Gospels and prayers correctly ; and as to voice training, very little can be done to enable the students to render the Sacred words with that dignity and beauty that befit the Divine Worship and save the ears of the congregation from offence. The theoretical instructions, too, can be imparted only to a very insufficient extent.

This condition of things, however, is not due to inadequate arrangements being made in the teaching plan of this College.

As much time is given now to instruction in singing, as can be spared from the other studies, and as would be amply sufficient, if the students on entering had the qualification which ought to be expected from them. The one reason for the defects complained of is that most of the students enter here with their voices and ears absolutely untrained. Most of the time, then, allotted to Gregorian Chant, has to be spent in teaching the very rudiments of music, awakening the first sensations of musical intervals, and trying to get some musical sound out of the rough and uncultured voices.

This occupation is not only unworthy of a professor of this College, and unworthy of students engaged in, or immediately preparing for, theological studies, it is also a great waste of time. The students enter here at a period of their life when it is too late to begin musical study with good results. Singing, that is to say, the perception of the harmonic relations of tones, and the emission of pleasing vocal sound, can best be taught in earlier years, when the organs are pliable, and the brain is susceptible of new impressions. It then is very easy and satisfactory work. But, as Mr. Goodman, Examiner of Music to the Board of National Education, says in his report for 1894 : ' No one who has not had experience of it can form an idea of what a painful, laborious, and all but hopeless task it is to have to teach singing to adults who never had "voice" or "ear" developed in early youth.'

Hence the task of teaching the elements of singing must be assigned to the Primary and Intermediate Schools, and an essential change in the results of the musical teaching of this College can be expected only if the Primary and Intermediate schools begin to recognise their obligation of imparting the elementary instruction in singing.

It is my opinion, then, that we ought to do all in our power to secure this end. For if the subject in question is important enough to justify the appointment of a special professor for it, it also justly claims that everything necessary should be done in order to secure the efficiency of his teaching. As the best means to this end, I beg to suggest that an examination in music should be made part of the Entrance Examination for this College. The requirements need not, for the present, be put at a very high level. A great advantage could be gained, it, for instance, every student on entering were required to be able to imitate a given tone. I remain, &c.

As is easily seen, the burden of this paper is an appeal to the managers of schools and the presidents of colleges and seminaries. It was in order forcibly to draw their attention to the necessity of musical teaching in their schools that I

suggested the entrance examination in music. Their Lordships the bishops have taken a more moderate course; they simply wish to bring the matter under the notice of the managers and presidents. Their policy may be the wiser one, and I am not wanting in confidence that it will prove successful. No one who, with an unprejudiced eye, examines the progress made by the Irish schools during the comparatively short period they have been allowed to exist, can withhold his unbounded admiration. The work that has been accomplished is enormous and worthy of the highest praise. And, in no small degree, to the wisdom and energy of the managers and presidents of schools this gratifying state of things is due. There is every reason to hope, therefore, that since the necessity of musical training has been put before them, not for the first time, indeed, but under a new aspect and with episcopal recommendation, they will do their part to bring about the required improvement.

No doubt there are difficulties in the way. One difficulty, for primary schools at least, is the scarcity of competent teachers. In the training colleges, indeed, good work is being done. But they are labouring under the same difficulty as Maynooth College—the backward state of the candidates on entering. I have already, in the above memorandum, quoted from a report of Mr. Goodman, Examiner of Music to the Board of National Education. I cannot refrain from quoting, at some length, from the same gentleman's report for the year 1896. He says:—

Musical work continues to proceed steadily in the Training Colleges. No other subject is studied with more zeal, or taught with more earnestness. If greater results are not obtained, the cause is to be found, not in any want of efficiency on the part of the professors, but in the conditions under which they have to teach. So long as the great majority of the students continue to come up to the Training Colleges without any previous training or practice in vocal music, so long will the work of the music teachers in the colleges be one of labour and of difficulty. The first thing required, therefore, in my opinion, is to improve, from a musical point of view, the material coming into the colleges. This, I feel convinced, could be very effectually done by placing practical vocal music among the requirements of the examination of candidates for entrance. Such an examination

need not be a very strict one; it might be, indeed, in the beginning simply a test of voice and ear rather than of musical knowledge. But the great result of placing vocal music among the subjects for examination at entrance would be to direct the attention, from an early period, of all intending candidates to the necessity of preparing themselves in this as well as in the other ordinary subjects of examination. And it would be very much to the advantage of the students themselves if they would only secure this preliminary training in singing. . . . If a student be utterly unpractised in singing at the time of his entrance into training, he will in all probability never be in a position to teach it. Skill in all musical matters is best acquired in early youth. Proficiency in singing especially, is rarely obtained by anyone beginning in adult age; while in very early life singing is as easy as it is delightful. Hence the necessity of very early training in music, above all to those who are to teach it.

We find, in this extract, the same complaint that I gave expression to in my memorandum: the want of musical training in early youth. This, indeed, is the *circulus vitiosus* under which we labour. There are no teachers competent to teach music; consequently, the aspiring teachers have no chance of learning music while at school; in the Training College they cannot acquire a sufficient knowledge of music, and therefore go out as teachers incompetent to teach music. This is a very serious difficulty indeed, and one that cannot be overcome in a few years. But it is all the more desirable that a vigorous effort should be made to accelerate progress in this matter. Managers of schools have a great influence here. By applying for teachers capable of teaching music, they will encourage the study of music among the aspirant teachers; by giving their own pupil teachers an opportunity of being taught in music, and by directing their attention to the necessity of such preparatory study, they will facilitate the work of the Training Colleges in this department.

It may be well to mention here, that the certificates issued to teachers regarding the teaching of music are no guarantee that the owner of such a certificate is a good teacher of music. They only enable the teacher to earn result fees in music; they secure that if he teaches pupils so that they will pass the examination, he will be paid

for his work; but they are no proof that his teaching really will have this effect. It is advisable, therefore, that managers desirous of getting teachers for instruction in music, should make special inquiries as to their capability of teaching it.

As to the Intermediate schools, I am not aware that the same difficulty of obtaining a competent teacher exists. There the great obstacle is the pressure of other studies, and the fact that no payment is given for the teaching of singing. The best remedy here would be a complete change of the system of Intermediate examinations—a measure now advocated, we believe, from many quarters, and for many reasons. But in the meantime we trust that the merits of the case itself will induce enlightened presidents of colleges and seminaries to bestow due attention to this subject. In Germany, at the intermediate schools, in the lower classes at least, two hours a week are devoted to class-singing, while the members of the choir have two additional hours' practice. Perhaps it would be too much to expect so much time to be given to singing in this country, for the present at least. But I imagine that an hour every week could easily be spared for class-singing, and a great deal of good work could be done during this hour. The teaching, however, should be given to *all*, and in a scientific manner.

A good effect could also be produced without any additional loss of time, if congregational singing were employed at the various college devotions, at Mass, Benediction, perhaps even at night prayer, and the like. The introduction of this practice might cause some difficulty; but, if it were once well established, it would work quite easily. The simpler melodies of Gregorian chant, such as the *Tantum Ergo*, *Veni Creator*, *Salve Regina*, *Te Deum*, and the *Ordinarium Missae*, together with simple devotional hymns, would furnish the proper material for this congregational singing.

The reasons I have given for the teaching of singing apply only in the case of students intended for the priesthood. It might, therefore, appear desirable that I should say a word about the advantage of singing lessons for boys

preparing for other avocations. These advantages are claimed to be many and great. But they have been explained before me in a much better way than I could do it. I, therefore, confine myself to mentioning the benefit derived from singing lessons for public speaking. It is clear that if such an advantage can be derived, it is of great importance to every educated man. But I may refer here particularly to the case of teachers, Primary as well as Intermediate. It is a well-known fact that teachers, to a great extent, are suffering from throat affections, resulting from an overstrain of the voice in speaking. Now, it is maintained by the best authorities that these evils could be avoided, if the voice were used in a proper and scientific manner. This being so, I should like to point out that the practice of singing, in as far as it concerns itself with voice production, is the very best means of learning the proper use of the voice even for speaking purposes. The pronunciation of the consonants is the same, of course, in singing and in speaking, while the formation of the vowel sounds, the 'placing of the voice,' is also best learnt by singing, because the prolonged tones of singing enable the student to become conscious of the way he produces his voice, and to find out, while listening to himself, the means of improving his tones. For this reason declamation masters actually make the pupil *sing* the vowel sounds to learn the proper way of emitting them. If, therefore, a singing lesson is properly conducted by the teacher, and carefully attended to by the pupils, it cannot fail to produce the beneficial results alluded to.

I have been informed that since my above memorandum was brought under the notice of their Lordships, in one seminary a special class for singing Gregorian chant has been instituted. This is very gratifying to learn. *Vicant sequentes.*

H. BEWERUNGE.

PHOENICIA AND ISRAEL

TO the Biblical student every name occurring in the pages of the Sacred Text has a peculiar interest. It recalls, perhaps, some incident in the lives of the patriarchs or some event in the troublous days of the kings—it may be a victory, it may be a defeat, it may be some deed of valour, or even a deed of treachery and shame. Or, perhaps, it reminds us of some striking intervention of Divine Power in favour of the chosen people, and brings before us once again the venerable figure of the aged patriarch or roughly-clad prophet—mysterious, awe-inspiring figures upon which our fancy loves to dwell. We never read of Bersabee but we think of the league between Abraham and Abimelech, or later, between Isaac and Abimelech ; while Mambre and Hebron, Bethel and Gerara, are names which make us live over again the great patriarch's life. Gelboe calls to mind David's lament over Saul and Jonathan ; Moab tells us of the passage of the Arnon and the disputes about the boundary. If we listen to the tale of Sennacherib, or the story of the Exodus, we instinctively contrast the present state of Assyria and Egypt with their former insolence and rapacity. They were the oppressors of God's people—where are they now ? And so it is with any name we choose to mention ; be it town or village, hill or dale, stream or well, they all carry with them the most vivid associations ; they are relics of the past, telling their story to every passer-by.

It is this, perhaps, which, apart from all considerations, gives so great a charm to the merely historical side of the New Testament. We meet the same people, and come to the same places ; the same venerable names occur again and again ; we mingle amid the same familiar scenes as before ; and yet there is no change. The people are still children of Abraham, still Israelites as of yore ; but Pharisee and Sadducee contrast strangely with the idolatrous Jews of the

Captivity: here are the same Levitical Priests, yet how different from the lax and dissolute body of whom we have so dark a picture presented to us in the sons of Eli. Then they disregarded the law, both spirit and letter; now, if they know not its spirit, they yet cling tenaciously to its letter. And even where the light of the New Covenant shines most brightly, where the change is an unmixed blessing and fills our hearts with joy, we yet derive a new pleasure from the thought of the contrast, afforded by the old associations with which the spot is inseparably linked. We read of the desert, and it is no longer Moses and the stiff-necked Jews who people it, but a solitary figure wanders there clad in camel's hair. We come to Jacob's well: the white tents of the patriarch with the far-spreading flocks do not meet our gaze, but we see instead a weary figure seated there while a woman with her vessel in her hand listens spell-bound to His words.

So too, Tyre and Sidon, one phase of whose history forms the subject of this present paper, awaken in our minds a long train of thought as we read about them in the New Testament. They seem from the casual way in which our Saviour, the Evangelists, and St. Paul speak of them, to have been poor and insignificant then, but we cannot help recalling those marvellously poetical chapters in Ezechiel wherein the prophet depicts in such glowing terms their power and beauty: 'O Tyre, thou hast said: I am of perfect beauty, and situated in the heart of the sea. Thy neighbours that built thee have perfected thy beauty.' And again: 'The Persians, and Lydians, and the Lybians, were the soldiers in thy army. . . . The men of Arad were with thy army upon the walls round about. . . . The Carthaginians thy merchants. . . . Greece, Tubal, and Mosoch, they were thy merchants: they brought to thy people slaves and vessels of brass.'² How sad a contrast is this picture of far-reaching power, of a sovereignty which extended as far as the limits of the then known world, with the woeful spectacle which these same cities present to the

¹ Ezech. xxvii. 3, 4

² Ezech. xxvii. 10-13.

readers of the Acts of the Apostles ! ‘ And he (Herod) was angry with the Tyrians and the Sidonians. . . . And he made an oration to them, and the people made acclamation saying : It is the voice of a god and not of a man ! ’¹ And this was the city which had resisted the besieging army of Nabuchodonnosor for fifteen years, this the city whose king had said in his heart : ‘ I am God, and I sit in the chair of God, in the heart of the sea ! ’²

A knowledge of the past history of these famous cities renders still more striking the sad contrast between these two pictures. It is a history which cannot rival that of Greece or Rome in the stirring excitement of constant warfare, nor can Tyre and Sidon boast a long line of kings of heroic mould such as were the leaders of the Grecian and Trojan hosts. Neither were the Tyrians famous for their cultivation of literature and the muses ; no Homer or Virgil told their history in an epic, no Horace or Ovid graced the courts of their kings. Their fame and their right to perpetual honour rests on a very different foundation, such as, perhaps, would have merited for them but scanty praise from the brusque and haughty Roman or polished Greek.

From a mere cursory reading of the Bible we might be tempted to rank the Phœnicians among those numerous peoples whose names occur very frequently in the sacred page, but who have had to all appearances little or no material influence upon the chosen people. We say, to all appearances, because we would not for one moment assert that any of the nations with whose names we become so familiar as we read the Bible, had no influence upon the Israelites ; the more carefully and thoughtfully we read, the more wonderfully do the designs of Providence with regard to these same peoples, manifest themselves to us. We see how each one of them had its appointed part to play, and when we are enabled, as now, to throw the light of the inscriptions discovered in such numbers in late years, upon the Bible records, passages which up to now had meant little or nothing to us, assume a new importance and put

¹ Acts xii. 20, 21.

² Ezech. xxviii. 2.

us in possession of facts of which we had hitherto never dreamed. Thus it has been with the Hittites, that mysterious people of whom till recent years we knew next to nothing, but who, as Professor Sayce so clearly shows in his history of this 'forgotten empire,' by their long and arduous contest with Egypt, prepared Palestine for its occupation by the Israelites. But to the cursory reader, as we have said, these things are not so apparent, and it is only when some accident has, so to speak, put us upon the scent, that we enter upon a series of investigations and comparisons which at the same time that they open up to us a new and deeply interesting bye-path in history, also establish the accuracy of the Bible narrative in a most convincing manner. The history of the relations between Phœnicia and Israel form one of the most interesting subjects which the Biblical student can investigate, and it is a history which only patient investigation will unravel. The Bible is a history of the Jewish people, but as it goes along it drops hints and suggestions regarding the history of the surrounding nations, and these when woven together form a long and connected skein of marvellous consistency. Like the geologist at work in the quarry or the cutting, we pick up inch by inch the particular stratum of which we are in search. At one time it runs clearly along, standing out in bold relief on the face of the cliff, at another time only minute traces of its presence are to be found; now we are to be guided by some peculiar fossil, now by the characteristic colouring of the rock, while occasionally all signs of its presence are lost to us, and we have to dig deeper in search of the vein which has come to an unexpected 'fault.' The first step then in our investigations is to find out who the Phœnicians were, and as their history is not familiar to everyone, it may be of interest to many, and we will therefore give it at some length.

When we first learnt to spell, we were probably told by our spelling-book or by our teacher, that the alphabet was invented by the Phœnicians. If we pressed our instructor further, there was probably a silence, which we in our innocence attributed to an unwillingness to burden

our too youthful minds, but which, had we known it—and well for us we did not so much as dream it—was in all likelihood due to ignorance. Who were the Phœnicians? As years slipped by, and we conned our Virgil in lower forms at school, the old familiar name which had aroused our childish curiosity, cropped up again in its Latin garb of *Poeni*. They were fearful men those *Poeni*. Their portraits, as drawn for us by Roman writers, cling to us now, and we fancy we see Regulus, hero-like, suffering those cruel tortures, even as we write. And yet we little thought as we read on, that the Romans were much the same: quite as fierce, quite as superstitious, and not one half so civilized even, if more humane; though they were, perhaps, less gloomy in their beliefs, and with higher ideals, higher instincts and pursuits. Then the same old question recurred: who were these mysterious *Poeni*? and we were told that they were the sailors of the ancient world, the pioneers of civilization, the fathers of trade and commerce, founders of cities, and colonisers of distant lands; their chief town was Carthage, and they were said to have come there from Tyre in the Holy Land. And now, when our school days are over, and we read and ponder over our Bible, the same old question meets us once again: Who were the Tyrians, and where did they come from?

This is a question which has been much discussed by ethnologists, and various opinions, into which it would be foreign to our purpose to enter, are upheld. The account given us by the Bible tallies admirably with all that profane history can tell us on the point, except in one particular, and that regards the language of the Phœnicians; for while the Bible makes them the sons of Canaan, who was the son of Cham, there seems to be little doubt that their language was Semitic. After describing the flood, the sacred writer gives us the geneological tree of the sons of Noe: ‘And the sons of Cham: Chus, and Mesraim, and Phuth, and Chanaan.’¹ ‘And Chanaan begot Sidon his first-born, the Hethite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorrhite, and the

¹ Gen. x. 6.

Gergesite, . . . '1 And the rest of the nations whom the Israelites were bidden drive out of the land. He then adds: 'And afterwards the families of the Chanaanites were spread abroad,'2 that is, from the mountainous district of Armenia, where the Ark had settled. For some years then these tribes dwelt in the land which lies between Armenia and Arabia; they peopled those vast plains watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, and many of them wandered even as far as the Indus, passing through Susiana, Elam, Carmania, and Gedrosia keeping close to the shores of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. As years went by, the land grew too narrow for the immense hordes which rapidly sprang into existence, while vast masses poured into it from the east and north, thus driving the Chanaanites towards the west, where they peopled Africa and Palestine, which latter country was called after them, the land of Chanaan. This, in the main, is the view generally accepted. But a difficulty still remains regarding the name Phœnicians. The clue to this difficulty seems to be found in the testimony of Herodotus and Strabo, the former of whom avers that the Phœnicians, whom he questioned, traced their origin to a migration from the shores of the Erythraean Sea. The locality of this sea is a matter of dispute, geographers being undecided whether to refer it to the Persian or the Arabian Gulf; but its locality is not so important for us as the meaning of the name. In Greek, *φαιρός* means red, and so does *Ερυθρός*. May we not, therefore, suppose that the name Phœnician was one which the Chanaanite tribes, who for a long time after the flood had dwelt on the shores of the Erythraean Sea, appropriated to themselves, throwing round it a mythical glamour which made them the descendants of the mythical Phœnix, son of the still more mythical Antenor. This, of course, is a theory, and a theory only. Still it has the advantage of according with the Biblical narrative, at the same time, that it does not, as far as we know, fall foul of the witness of modern discovery. In confirmation of the statement of Herodotus, it may be mentioned, that

¹ Gen. x. 15, 16.

² Gen. x. 16.

several of the islands in the Persian Gulf bear Phœnician names ; while the Syrians of the time of Herodotus pointed as a proof of their story, to temples and buildings still existing on those islands. The date of their emigration from the Erythraean Sea cannot, of course, be so definitively settled. Lenormant assigns it to 2400 or 2300, B.C.

The new arrivals would not find the land empty when they came, for Palestine was far too luxuriantly beautiful, and, at least in parts, far too lazily fertile to be long unoccupied. Many of the aboriginal inhabitants seem to have been of abnormal size and strength, and tales of their formidable appearance so terrified the Israelites that they determined to go back to Egypt. 'The people that we beheld are of a tall stature ; there we saw certain monsters of the sons of Enoc, of the giant kind, in comparison of whom we seemed like locusts.'¹ We have no notice of the wars which the Chanaanites must have waged against those monsters ; but at the time of the exodus they do not seem to have existed in very great numbers, and it is noticeable that they are nearly all collected on the desert side of the Jordan.

From the Bible narrative we gather, that the Chanaanite tribes which now occupied the Holy Land, were divided by the localities in which they had established themselves into two main bodies : 'And the limits of Chanaan were from Sidon as one comes to Gerara, even to Gaza, until thou enter Sodom and Gomorrhah, and Adama, and Seboim, even to Lesa.'¹ One body then seems to have taken up its abode in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, the other to have occupied the long strip of coast-land which we now know as Phœnicia. It is with this latter body that we are chiefly concerned ; the former appears to have gradually disappeared before the impetuous advance of the Israelites, who in time reduced them to a state of servitude. Phœnicia, some two hundred miles in length, with a maximum breadth of perhaps twenty, was in every sense a favoured nook, and one well suited to a tribe which had, if we are to believe

¹ Numb. xiii. 33, 34.

² Gen. x. 19.

their own account, been reared upon the sea-shore. At their backs lay the 'everlasting hills' of Palestine; before them stretched the Mediterranean. The hills sheltered them from the marauding tribes of the interior, and from the Egyptian hosts, which under Thothmes III. and Ramses II. spread desolation throughout Palestine and Syria, in their efforts to overcome the redoubtable Hittites. The mountain slopes yielded pines and cedars, cypresses and firs, for their huge fleets; while their flocks roamed the hill-side, which was a veritable garden of Eden in its profusion of oriental flowers and fruits. Citrons and melons, almonds and peaches, vied with plantations of olives, spices and pomegranates in loading the air with their rich perfume. Lebanon has been justly called 'the glory of Phœnicia.' This world-renowned range of mountains rose to a height of six thousand feet and more, and was covered with immense groves of cedars and pines. How glorious they must have looked, clothed to within a few hundred feet of their summits, with those magnificent trees which stood out in clear startling contrast with the everlasting snow crowning the topmost peaks! Well-nigh numberless are the similes and allusions which the inspired Hebrew poets drew from those royal trees: 'Behold the Assyrian like a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches and full of leaves . . . the cedars in the paradise of God were not higher than he.'¹ But few, alas! now remain, the hand of the spoiler has come upon them. Hiram and Solomon we may suppose to have exercised discretion in felling the timber, but not so Sennacherib and the vandals who succeeded him in stripping the mountains of their pride and glory: 'With the multitude of my chariots, I have gone up to the height of the mountains, to the top of Lebanus; and I will cut down its tall cedars, and its choice fir-trees.'² In the year 1875, but three hundred and seventy-seven were to be counted, and few of these were of real antiquity. We who have rarely had the chance of seeing more than a few cedars together, can hardly imagine what an entire grove of them can have been like.

¹ Ez. xxx. 3-8.² Js. xxxvii. 24.

The tree looks ill-adapted to growth in company since the expanse of its boughs is often greater than its height, and great numbers of men with their flocks can find shelter beneath the huge limbs. They were specially suited to a country where rain ceases to fall from May to October, and where the sun has a power which we can only faintly appreciate.

Of the towns of Phœnicia the most important were Aradus, Sidon, Tyre, Gebal, and Byblus. There were others such as Tripolis and Acco, the modern Acre, but they do not seem to have played so prominent a part in the commercial world of Phœnicia as the afore-mentioned, which formed a strong confederacy among themselves, and made their power felt far inland, though they never seem to have aimed at acquiring large territorial possessions in their own immediate neighbourhood. 'They dwelt without any fear according to the custom of the Sidonians, secure and easy,'¹ devoting themselves to the acquirement of immense wealth and far-reaching power by means of trade and the cultivation of the mechanical arts. The early history of these towns is shrouded in the mist of ages. In the Bible, Sidon is called the first-born of Chanaan, but at the same time it is certain that Berytus and Byblus were of a far greater antiquity; they may have been founded by the aboriginal inhabitants who were afterwards dispossessed by the Phœnicians, and in this case Sidon's title of the eldest born of Chanaan, if applied to the town at all, and not merely to its founder, would mean that it was the first Chanaanite town founded in Phœnicia, or perhaps that it was the first to assume the hegemony over the others. Sidon was a double city, one part lying inland, the other on the shore of the Mediterranean; she could boast two harbours, one for winter, and the other for summer. Her trade was early developed, and she showed her colonizing tendencies by establishing both in Cyprus and the isles of the Aegean sea commercial centres which served as the nuclei of future towns. Similar settlements soon dotted the littoral of Asia

¹ Jud. xviii. 7.

Minor and the North Coast of Africa. But of these colonies one of the earliest was the partial cause of the mother city's fall. Tyre, some distance to the south of Sidon, was for many years little more than an insignificant second-rate town, but the misfortunes of the parent city proved Tyre's gain, and she rapidly rose to a supremacy which she retained for many a long year. The Philistines, that free-booting, war-loving people, who were so perpetual a thorn in the sides of the Israelites, had for some time been at feud with the Sidonians; open war does not seem to have been declared, and anything like systematic offensive or defensive tactics was quite unthought of, when one morning in the year 1209 B.C., the Philistine fleet sailed boldly into the open and unguarded harbours of the Sidonians, stormed the defenceless city, put great numbers of the unresisting inhabitants to the sword, and loaded their vessels with a rich booty. The calamity was almost as complete as it was sudden, and the Philistines can have little suspected as they manned their vessels for the piratical expedition, how complete would be the downfall of the city they were going to attack. Sidon lay a heap of smoking ruins, and her fortunes seemed scattered to the winds. What could her merchant-princes do? Whither could they betake themselves? The rising town Tyre lay near and afforded a safe shelter from the Philistine swords. The crowd of fugitives both rich and poor fled in the direction of Tyre, who willingly opened her gates to receive them. From that hour her fortunes were established; her augmented population required room, and building was carried on apace; the city grew rapidly, and with increased numbers gained influence year by year.

As Renan has well remarked, it is hardly correct to call Phœnicia a country; it is rather a string of islands clinging close to the shore, and so adapted that while a great part of the town lay on the mainland, the remainder occupied the adjoining island, and the sea lying between the two portions of the town formed a convenient road for the shipping. The liability to predatory incursions by the marauding tribes beyond Lebanon was the probable cause of this unique arrangement, which, however, proved so convenient that it

endured till long after all fear of invasion had died away. Aradus, Tyre, and, to all intents, Sidon also, were thus really double cities; and indeed Island-Tyre at one time consisted of three islands over which the city was spread; two of these were afterwards joined together by Hiram, the most famous of the Tyrian monarchs; the third supported the temple of Melkarth, the tutelary god of the city. That portion of the city which lay on the mainland was known as Palae-Tyrus, or Old Tyre; its exact site is difficult to determine, but recent investigations by Major Conder of the Palestine Exploration Fund Society have enabled him to identify a spot called Ras-el-Ain with ancient Tyre. Ras-el-Ain means 'The Fountain Head,' and there yet remain large cisterns, some of them even now in good repair, which testify to the existence of extensive waterworks at this spot. This agrees well with what we know to have been the case at Tyre, and combined with other circumstances renders the identification almost certain. Major Conder has also pointed out one feature of these historical towns, which, though it ought not to astonish us upon reflection, yet at first comes upon us with somewhat of a shock; we refer to their small size. Renan imagines Palae-Tyrus to have been a vast suburb spreading over the plains in the neighbourhood, and he would have us picture to ourselves a town one-fourth of the size of London. But if this were really the case, it is certainly strange that no remains of this vast city should be forthcoming; no Palestinian town that we know of attained to anything like these dimensions, and the island-city of Tyre would almost fit into Hyde Park. Thus Jerusalem, Samaria, and Joppa, were all small towns, and quite out of proportion to the power they wielded or to the fame which clings to them. The harbour of Sidon was famous, and yet we are amazed when we look at it now, it is a mere fishing-harbour such as one sees round our English coasts, and quite unable to afford anchorage for our modern large vessels.

The island city is commonly known as the metropolis. This term is rather misleading: it was the metropolis, if by this word we understand seat of power, but the island-city

was in no sense the mother city ; indeed the early inhabitants of Palae-Tyrus seems to have disregarded the island, and to have looked upon it merely as a refuge, for until the time of Hiram it was only partly built over. But after the improvements which this monarch set on foot, the relative positions of the two parts of the town were reversed, and the island, now improved and enlarged in surface by its connection with a hitherto neglected islet lying close to, was covered in a short time with houses and public buildings, besides being strongly fortified. The water-supply of these island-towns was a difficulty which it required various ingenious contrivances to overcome. Aradus owed its fresh-water supply to a really novel source. It was somehow discovered that at the bottom of the sea off the island a fountain of fresh-water came bubbling up. Divers were accordingly sent down, who succeeded in fastening a bell-mounted tube over the orifice from which the water flowed, and the imprisoned stream was then brought safely to the surface, and conducted into the city by conduits and pipes. Maspero has asserted that Island-Tyre had no such supply of water ; and such, indeed, seems to have been the case for a time, and water was conveyed in pipes from the mainland, a fact which explains the large cisterns which still exist at Res-el-Ain ; but it is certain that later some source of fresh-water must have been discovered within the island, as it is impossible otherwise to explain how the beleaguered inhabitants withstood the lengthy sieges for which the city afterwards became famous.

HUGH POPE, O.P.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SOCIALISM

I.

THE limited aspect under which I shall review the social problem needs no apology. The ethics of socialism is too well known to the readers of the I. E. RECORD to need repetition. Its history I shall touch on briefly, and only *en passant* while assigning economic theories to their authors and locating them relatively to each other. I am now directly concerned only with the economic bearings of socialism, and shall be quite content if I can indicate the lines on which controversy on this matter ought to run, should it be incumbent on us to enter it. Hence I shall say nothing new, but shall merely state afresh old doctrines and criticisms, with whatever light more recent literature can supply.

Now, what is socialism? The number of schools that claim the name and the variety of their theories make the word difficult to define. For us Catholics, however, the word has but one meaning, since socialism has recently been condemned by name at Rome. 'To remedy these evils,' says Leo XIII. in his Encyclical of May, 1891, 'the socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavour to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies.'

Thus socialism is identified with collectivism, and in this sense we shall henceforth understand it.

Dr. Schaeffle, in his *Quintessence of Socialism*, thus describes the tenor of the socialistic programme and its aim as an international movement:—

To replace the system of private capital (*i.e.*, the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprises) by a system of collective capital, that is by a method of production which would introduce 'unified' (social or 'collective') organization of national labour on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of

production by all the members of society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or co-operatively), as well as the distribution among all of the common produce of all, according to the amount and social utility of the productive labour of each.

These are the aims of socialism in its real sense. I shall now briefly mention some other schemes that are usually known as socialistic.

Conservative Socialism has been pithily defined by Professor Rae as the faith of those 'in whom the most obstinately conservative interests in the country go to meet the social democrats half-way, and promise to give them better wages if they will but go to church again, and pray for the Kaiser.'

Certain forms of anarchy too, like that of Bakunin have merited the name, and more especially that more sweeping form, the Nihilism of Belinsky and Petracheffsky, 'which,' Herzen tells us, 'would have nothing to do with mind or God, state or country . . . but somehow manages to shift its hue, with whatever ground it happens to occupy.'

The 'Socialists of the Chair,' as Oppenheim denominated the group of young Hegelians who, in 1872, 'socialized' the Chairs of Economic Science in the best of the German universities, differ from the socialists with whom we are acquainted—Blatchford, Kirkup, Bernard Shaw, &c., only in the intellectual groundwork of their theory.

A form more prevalent than all these is that which is known as State Socialism; a species of quite recent growth, which has indeed little in common with the collectivism, it shall be my task to criticize, being little more than an exaggerated protest, which the evils of modern economic enterprise have evoked against the system of *laissez faire*!

Le socialisme d'état [says M. Chailley] est l'introduction des idées de réforme sociale dans l'organisation de l'état sans ébranler et sans changer à fond les institutions légales et politiques du statu quo.

Then there is what is known as Christian socialism. Of

this I wish to speak at some little length before I come to discuss the principles and aims of the Collectivist programme. I shall not again have an opportunity for doing so, as these articles are in the main critical. Were they constructive I should afterwards have to spend much time on the detailed schemes for social amelioration, which the Christian economists of our day have formulated.

It is often thought that the Christian schemes for social reform are nothing more than the Christian protest against sin; that they are based mainly on sentiment; that they alleviate all evils with 'cheques on heaven'; and, whilst deploring the tyranny of capitalism, have little better to offer to the proletariat than 'transcendental yearnings' after a future recompense. This, I think, is the view that many entertain of the Christian efforts at reform. Catholics are, perhaps, more ignorant than Protestants, of what we may repute the keenest, deepest, and most vital action that has occupied the social stage of Europe for many years, an action fraught with interest for us all, from the issues it entails.

More than thirty years ago an ecclesiastic arose in Germany, who, we may almost say, put Church energies into new channels, and faced the social problem with a bearing Churchmen had seldom hitherto assumed. This was Monsignor Von Ketteler, Archbishop of Mayence. Before his ordination, Monsignor Von Kettler had served in the army, as a non-commissioned officer, and had also occupied important posts in the public administration. He was thirty-nine years of age when he became Archbishop of Mayence, and during the twenty-seven years that he occupied that see, he vindicated, with all his might, the rights and liberties of labour. He vigorously attacked the attitude of liberalism in its selfish schemes at social reform. He endorsed Lassalle's destructive criticism of the Manchester economists, but opposed for the most part his constructive theory. But we must admit that what was positive in the Archbishop's schemes, though morally right, was not quite practical. He had little confidence in State interference in industrial relations, and little hope of subsidy from it. But

human charity, he thought, would certainly provide for the relief of the poor, and supply what capital was required for the establishment of a national co-operative industry. His schemes fell through, but the principle of his labours and his life lived with his followers.

The programme for reform proposed and passed at the Congress of Fulda, formulated a detailed and exhaustive scheme for the amelioration of the poor. This, and the protests of Canon Moufang, Von Ketteler's disciple, are a happy contrast, in their practical cognizance of detail, to the vague formulas of socialism. Whatever was good in the socialistic ideal, the Christian reformers made their own. 'The best means,' said Canon Hitze, at the Catholic Congress of Friburg, 'for defeating democratic socialism, is to take up its truths, eliminating from them what is erroneous;' and, 'fortunately,' says Professor Nitti, 'what was erroneous in it, was also impracticable.' We too can ignore the extravagances to which the energy of their too keen charity sometimes drove the Catholic economists—extravagances which the logic of consistency did not postulate. Their principles were sound; and everything that is practical in the socialistic programme, we find in theirs, and very much more besides.

Count Losewitz and Baron Von Vogelsang, both converts to Catholicity, whilst bitterly opposing the 'Byzantine smothering up of every liberty in the absolutism of the State,' have practical remedies and large-minded principles for the evils wrought by liberalism.

Switzerland, even more than Germany and Austria, has had its Catholic reformers. So searching and detailed were the plans and principles of M. Gaspard Decurtins, that the bitterest enemies of the Church could not withstand their power; and in the Social Congress of Berlin, the young Radical party, though it had previously proclaimed its severance from the Church, stood to him, under Favon, to a man. That which followed—the establishment of the Swiss *Secrétariat Ouvrier*—M. Drage has reckoned one of the crying wants in the industrial life of Great Britain.

In France, too, the two schools of economic reform, under

Perin and Count de Mun, have done much for the abolition of social wrongs, and have won from the democrats much of their vantage-ground.

I mention these things that the reader may see how practical these Catholic reformers have been. The wide range and vast depths of their programmes, into the details of which I should like to enter, but cannot here; their subtlety in abstracting from the minute and complex centres of industrial life the germs of disease that time has fostered there, are a remarkable contrast to the vague formulae of the socialists. Let us dwell on this a while, before we criticize the principles of socialism.

The socialistic programme has this one end—the abolition of private capital. To throw the whole industrial machinery of the nation upon one centre, and let its produce flow out from that, in equal quantities, to the labourers at its periphery, is the socialistic grand ideal. How this, however, may be brought about, or how maintained, if once begun, we are not informed. Surely the overthrow of the springs and hinges of our present industrial life, stocks, shares, partnerships, mortgages, loans, rent, &c., and the substitution of another, centralized or federal, necessarily more delicate than our own, would demand a previous, perfectly adjusted plan and a programme of infinite detail. But on detail the socialists are silent. ‘Le socialisme,’ says M. de Laveleye, ‘ni est une science ni un art, il est une critique, parfois une attaque violente, et il est une aspiration.’

The socialistic theory has never been seriously constructive. I say seriously, because we have had much in the way of poetry and romance and toy states, in anticipation of the socialistic era.

We can scarcely take Mr. Bellamy’s vision, *Looking Backward*, as a responsible item in the literature of socialism, whilst the toy states that Robert Owen established at New Lanark, New Harmony, Otbarton, and Nashoba, proved only the *reductio ad absurdum* of the socialistic principle.¹

¹ M. Louis Reybaud in his *Etudes sur les Reformateurs*, and Mr. Dale Owen in his interesting autobiography, *Threading My Way*, give interesting accounts

Socialism, then, has been up to this merely 'une critique, une attaque violente' on existing systems.

The Socialistic attack is two-fold in its character; either it is directed against real evils—and these we shall see can be remedied without socialism—or it is directed against the original and essential groundwork of society—and that, we hold, requires no remedy. I should like to adduce a few examples of the 'critique socialiste.' Many of them are amusing to a degree, particularly in their onslaught on the exclusiveness of class. I shall quote just one from Mr. Belfort Bax's vituperative attack on the 'bourgeoisie' in his *Religion of Socialism*. If I mistake not, Mr. Belfort Bax is one of the leaders of the Fabian economists, who, Mr. Sidney Webb tells us, 'best represent the socialist ideal in its latest and maturest forms.'

Socialism [says Mr. Belfort Bax] is the great modern protest against unreality, against the delusive shams that now masquerade as verities. We defy anybody to point out a single reality, good or bad, in the composition of the Bourgeois family. It has the merit of being the most perfect specimen of the most complete sham that history has presented to the world.

The Bourgeois hearth dreads honesty as the cat dreads cold water. The literary classics that are reprinted for its behoof it demands shall be vigorously Bowdlerised, even at the expense of their point.

Topics of social importance are tabooed from rational discussion, with the inevitable result that erotic instances of middle-class womanhood are glad of the excuse afforded by good intentions, honest fanaticism, and the like things, supposed to be associated with 'Contagious Diseases' Act and 'Criminal Law

of the life led by the inhabitants of these miniature states. They were founded by Robert Owen to prove the possibility of the socialistic state and the justice of its promises. But they soon broke up, for they never paid, and the forced peace that reigned in them was quickly proved chimerical. But their life was interesting, such as it was. At evening the children of New Lanark filed out into the square, and sang their hymn, 'When first this humble roof I knew.' Men and women wore good conduct badges, and on their heads they carried an indicator with four sides, coloured respectively white, yellow, blue, and black. White signified 'very good;' yellow, 'good;' blue, 'middling,' and black, 'bad.' The colour, seen from the front, interpreted the wearer's conduct for the week; and so, when visitors arrived, these pretty children of forty, fifty, or sixty years of age, filed out smiling into the square, for commendation or reproach; and, M. Reybaud remarks: 'Il était rare que tous les indicateurs ne fussent pas tournés du côté de la marque blanche; à peine en apercevait-on quelques unes de jaunes, moins encore de bleues, de noires point.'

Amendment' agitation, to surfeit themselves on obscenity. . . . Then, again, the attitude of the 'family' to the word 'damn.' Indeed, if there is an honest, straightforward word in the English language, a word which the Briton utters in the fulness of his heart, it is that word 'damn.' . . . Then there is that other fraud of middle-class family life—the family party. The principle of the family party is this, that a body of persons having nothing in common but ties of kinship, that such a motley crew should meet together in exclusive conclave, and spend several mortal hours in simulated interest of each other. Now, a cousin, let us say, may be an interesting fellow; but very often he is not. If he is not, why should one be expected every twenty-fifth of December, or other similar occasion, to make a point of spending one's leisure with a man who is a cousin but not interesting, rather than with another who is interesting but not a cousin? . . .

On the same principle, the symbolic black of mourning is graduated by the tailor and milliner in mathematically accurate ratio, according to the amount, not of affection, but of relationship. The utter and ghastly rottenness of the Bourgeois family sentiment is in nothing more clearly evinced than in this. To a person of sensibility, the notion that, the moment he enters on his last sleep, his relatives will 'see about the mourning,' may impart to death a terror it had not before, and thus act as an incentive to carefully-concealed suicide.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM

The two great principles on which socialism is based, are the labour theory of Karl Marx, and the *loi d'airain*, the 'iron law of wages' of Lassalle. Let us discuss them separately.

The *Das Kapital* of Karl Marx was the first great literary effort of the socialistic body. In it is expounded the celebrated doctrine, that has made socialism a popular creed: the doctrine, namely, that the source and standard of economic value, in the industrial world, is labour. Capital is only accumulated labour, congealed 'labour-jelly.' This view was not original with Marx. It was taught and defended by Adam Smith, Quesnay, Ricardo, Tracey, Bastiat, Carey, and other economists of the classical school. In the development of his theory, Karl Marx distinguished between the 'use,' and 'exchange' value of saleable commodities. 'Use value,' he says, is nothing more than the intrinsic use of an article to men. 'Exchange value' is the ratio in

amount, in which one commodity exchanges with another. 'Value in use,' and 'value in exchange' are distinct, co-ordinate, perfectly independent, and often even utterly opposed. The 'use value' of air, is very great. Its value in exchange is absolutely nothing. The 'use value,' of a diamond is practically *nil*. Its value in exchange is fabulous. Value in exchange, though distinct from utility, is not determined by caprice or covenant. It necessarily depends on some one quality common to the commodities exchanged: something which may supply us with a ground of comparison between the heterogeneous kinds of articles on sale. Utility is evidently no such ground. The use value of bread bears no comparison to the use value of music, or books, or scenery. What, then, is the common attribute of commodities? Karl Marx replies: 'the labour used in their production.' But labour itself is not homogeneous. 'Planing' and 'filing' are not 'healing' and 'instructing,' and the labour metre must apply to all. Well, even here there is a common element, a point of juncture between all kinds of labour, namely, the time occupied by the work. Thus labour time is the source and standard of value in exchange. But Karl Marx narrows his criterion further. Energy and skill vary with persons, places, and times. If labour-periods be the source of value, will value not fluctuate with the varying and unstable humours, tastes, capabilities, and designs of the workman momentarily employed? No, there is a permanent factor in the labour period, independent of the transitory conditions of work: that is, the 'socially useful time of labour,' the time an artisan need not exceed in the production of an article. This is the celebrated labour-gauge of socialism—the 'socially useful time of labour.'

Following these principles, Marx now proceeds to account for a strange economic fact: the existence, namely, and increase of capital. Production like products, labour like commodities, has its own value in exchange. The value of labour is precisely that which is necessary for its support. The value of a day's labour is just what sustains the labourer for a day, what compensates him for decay of tissue, and renews spent energies. But labour is cumulative whilst

products are not. Five pounds of bread may compensate the labourer for five hours' work; but five hours' labour will produce a hundred or more pounds of bread. A labourer produces in one hour what his master pays him for the day. The other twelve or fourteen hours he works for nothing, storing up capital for his master. This is the origin of increase of capital—the 'surplus-time' of labour—the sweat that the labourer pours out gratis.

Now what are we to think of this? Is labour the sole source of value; and, if not, how shall we answer Marx's difficulties? Let us suppose that A and B till each a piece of land. Their energies, talents, implements, and opportunities are exactly alike. When the harvest comes, it will be found, that the produce taken from one piece of land is double that given by the other. Will anyone doubt that the value of one is exactly double that of the other. If labour were the source of value, the values of the two should exactly coincide. What, then, is the source of the difference in value (for the source of the difference will be the source of the whole)? The source of the difference is intrinsic to the land; the difference, viz., in the qualities of the soil. If anyone were to prophesy the market price by the expenditure of labour alone, he would learn to his cost that market laws were different from his own.

Labour, no doubt, is often a factor in the determination of value and price; but only in so far as it bears on the relation of supply and demand in the market sale; and we shall afterwards see, that supply and demand are efficient principles in the determination of price, just in so far as they are a token or condition of 'value in use.'

The difficulties incident to Marx's theory are obvious enough. We must admit, however, that he faces them boldly, though his solutions are neither creditable nor ingenious. Thus:—(1) If the Marxian theory of value be true, then nothing which labour has not produced should possess a value in exchange; and (2) nothing which cost labour should ever be valueless. Thus virgin soil, uncultivated fruits, fish, birds, minerals like coal and oil, trees of spontaneous growth, &c., on Marx's principles should have

no value. On the other hand, bad fruits, decaying vegetables, botched and useless products should have a value equal to the labour spent in their production.

Marx answers: Commodities which have cost no labour like coal, oil, and uncultivated fruits, though valueless, may have a price. As to spoiled products, we must remember that the labour that is at all recognisable in exchange is only the 'socially useful labour,' and not the mere output of energy.

'Un vrai casse-tête,' exclaimed M. de Laveleye, when he was caught in the intricacies of *Das Kapital*. 'A valueless article may have its price,' says Marx. The question arises,—and what is price? Fortunately, Karl Marx himself defines it: 'Price is the money-form of value.' Price, therefore, without value, is a contradiction in terms. We need not say that the absurdity of the reply could not, when pressed to its logical issues, result in anything but a paradox. To the second difficulty he replies: 'No labour, but that which is socially useful, can impart a value to products and effects.' The reply is not happy for Karl Marx's theory, for it hands him over to the very doctrine it was the aim of his efforts to refute. For what is the socially useful labour? It is that which produces useful objects. Thus, labour is not the source of value, but the utility of its products.

The discussion of this theory leads me to a point of much importance in 'Economic Science.' I put it in the form of a difficulty, thus: 'If supply and demand are the main condition of the value of commodities in an open market, how can it be said that value depends on the intrinsic usefulness of the goods on sale?' The obvious answer to such a difficulty will probably be such as this: 'Demand is always proportioned to utility.' But what shall we say of utility and supply? I answer,—supply as well as demand is a source of value, just in so far as it affects utility. But let me here indicate an ambiguity which may prove a likely source of error. 'The useful' and 'the beneficial' are not quite the same, in the language and usages of 'Political Economy.' 'The utility,' says Professor Walker, 'which the economist recognises is not that of the physiologist.'

‘Utility’ is the capacity an object possesses of satisfying a human want; whether that want be virtuous or vicious, and whether the commodity be beneficial or pernicious. The case now may be stated thus:—I go to market to purchase fruit. One pound would satisfy my necessities for the moment; a second pound would satisfy my tastes; a third would be superfluous and waste. It is evident that I would pay more for the first pound than for the second, and for the second than for the third, for that is their order in utility. In the purchase, however, I do not pay a separate price for each separate pound. I pay one price for all. The greater the supply which *must* be sold, the less is the *average* utility of the lot, and the less is paid for each separate pound. This is what is called ‘the law of diminution in marginal utility.’ The final price realized by the sale will rest at the point, where it is more useful for the buyer to pay out his money and receive the article, than keep his money in his pocket. And by what is the price regulated in the case? By the utility of the marginally useful pound. Supply, therefore, as a determinant of value, is such only as the determinant of marginal or final utility. Thus, according to Ricardo, ‘the rent of any particular land is the difference between its productiveness and the productiveness of the worst land in cultivation which pays no rent,’ *i.e.*, the land on the margin of cultivation.

The law, therefore, of supply and demand, though an axiom, is not primary. It is secondary and derivative.

The second principle, on which socialism is based, is the ‘loi d’airain’ of Lassalle. Lassalle himself thus states the law:—‘The iron economic law, which in our day under the rule of supply and demand, determines the wages of the labourer, is as follows:—The average wages is always confined to the necessary sustenance, which, according to the custom of a nation, is necessary to insure the possibility of existence and propagation. This is the point around which the actual wages oscillates like the swing of a pendulum, without ever remaining long either above or below this standard. Wages cannot persistently rise above this average; otherwise there would result from the easier and better con-

dition of the labourers, an increase of the labouring population and a supply of hands which would again reduce the wages to, or even below, the average point. Nor can the wages permanently fall below the average of the necessary sustenance of life, for this would give rise to emigration, celibacy, prevention of propagation, and, finally, to the diminution of the labouring population by want, which consequently would reduce the supply of hands, and again raise wages to a former or even a higher rate. . . . Thus, labourers and wages continually revolve in a circle, the circumference of which can at most reach the margin of what is barely sufficient to satisfy the wants of human subsistence.'

This is the 'iron law of wages' received from Ricardo, Adam Smith, Malthus, and Bastiat, and the other classical economists. I would ask the reader to bear this statement of the law in mind whilst he glances over the following figures. The law states that the wages of labour cannot rise above, nor fall below, the point at which sustenance and propagation is possible.

The following tables have been compiled or taken from reliable authorities on the statistics of finance. First I shall examine the state of wages for the last half century in England alone; then I shall briefly refer to the progress of labour on the Continent and in America. Mr. Giffen gives us the following figures in his *Essays on Finance*:—

WAGES IN ENGLAND

			Wages fifty years ago, in Shillings per Week		Wages now, in Shillings per Week		Increase in wages for the fifty years	
			s.	d.	s.	d.		
Carpenters at	Glasgow	..	14	0	26	0	85 per cent.	
..	Manchester	..	24	0	34	0	42	..
Bricklayers	Glasgow	..	15	0	27	0	80	..
..	Manchester	..	24	0	36	0	50	..
Masons	Glasgow	..	14	0	23	0	69	..
..	Manchester	..	24	0	29	0	10	..
Weavers	Huddersfield	..	12	0	26	0	115	..
..	Bradford	..	8	3	20	6	150	..

On the other hand, the hours of labour for these same

men have decreased in the time fully 20 per cent. In round numbers, we may say the wages of labour have increased from 70 per cent. to 120 per cent. in fifty years in money return. The reader may object that, if wages have increased during the period in question, the prices of food and other commodities may have increased in proportion, which would only confirm the 'iron law' and make clear its meaning and its drift. On the contrary, I say that articles, as a rule, are cheaper now. The sovereign goes farther than it did fifty years ago. Mr. Giffen tells us that wheat is cheaper than it ever was, even in the era of free trade. And I find that his remark holds good, not only of the English, but also of the German, Russian, Austrian, and American markets. But we must remember that averages in this matter are deceptive rules; for often they are struck between extremes, one term of which must have played havoc at times with the health of the people. Thus in the thirties and forties of this century, the extremes in the market price of wheat, meant famine almost for the labourer. Most articles of food have come down, like bread, for the last half century. Clothing and utensils are very much cheaper. In two commodities alone has there been any rise in price. Beef has gone up in most of our markets. In some of them, however, the difference is so slight, that we need scarcely take account of it. But we must remember that if the rise in beef is any burden on the labouring class, it is so, because the wages of labour have so risen that beef is a common article at their tables. Fifty years ago, this was not the case. And if we may be allowed to go back farther, we find that very few workmen ever ate beef. King, in his *Natural and Political Conclusions*, tells us that at the end of the seventeenth century, not half the poor people ever ate meat. And we know that the meat they more commonly ate was bacon, and not beef. But the price of bacon has decreased since then. House rent, no doubt, stands higher now than it did half-a-century ago, but the houses are more elaborately built. It is not, therefore, that rent is higher, but that the labourer occupies a better house. But, now, even if we regard the rise in beef, and the rise in

rent as purely an unmixed loss to the labourer, and discarding for a moment the fall elsewhere, which more than compensates for these two, the workman's labour is paid in the net as much as twice what it formerly was.

So much for England. In America wages have quadrupled in this century. They have doubled in France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, in almost every stable trade.

I am not suggesting that labourers are paid too much, or enough. I think they have a right to some share, at least, in the great increase that industrial progress has given to profits. I am only showing that the iron law as stated by Lassalle is not in accordance with stubborn fact. No doubt, the rich would try to keep the wages of labour at its lowest point. But such a course would not make for the interest of capital or of profits, and would seriously interfere with the life of trade. The increase of wages that has accrued to labour must have some cause, beside the charity of capitalist or entrepreneur. That canon of induction, treated of in our schools, the 'canon of concomitant variations' will indicate, if it does not prove, that increase of wages follows as a rule, the increased efficiency of manual labour. According to Cairnes, a day's labour in America produces as much as a day and a third in England, a day and a half in Belgium, a day and three-quarters or two days in France, and five days in India; and remarkably enough, the relative wages in these five countries, is exactly the same in any particular branch of industry.

Supposing now that the iron law has any validity as an economic principle, we fail to see why socialists should adduce it, as an apology or a plea or in justification of their system. If it may serve as a protest at all, it ought to be directed against the system from which it springs. And what is the source of the 'iron law'? It is indicated by Macaulay in his *History of England*, in a remarkable chapter on the wages of manufactures.

Sixpence a day was now ¹ all that could be earned, by hard labour at the loom. If the poor complained that they could not

¹ He is speaking of the end of the seventeenth century.

live on such a pittance, they were told that they were free to take it or leave it. For so miserable a recompense, were the producers of wealth compelled to toil, rising early, and lying down late ; while the master clothier, eating, sleeping, and idling, became rich by their exertions.

This is the system which explains and originates the law in question. The iron law, if it exists at all, originates with the system of iron competition. Put capital and labour in an open market, without the restrictions of State interference, and capital must have its way. This is the system of *laissez faire* which the growth of charity, and the demands of labour, and the denunciations of the Church, have been staggering of late. The remedy for the evils it has wrought amongst us must be sought in the dissolution of the system itself, and in the substitution of effective State protection, not of commodities, but of industry.

We must remember too that the 'reserve army of industry' which now cramps labour, is not likely to decrease in the socialistic state ; and that the industrial decay which the extinction of private Capital will induce, may heighten instead of lessen the evils of competition. For if twenty per cent. of the population be idle, through causes for which they are not responsible, the State could not fairly refuse to employ those that will work for diminished wages. If the obligations of the State towards A and B be perfectly alike in all respects, why should it employ one of two, to the exclusion of the other, who will work for less ? Here, I think, is a defect, that the critics of Socialism have neglected or overlooked, that the evils of an absolutely competitive industry, against which socialism is the 'great modern protest,' are necessarily incident to socialism itself ; and that 'the eager eyes at the work-yard gate' will have more power, and a juster influence, in the search for work, and the distribution of profits, when the State has made itself the father of us all, the universal employer, paymaster, and provider.

Let it not be thought that pauperism will vanish with the destruction of private competitive enterprise ; for every incentive that now quickens trade will cease with its

absorption by the State, and employment is not likely to increase in the rapid industry that must necessarily ensue. Individual enterprise has been sufficient at times to reduce pauperism to its lowest ebb. Only seven years ago, 1890, the unemployed in England did not reach a maximum of one per cent. of the entire population. Whether this might be realized permanently, it would be difficult to affirm; but anyone who has read Mr. Drage's book on *The Unemployed*, will not hesitate to say that much might be done that is not yet done to relieve the nation of the weight of pauperism that presses on it so heavily.

Nor need anyone think that in the socialistic state pauperism will be made light by a large share in the national profits. Mrs. Annie Besant, a well-known socialist, in assigning the stimuli to industrial exertion, in the Collectivist State, thus speaks of pauperism :—

The stimulus to exertion will be the starvation that would follow the cessation of labour. Until we discover the country in which jam-rolls grow on bushes, and roasted sucking pigs run about, crying, 'Come, eat me,' we are under the imperious necessity to produce. We shall work, because on the whole we prefer work to starvation. In the transition to socialism, when the organization of labour by the Communal Council begins, the performance of work will be the condition of employment.

And Mr. Bernard Shaw asserts that 'the last (*i.e.*, wages for the unemployed) is not to be thought of. Anything is better than *panem et circenses*.'

It comes, therefore, to this, that in the socialistic state, if the unemployed are to live at all, it must be like the *ateliers nationaux* of France, after the revolution of 1848; or by some wise scheme of Poor Law support, on the basis of our own. The first, history has taught us to fear. For the second, socialism is not necessary. But whichever we adopt, the burden shall be heavier, than now it is, or has yet been.

I shall next treat of the outlook for labour in the socialistic state.

M. CRONIN, D.D., M.A.

OUR VISION OR KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

THE word vision, in a derived sense, signifies intellectual knowledge or understanding. Our knowledge of God may be acquired through the intellect aided by sense, through the natural power of the intellect unaided by sense, through the supernatural light of faith, and through the intellect assisted by the light of glory. Knowledge of God obtained by sense and intellect is abstract; whereas that acquired through faith is called supernatural *obscure* knowledge, to distinguish it from intuitive vision which implies clear and immediate perception of the divine essence.

That God can be known through the intellect aided by sense is a truth both of revelation and philosophy. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, chapter i., v. 20, tells us that the 'invisible things of Him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made.' Effects convince us of the existence of a cause; every particular object in nature, even the whole universe, has impressed upon it the essentials of an effect. In every essence abstracted from singular things, we find after examination by the eye of the soul, the idea of essential dependence, we know such essences cannot exist of themselves, nor give existence to one another, all necessarily presuppose an absolute being, essentially perfect under every aspect. Therefore the intellect through sensible phenomena arises to the existence of God; and as a consequence, knowledge of God through the understanding aided by sense is an evident truth. Again the intellect by its own natural power unaided by sense can know God. We freely confess this is not admitted by all philosophers. Some, however, maintain it on the authority of St. Thomas. Let us hear the Angelic Doctor:—

Utrum potentiae rationales sint semper in actu, respectu obsectorum in quibus attenditur imago. Respondeo quod secundum Augustinum (lib. de util. credendi ch. XI.) differunt cogitare, discernere, et intelligere. Discernere est cognoscere rem per

differentiam sui ab aliis. Cogitare autem est considerare rem secundum partes et proprietates suas. Intelligere autem nihil aliud quam simplicem intuitum intellectus in id quod sibi est praesens intelligibile. Dico ergo quod anima non semper cogitat et discernit de deo, nec de se; quia sic quilibet sciret naturaliter totam naturam animae suae: ad quod vix magno studio pervenitur. Ad talem enim cognitionem non sufficit praesentia objecti quo libet modo, sed oportet ut sit ibi in ratione objecti, et exigitur intentio cognoscentis. Sed secundum quod intelligere nihil aliud dicit quam simplicem intuitum (qui nihil aliud est quam praesentia intelligibilis ad intellectum quocunque modo) sic anima semper se intelligit et Deum indeterminate.¹

Hence according to St. Thomas the soul *ab initio* had some knowledge of God and of itself; and that too independently of sense: as it had both objects *ever* present to itself. We now propose to develop this doctrine. Can we argue from the fact, that we know God in this indeterminate manner; that He is an *actual reality* existing outside the mind itself? Certainly; if we call in the aid of sense. Before we proceed to prove this theory, a few remarks must be made about the mind. The character of the mind is ontological, that is, just as the sense of sight is ordained to some coloured thing outside itself: so is the mind to an entity independent and distinct from itself; moreover the object of the mind is real entity: and were we to say that unreal being was its object we would be destroying all knowledge. To know a thing is to know that it is true, for nothing but truth is or can be an object of knowledge. To say you know a thing, and yet do not know whether it be true or false, is only saying you do not know it at all. No man does or can know falsehood, for falsehood is nothing, a nullity, and therefore is no intelligible object.

Falsehood is intelligible only in the truth it denies, and is known only in knowing that truth, hence *real* being is the direct and proper object of the understanding. Again, the mind in its primary operations or analytical judgments is infallible. If we were to deny this we become sceptics. Now, having established two facts—namely, the objectivity and infallibility of the mind, we proceed to reply to the point at issue. According to the article of St. Thomas just quoted, there has *ever* been present to the intellect some

¹ Lib. i., Sent. Dist. iii., Quaest. iv., Art. v.

indeterminate knowledge of God, which clearly enters into our very essence ; a knowledge we cannot put aside. The question arises, is the object of this knowledge a reality? What criterion have we for distinguishing real from unreal being? First, our concepts are real when they represent something actually or possibly existing, and by possibility we mean that the concept of existence is not *essentially* contained in the concept of the nature we conceive ; but can be *actually* joined to it by some cause. Secondly, our concepts are unreal when they are mere relations of reason that do not or cannot exist outside the mind. The mind itself, therefore, separates the *real* from the *unreal*. God, as we have already seen, is always present to the intellect ; and from the remarks just made it is evident He is present as a reality. Now, are we logical in concluding that He is also an *actual reality* outside the mind? Is not the mind objective? Is it not also infallible in its analytical judgments? If we know *aliunde* (as we do), that existence is essentially contained in the divine essence, is not the judgment *God exists* analytical? Consequently, as God is ever present to us as a reality, we logically conclude from sound premises that he also actually exists outside the mind, *as actual* and not *possible* existence must be predicated of *ens quo majus et melius cogitari non potest*.

As we said in the beginning, the knowledge of God through the intellect aided by sense is abstract, since determined intuitive knowledge of God is, in the natural order, absolutely impossible. Natural knowledge is, as such, proportioned to him who knows, and not to the object known ; otherwise it would transcend the power of the faculty, and as a consequence would cease to be natural. The mode of action always follows the mode of being. *Operatio sequitur esse*, and everything we know is in us according to the mode of our being. *Quidquid recipiter ad modum recipientis recipiter ; Cognitum est in cognoscente secundum modum ejus*. Every intellect, therefore, whatever it understands, necessarily does so in accordance with the mode of being proper to that intellect. The human intellect, as long as it exists in the body has the essence of material

being for its direct and proper object ; and again, *determinate* knowledge cannot be acquired unless by species abstracted from the phantasia. God, as He is in Himself, is a pure spirit transcending all created nature ; species cannot represent Him as He is in Himself, and what is seen through species is not seen immediately. No human intellect, therefore, as long as its knowledge is in proportion to its nature, can know God as He is in Himself, nor can He be to it the object of intuition. What we have said of the human intellect is equally true of the angelic. The angels are in potentia to their existence ; hence they are not absolutely simple ; consequently, God as He is in Himself is not the object of intuition to the unaided angelic understanding. The Divine intellect alone has the Divine essence as an object in proportion with it, and so God as He is in Himself is present to Himself intuitively. Again, we may know God through the supernatural light of faith. Faith, taken in the general sense of the word, is our belief in any truth founded on the testimony of others. Our faith may be human or divine. Human faith is when we believe anything we learn from the testimony of man. It is divine when we believe in the testimony of God. Now the certainty of what we learn from the testimony of others depends on the authority of those who give the testimony. In other words, it depends on their knowledge and veracity ; hence, since human creatures are liable to be deceived and to deceive, it follows as a necessary consequence that human faith does not carry with it absolute certainty. On the contrary, God cannot deceive nor be deceived ; hence, everything we know from the testimony of God we know with the most absolute certainty. Divine revelation teaches many mysteries about God ; the human understanding left to itself staggers before them ; they seem to be impossibilities. To assent to them is out of the question. This is the position of the person without divine faith, and under the circumstances we must not wonder at it. The supernatural light of faith, however, removes the difficulties, and though it does not manifest to us the nexus between the predicate and subject of the given mystery, yet we assent easily and intellectually.

Therefore the human intellect through faith learns and assents to many truths about God which left to itself it could never have discovered. 'But the things that are in heaven who shall search?'¹

Fourthly, we can know God through the light of glory. The Holy Spirit, speaking through the Prophets and Evangelists, tells us that the clear vision of God will be the reward in the next life for those who have been faithful here. 'Everyone that calleth upon My name I have created him for My own glory.' The glory of God, in the life to come, consists in manifesting to the blessed the treasures of His infinite goodness, so that the end God had in creating us was primarily His own eternal glory; and secondly, our eternal happiness. Again, our Blessed Lord says, to the good servant, 'I will set thee over many things; enter thou into the joy of the Lord.' That joy by which God is, and by which He is essentially happy, is the joy which He communicated to His saints, which must necessarily have for its efficient cause the clear vision of the divine essence. Now St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiii., contrasts this intuitive vision with the knowledge we have of God through faith. The latter, he says, shall be destroyed in the next life. 'But when that which is perfect has come, that which is in part shall be done away.' Our faith, however, will not be completely destroyed, according to St. Thomas '*aliquid fidei remaneat in patria, eo quod eadem est in genere ac visio clara.*'² Again the Apostle tells us that our present knowledge of God, whether it be natural or supernatural, is through a glass; in a dark manner, that is, it is not an immediate knowledge of things in themselves, but a mediate knowledge by means of other things. On the other hand, St. Paul speaks of the vision of God promised to us in the life to come as intuitive immediate: 'Then I shall know face to face. I shall know even as I am known.'

We have already seen that this clear vision of God transcends the natural powers of every created understand-

¹ Wisd. ix. 16.

² Ia II^{ae} Quaes. lsvii., Art. v.

ing: hence a supernatural aid is necessary by which the created intellect should be raised to this intuitive or beatific vision. This supernatural aid or force is called the light of glory, and it is according to the more probable opinion a permanent quality by which the understanding is informed supernaturally and disposed to elicit the beatific vision. Understanding is a vital act produced by one's own intellect. The blessed, therefore, by their own vital act see God, and by this act they are made eternally happy. Whether they produce by this act of intelligence a species *expressa* or not is disputed by theologians. Some maintain that a species *expressa* corresponding to the act of vision which each of the blessed possess is possible, and we think some solid arguments are adduced to support this theory. Before we dwell on the knowledge of the saints in heaven it may be well to refute here the opinion of Master Bonae Spei and Valentia, who say that the glorified bodily eye can see God as He is in Himself. Origin, arguing against Celsus, says, on this point, 'Falsely, therefore, does Celsus attribute to us the hope that we are to see God with our bodily eyes;' and St. Cyril of Jerusalem tells us God cannot be seen by the eye of the flesh, for what is incorporeal cannot fall within the range of the corporeal eye. St. Athanasius, too, says that God is altogether invisible in everything which is proper to the Divine Nature except in so far as He can be perceived by the intelligence. The opinion of those fathers was evidently not that of Bona Spei and Valentia. Again, God as He is a pure spirit, is not an object proportioned to the glorified bodily eye; and a corporeal sense, even if it were glorified, is not, on that account, raised to the level of an operation which is intrinsically and essentially intellectual, such as the vision of a pure spirit. This reason is, in itself, sufficient to prove that the doctrine of the aforesaid theologians is false.

But what do the blessed now see in virtue of the beatific vision? They, seeing God as He is, behold everything formally and necessarily contained in Him, namely, essence, absolute, attributes, or perfections, and the Three Divine

¹ Catech. 9.

² Apud S. Aug., Epis. iii.

Persons. The object of faith now will be the object of vision then. Whatever, at present, we believe in, whether it be connected with the essence, attributes, or persons, or whether it be something outside God, shall then be clearly seen. All the blessed, seeing God as He is, must necessarily see the divine attributes, essence, and persons. The justice of God is His mercy, and His mercy is His goodness; His goodness is identical with all His other perfections. All again are identified in and with the simple essence of God; consequently, seeing God as He is, the blessed also see all His absolute perfections. So also the Three Divine Persons are clearly seen. They are really distinct from one another; but they are identified with the divine essence. The essence of the Father is the essence of the Son, and the essence of the Son is the essence of the Holy Ghost. The divine essence then cannot be seen without seeing the Persons, as the knowledge of the blessed is intuitive and quiddative. As regards the vision of other things in God which are outside God, and not God, the intellect of the blessed understands those things in accordance with the degree of the light of glory it possesses, and also in accordance with the particular state of each, or again they may be seen by means of infused species, or by a special revelation of God. Each of the blessed can be considered, first, as elevated to the order of grace; secondly, as a part of the universe; and, thirdly, as a public or private person. If we consider the blessed as elevated to the order of grace, then we must grant to them clear vision of the truths of revelation, a clear insight of the mysteries of the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Redemption of our Lord; also the mysteries of grace and predestination; in a word, whatever belongs to the object of faith now will be the object of intuition then. Each of the blessed as a part of the universe beholds all creation, heavens, elements, and stars, and whatever belongs to the integrity of the world, all the essences and species of things, and all the angels. They see everything in which God has manifested His creative power; however they do not see everything which is the object of that power, as this would imply comprehension if these things were seen in the word of God; and

we cannot find any sufficient reason to justify us in saying that God by a special revelation communicates such a knowledge to the blessed. Finally, the blessed do not lose the knowledge they have acquired in this life: 'And Abraham said to the rich man in hell, Son remember that thou didst receive good things in thy life time.' Neither do they lose their knowledge of human affairs, nor their relations with mankind. It is natural that the Popes who have passed away would be specially interested in the work of the Church militant; natural too, that kings and princes would feel an interest in their earthly kingdoms or principalities, and how desirous parents must be to know everything in connection with the children they have left behind. Such a knowledge must be attributed to the blessed as every just and reasonable desire is satisfied in heaven.

The vision the blessed have of God depends for its clearness and intensity on the degree of the glory communicated to the created understanding: and this communication is made in accordance with the merits each one has acquired in this life. Some of the blessed, consequently, know God more perfectly than others as the merits of all are not equal. '*Beatos intueri Deum sicuti est, pro meritorum tamen diversitate alium alio perfectius.* Concil. Florentinum Sess. ultima.' Though all see God clearly, nevertheless He is incomprehensible to the angelic and human understanding. He alone comprehends Himself. His vision is infinite, just as His essence is infinite. So, as He is to Himself infinitely knowable, so He understands Himself in an infinite manner: in other words, He comprehends Himself, 'For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God.'¹

LOUIS M. RYAN, O.P., S.T.L.

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 10.

HISTORY OF TRIM AS TOLD IN HER RUINS

IN the last number of the I. E. RECORD, a paper appeared treating of the antiquity of the Church of Trim. It alluded to the origin of the ancient name 'Ath-Truim,' and referred to the many remarkable ruins with which this classic locality is studded, and which 'extending for the space of above a mile, form, in the striking description of Sir William Wilde, a combination of beauty and an architectural diorama rarely ever seen in any other part of Ireland.' These many interesting monuments of the past abounding in Trim and its surroundings, unquestionably furnish a standing palpable proof of the civil and ecclesiastical importance of the place in former times. But the principal portion of the paper was devoted to the discussion of the curious question, whether Trim is the *oldest* Irish episcopal see founded by St. Patrick—twelve years before the primatial see of Armagh—and placed by our saint under the care of his nephew Loman who was constituted its first bishop. Tirechan, Ussher, Jocelin, the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the *Tripartite*, the Bollandists, Colgan, Cogan, and Dean Butler—doubtless a formidable array of eminent authorities—were produced in support of the statement, that Trim is certainly the oldest Irish episcopal see.

There is only one author, as far as we have seen, who strikes a discordant note, and disdains to travel by the old path, or walk in the footsteps of any of those who have gone before him. He says, in effect, to the historians, ancient and modern: you are all wrong, and the sooner you see the error of your ways, and retrace your steps, the better it will be for the cause of truth. As a matter of fact, there was no such man as Loman, a contemporary of St. Patrick; no such person accompanied Patrick into Ireland; and the long preamble about his being left in charge of his uncle's boat at the mouth of the Boyne; its subsequent sail up to Trim against the stream; the conversion and baptism of Fortchern,

of his mother, father, and royal household ; the donation of the lands around Trim as a site for the church, and other spiritual purposes ; all these alleged events so circumstantially detailed, are nothing more nor less than pure fiction, a story started by Tirecham, improved upon by Jocelin, and blindly adopted by Ussher, the Bollandists, and all subsequent writers of Church history.

Lest we should do Doctor Lanigan the least injustice by misquoting him, we shall give his own precise words, for they reveal his sentiments, and put forth his ideas with a pungency and force that few could attempt to rival, and in language plain and unmistakable. He says :—

The *Tripartite* introduces on this occasion, viz., on the occasion of the arrival of St. Patrick, Luman or Loman (whom it makes a nephew of St. Patrick) as left to take charge of the boat, and adds, that in consequence of an order from the saint, he sailed up against the current of the river as far as Trim. This was too good a story to be passed over by Jocelin, who, to make it still more marvellous subjoins that, the sails being hoisted the vessel went up without the assistance of oars ; notwithstanding furious blasts of wind in the direction straight opposite to its course. He might as well have said that it had been carried in the air, for as Ussher has remarked, the channel of the Boyne is so unfit for navigation, that it would be impossible for a boat to proceed as far as Trim, even were both the current and the wind favourable. Tirechan as quoted by Ussher, has a part of this story as given in the *Tripartite*, but instead of calling Loman a nephew of St. Patrick, he makes him only a disciple of his.

Connected with this fable is what we read in the tracts referred to, concerning his having been placed at Trim (Jocelin makes him a bishop), and the antiquity of that church which Tirechan says was founded the twenty-second year before that of Armagh. The donations of town and lands spoken of in the above tracts, do not by any means agree with the times of St. Patrick. Tirechan, or rather the person who assumed his name, and who was a Meath man, represents the possessions as annexed for ever to the see of Trim, but it seems they were claimed by the Archbishop of Armagh : and hence Jocelin, one of whose patrons was the Primate Thomas O'Connor, mentions a disposal of these lands made not long after, in virtue of which the right of them was transferred to St. Patrick and the see of Armagh. The *Tripartite* also, a compilation apparently patched up at Armagh, has something to the same purpose. Thus we have a key to the whole business. While it was pretended

that these possessions belonged to St. Patrick, that is to Armagh and not to Trim (the name of St. Patrick was mistaken for the saint considered personally), and thus he and Loman were made contemporaries. Whence flowed other allegations.

Had Ussher and the Bollandists reflected on these circumstances, they would not have laid down that Loman was the first bishop consecrated in Ireland, and Trim the oldest Irish see.¹

There is no possibility of mistaking the meaning of the foregoing words. They prove, beyond doubt, that the evidence of Tirechan and the *Tripartite*, and the authority of Colgan, Ussher, and the Bollandists, are entirely brushed aside, and the history of the events narrated by them boldly impeached on intrinsic grounds. The objections urged with such remarkable ingenuity, and such pointed language by Dr. Lanigan, are :—

(a) The bed of the river Boyne was so unfit for navigation that it would be impossible for a boat to come to Trim, even if the current and the wind were both favourable.

(b) The donations of land mentioned in the various tracts do not at all agree with the times of St. Patrick.

(c) The accounts are contradictory. The *Tripartite* makes Loman a nephew, and Tirechan only a disciple of Patrick.

(d) There is an incidental remark made by Dr. Lanigan about Fortchern, to the effect that, ‘notwithstanding his royal descent, I find Fortchern set down in the *Tripartite* as St. Patrick’s blacksmith.

You can easily perceive how every little point, no matter how trifling, every little seeming contradiction, is seized on by our learned but hypercritical friend to discredit the accounts given by all other historians, and to prop up his own pet theory, that Loman was no contemporary of St. Patrick’s, but belonged to the seventh century. Even at the risk of being tedious I must take up the objections one by one.

1. The bed of the river Boyne was so unfit for navigation as to preclude the possibility of a boat proceeding as far as

¹ Lanigan, vol. i., p. 222.

Trim. In reply to that objection, my first impulse would be to say simply, *Quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*. Dr. Lanigan has not given us a particle of solid proof to show that it was impossible in *olden* times for a boat to be got up as far as Trim. No doubt he quotes Ussher; but, curiously enough, Ussher entirely disagrees with Dr. Lanigan, and accepts the history of the sailing of Loman's boat from Drogheda to Trim, as quite accurate and authentic. Ussher speaks of the bed of the river at *the present day* being such that it would be very difficult to bring a vessel through from Drogheda to Trim; but does not go so far as to say, that it was utterly impossible. It is quite true, the bed of the Boyne is not of uniform depth. In parts there are sharps and shallows, and these together with the numerous mill and fish weirs to be encountered on the way would, undoubtedly, at present prove to be almost insuperable barriers to the progress of any boat of considerable dimensions.¹

Of course, in any circumstances, it would be a matter of more or less difficulty for a boat to be got up against the current; but in estimating the extent of the difficulty, it would be well to bear in mind, that the boat in which Loman in all probability sailed was not of that cumbrous build and massive construction to which we are accustomed nowadays. In the fifth and sixth centuries, we know, the sons of Erin sailed not merely on the placid waters of a river like the Boyne, but braved even the perils of the deep in fragile barks formed of ribs of osier, covered with hides, commonly called currachs, and that skimmed like swallows over the surface of the waters. Ware, in his *History of Ireland*, speaks of such boats being in use amongst the early Irish.²

In such a vessel we are told St. Cormac sailed from Iona, to seek some solitary island in the ocean, and was fourteen days out of sight of land. A few years ago the writer of these pages saw near Drogheda Bridge a wicker currach with its horse skin covering, somewhat similar, perhaps, in

¹ Ussher, p. 412, vol. vi. : *Alveus fluvii Boyne ita angustus et scopulosus hinc dicitur, quod nullus pateat a ditus ab ejus ostio ad urbem Trimmensem.*

² Ware, vol. i., p. 178.

design and execution to the one that carried Loman and his companions more than fourteen centuries ago, from the mouth of the river Nanny up the Boyne to Trim. In dealing with this point I may be permitted to call attention to a very interesting old document which I happened to come across, and which will serve to throw light on the subject-matter under consideration, as well as show what was the condition and appearance presented by Trim a little over three hundred years ago. It is a memorial from Robert Draper, parson of Trim, and afterwards promoted to the important position of Bishop over the two dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh. It was addressed to the Right Honourable the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England :—¹

Most humble besecheth your honour Robert Draper, parson of Trim, in Irelande, that yr. Lordshipp wolde vouchesafe to take vewe of the convenyences and comodyties being in and about the said towne of Trym, for the foundation of an unyversitie, and that yf yr. lordship shall like of them, it wold please the same (both in consideration of the fytness of the place, and also in respecte that yr. said suppliant hath been a long suter, to his greate charge, though not for an unyversytie, yet for a grammar schoole to be erected there), to graunte yr. honours letters to the Lord Deputie and Councell of Irelande, that when that matter shall come in consultation there, they will have (the rather at yr. honour's request) regard and respect to that pore towne, being a place both for the fytness of it for that purpose, and for the extreme poverty that it is brought to, especially to be regarded and relieved. First ; It is situate in a most fresh and wholesome ayre, xxti. myles from Dublin, and xv. from Droghedaghe an haven towne. The towne itself is full of very faire castles and stone houses buylded after the Englishe fashyon, and devyded into five faire streetes, and hath in it the fairest and most stately castle that her Majestie hath in all Irelaund, almost decayed. It hath also one greate and large abbey nothing thereof defaced but the church, and therein greate store of goodly roomes, in meetely good repair, the howse is put to no use, and will (I think) be easily boughte of the owner, Edward Cusack of Lesmollen. The said Edward hath also a fryary in the said towne, a very fit place for a college, which also may be easily gotten of him ; further, your suppliant hath a friery havinge staunche and good walls,

¹ State Paper Office, Ireland, 15th May, 1584.

for an hall, for four or five lodgings, a cellar, a kitchen, a place for lectures, with a pleasante backside conteyning three acres at leaste; all which your said suppliante will freely give to the furtherance of this goode work.

Through the myddest of the towne runneth the most pure and clere ryver of the Boyne; *up this ryver might all provision come from Droghedaghe to Trym by boate*, yf the statute to that purpose made in Sir Henry Sydneis' time were executed.

Harde by the towne is an excellent good quarry if they should need any stone, lyme stone, enough hard at the gate, slates within vi. myles, and timber enough within three myles. The country round aboute verie fruitful of corne and cattel, yielding besides plentiful store of firewood and turfe a verie good and sweet fewel and yf the statute aforesaid for the setting open of weares and fishing places in the Boyne were executed, the fewel in greate quantitie for smale pryce *might be broughte down by boate*.

Lastly, which is a matter of great importance, the towne is in the myddest of the Englishe Pale, and is well and strongly walled about, a thinge that will be a meane to draw learned men thither, and be greate safety to the whole company of students there; for your honour knoweth that wheresoever the universytie be founded the towne must of necessitie have a good wall elles will no learned men goe from hence or any other place thither neither they of the country send their sounes to any place that is not defensible and safe from the invasion of the Irish. The buylding of a wall will coste as muche as the colleges which charge (yf your honour and they by your procurement shall like of this place) will be saved.

Endorsed: 15th of May, 1584.

ROBERT DRAPER,

Parson of Trym in Irelande.

For a Unyversitie or Free School to be erected here.

The writer of the above important letter was manifestly a shrewd man of business, with a sound head upon his shoulders. If he failed to get from Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, a university founded in Trim instead of in Dublin, it was not from any lack of ability in putting his case.

In his petition no point is overlooked. He draws attention to the situation of the place, to the number of friaries and religious houses that could be procured at small cost and utilized for class halls; to the castle and the strong walls round about the town; and, though last, not least, to

the 'pure and clere ryver of the Boyne running through the midst of the town, and which affords over and above the good supply of water, this additional advantage, *that up the ryver might provisions be broughte from Drogheda to Trim*, if the statute of Sir Henry Sydney for setting open the weirs were executed.'

The italics are mine, and I have used them in order to emphasize the fact that Robert Draper, who knew well what he was writing about, had no such ideas as Dr. Lanigan about the impossibility of getting up a boat from Drogheda to Trim. In fact, he considered it quite feasible and actually set it down as one of the advantages to be attained by the establishment of a university at Trim, that provisions could 'be brought up by boate from Drogheda an havan town to Trim where the petitioner resided.' The first objection then raised by Dr. Lanigan about the impossibility of navigating the Boyne is sufficiently disposed of by the simple reply that he has not adduced a single solid proof in support of his assertion; and, furthermore, even if it were proved to demonstration that it would be impossible by human agency to bring up a boat from Drogheda to Trim on the waters of the river Boyne, still that fact would not of itself be sufficient to warrant us in rejecting forthwith a narrative that has such an overwhelming weight of historic evidence in its favour.

Surely, Dr. Lanigan is not arguing with rationalists who deny even the possibility of miracles, and in their blind folly refuse to recognise the Divine hand of the All-Wise and Omnipotent Ruler, Who created the universe and controls its laws. Should sufficient testimony, therefore, be produced to show that a certain event took place, one cannot straight-way pooh-pooh it on the sole ground that it is not in accordance with the laws of nature; or, in other words, that it is miraculous. If that were so, to take a familiar instance, the history of the transfer of the holy house of Loretto would not stand long under such a canon of criticism. For without a moment's hesitation, and without the slightest examination of the evidence, the cynic would at once exclaim, 'oh, it is sheer nonsense to suppose a house could fly through the air; such a thing would be utterly at variance with the laws

of gravitation; and, therefore, no such event could or did take place, no matter what historians tell us to the contrary.'

In the instance under consideration the manner in which Loman came up to Trim was, beyond doubt, miraculous, for without chart or compass, without the assistance of oars or sails, the boat conveyed himself and his companions *usque ad vadum Truim*, though the current and wind were both unfavourable. Ussher looked on the event as miraculous, so too did Jocelin, who says:—

Oh, Signum hactenus inauditum et incompertum Navis nemine gubernante contra fluvium et ventum ad vocem viri Dei velificavit, et ab ostio Boyni fluminis usque ad Ath-Trym cursu prospero illum transvexit?¹

And the original text of Tirechan also clearly conveys the idea that Loman came to Trim in the boat, under a *special interposition* of Divine Providence, 'Deo ipso gubernante, the Lord being his pilot.'²

The second objection of Dr. Lanigan has in it no greater weight than the first. The donations of lands, he says, mentioned in the various tracts do not correspond with the times of St. Patrick; and in proof of this assertion, he quotes the *Confessions* of St. Patrick himself. Now, what does the saint really say—'Forte autem, quando baptizavi tot millia hominum, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel dimidium scriptulæ Dicite mihi et reddam vobis.'³ In other words, the saint challenged anyone to say that he accepted presents or donations for his own personal use or for the labour connected with any of his many ministrations, as the author of *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars* puts it in his singularly able and fascinating book:—

Patrick, like St. Paul, refers to the perils by which he was encompassed, and the many toilsome duties of his episcopacy. He then vindicates his own disinterestedness, and challenges his accusers to show that he ever received a single farthing for preaching the Gospel and administering baptism to so many thousand persons even in the remotest parts of the country where the Word of God was never heard before; not that the people

¹ Jocelin, cap. 54.

² *Trim*, p. 553.

³ *Confess.*, p. 79.

were not generous, for they offered him many gifts and cast their ornaments upon the altar ; but he returned them all, lest even in the smallest point the unbelievers might have cause to defame his ministry or question the purity of his motives.

But, whilst refusing to accept gifts for himself, ‘ne vituperetur ministerium nostrum,’ our saint *did not refuse* sites for the various churches which he founded, and which he dedicated to God and set apart as places of public worship. Hence in the case of his first convert, Dicho, the Irish annalists inform us that in gratitude to God for the great gift of faith, the northern chief offered our saint a portion of ground on which to erect a church, which, when completed, received the name of Sabhal Padruic or Patrick’s barn. This Sabhal or Saul was ever afterwards a favourite retreat of the apostle : and, when in process of time, he erected a monastery there, he often came to seek repose from his labours, and within its hallowed walls he breathed his last. ‘Dichus credidit ei primus prae omnibus toto corde ; et baptizatus obtulit Deo et S. Patricio agrum in quo stabant.’¹

It is related also in the *Tripartite* life of St. Patrick, and published by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, that Conall the brother of King Laighaire, who resided at Teltown, did not imitate the bad example of his two brothers, Laighaire and Carbre, by rejecting the teaching of the apostle and refusing to believe ; but, on the contrary, received him with great joy, was baptized by him, and *gave him his house or rath* on which to erect a church ; and the outline of this very rath can still be discerned in the present graveyard at Donaghpatrick.²

Baptigavit S. Patricius Conallum, et obtulit ei Conallus omne Castellum Suum diceus ei : Fac tibi hic monasterium et civitatem et ego faciam mihi aliud habitaculum prope. Et fecit ibi S. Patricius monasterium et designavit civitatem quae dicitur Domnach-Padraig.³

And, not to speak of other cases, we have a remarkable

¹ *Tripartite*.

² Wilde’s *Beauties of the Boyne*, p. 155

³ *Tripartite*, as quoted by Ussher, vol. vi., p. 412.

instance, recorded in history,¹ where Daire resolved to give Patrick the Ridge of the Willows, that he might build a church unto his God. St. Patrick and Daire, with his queen and the clerics and warriors of Daire, ascended the slope, and on the crown of that sacred hill, Patrick, book in hand, marked out the site of the church of (Ard-Macha) and consecrated it to God for ever.

In the face of these and other facts that might be adduced, it is absurd to state with Dr. Lanigan, 'that donations of land do not agree with the times of St. Patrick.'

With all respect to this eminent man, I will go farther, and say that donations of land and other forms of property for pious uses agree with all times since the very dawn of Christianity. In fact, exceptional generosity, in one shape or another, is the natural and necessary outcome of divine faith. Hence, when Zacheus received the divine gift, he not only came down with haste, and received our Lord with joy, but he stood, and, in the hearing of all who murmured, cried out, and said: 'Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wronged any man of anything I restore him fourfold.'² So too when the wise men came from the far East to pay their homage to the new-born King, they did not come empty-handed. For we read, when they found the object of their search, that going in, enlightened by faith, they bowed down before Him, 'and opening their treasures they offered to Him gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh.'³ And on a solemn occasion when Magdalen would give a tangible testimony of love for her Master, at Bethania, she 'took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, of great value, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.'⁴ In St. Luke we read that our Lord, looking on at the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury, and seeing also a certain poor widow casting in two brass mites, said: 'Verily, I say to you that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all. For all these have of their

¹ *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars.*

² Luke xix. 8.

³ Matt. ii. 11.

⁴ John xii. 3.

abundance cast into the offerings of God, but she of her want hath cast in all her living that she hath.’¹ There is no use in multiplying instances, for these already given are more than sufficient to show that there is nothing at all extraordinary or incredible in the fact that Feidilmid at the preaching of Loman, and supernaturally enlightened by faith, despised all earthly things, ‘and gave up, as historians tell us, all his possessions, together with his son Fortchern, to Patrick and Loman till the day of judgment.’

The two other objections raised by Dr. Lanigan are hardly worthy of serious notice, and the man must be hard pressed when he was forced to make them.

There is no contradiction whatsoever between the authorities who give an account of Loman and the antiquity of the Trim foundations. It is quite true, the *Tripartite* calls Loman a nephew of St. Patrick, Tirechan a disciple, Jocelin a bishop. Where is the contradiction? Could he not be all three—disciple, bishop, and nephew, of St. Patrick. How many were taught, tonsured, ordained priests, and consecrated bishops by our saint. Not to go farther, have we not a striking instance in the case of the boy Benignus, who was baptized by Patrick, trained by him in all divine and human knowledge, his disciple therefore, and afterwards made by him the heir to his kingdom, for he consecrated him bishop, and placed him as his helper in the primatial see of Armagh.

If one author called *him* a disciple, another a bishop, a third ‘the heir of St. Patrick,’ where is the contradiction? One simply gives a piece of information not given by the others; and hence there is not any conflicting evidence between them. If so, Dr. Lanigan would make short work of the concordance of the Gospel history as given by the four Evangelists.

Lastly, there is a statement made by the learned Doctor that sounds like a sneer, and hardly dignified enough for one in his position. ‘I find Fortchern (successor of Loman) notwithstanding his royal descent set down in the *Tripartite* as St. Patrick’s blacksmith.’ Be it so. In this there is

¹ Luke xxi. 3.

nothing at all inconsistent with his royal descent, nor derogatory to his position as monk or bishop, or calculated to throw discredit as an historian on the venerable author of the *Tripartite*. In Montalembert's *Monks of the West* we read of Dega or Dagan, who flourished about the year 586; that he was a monk, a bishop, and, at the same time, an artificer in iron and brass, a very useful blacksmith indeed. He passed his nights in transcribing manuscripts, and his days in reading and in carving in iron and copper. So laborious was he, that the construction of three hundred croziers for bishops and abbots is attributed to him: 'Hic Dagaeus fuit faber tam in ferro quam in aere et scriba insignis.'¹

St. Patrick was a practical man of business, and utilized for the building up of the infant Church all the talents of those around him on his missionary staff. Hence we find Benignus described by historians as his psalmist, or, as we would say, leader of his choir, and we have Bishop 'Asicus, of Elphiu, an expert in metal work, who employed part of his time in making altars, and quadrangular tables called miassa, which probably were metal altar-flags used on the rude altars of the churches in those days, during the celebration of the holy mysteries.'² There is no sense, therefore, in levelling a sneer at Fortchern, the successor of Loman, but only for a few days in the see of Trim. One other remark, and I am done with the objections which I undertook to answer. The man who has a case to make is, as a rule, one to be pitied. For, like the lawyer with a bad case, he is obliged to have recourse to special pleading, to attribute motives, and to end, in heaping abuse on his opponents. So it is with Dr. Lanigan, who with all his cleverness puts himself into a false position by assuming that Loman belonged to the seventh century. He hits hard at every historian, no matter how respectable, who says anything that tends to upset his favourite theory. I am not surprised, therefore, to find the Doctor waxing warm, and pouring the vials of his wrath on Tirechan, Jocelin, the

¹ Ballin, vol. III, p. 67.

² *Irish School and Scholars*, p. 112.

Tripartite, and all the other venerable authorities who go against him.

The *Tripartite*, whose authorship is generally ascribed to St. Evin, of Monasterevan, and of which the learned Bishop of Clonfert, says that 'it is, on the whole, the most valuable document concerning St. Patrick that has come down to our time,'¹ in the eyes of Dr. Lanigan is nothing more than a 'compilation apparently patched up at Armagh.' Jocelin, who was selected for the work of writing St. Patrick's life by three of the greatest men of the time—Thomas O'Connor, Archbishop of Armagh; Malachy, Bishop of Down; and John de Courcey, Prince of Ulster; is, in the opinion of Dr. Lanigan, a man only too eager to jump at a story, to improve upon it, and then pawn it off as genuine history. 'The story of Tirechan was too good a one to be passed over by Jocelin, who, to make it still more marvellous, subjoins that the boat came up against the stream, though the current and wind were both unfavourable.'

Finally, when the learned doctor undertakes to give what he calls the key to the solution of the difficulty in which all historians before him were involved, he really runs amuck. There was a squabble, he says, between Armagh and Trim about some pretended possessions of land around Trim, purported to be given by Felim to Patrick and Loman. Tirechan, who was a Meath man, maintained the rights of Trim; whereas Jocelin, who was a patron of Dr. O'Connor, was equally strong in claiming them for Armagh. But, strange enough—and this is a point overlooked by the learned Doctor—both Tirechan and Jocelin agree that Loman was a contemporary of St. Patrick; and the history given by both, of all the subsequent events, is precisely identical in every particular. Furthermore, the possessions were not *pretended* ones; if so it would hardly be worth while fighting about them. As a matter of fact, part of the lands of Crowpark, adjoining the town, are still the property of the see of Armagh. In 1614 an inquisition found that the Archbishop of Armagh was seized, in right of his see, of one tenement

¹ *Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 90.

and three acres of land, within the parish of Trim. The Bishop of Meath receives rent from the Crown for the manor of Trim. And in the time of Henry IV. the Archbishop of Armagh had a charge upon the Crown of £8 16s. 7½*d.* for the site of the castle, town, and bridge of Trim. The church and glebe, and the land belonging to the see of Armagh, are on the north side, and the castle is on the south side of the Boyne.

Having now gone over the whole ground traversed by Dr. Lanigan, and having endeavoured to reply to the objections raised by him against the commonly received history given by ancient and modern writers regarding the antiquity of the Trim Church and See, I think the intelligent and dispassionate reader will have little difficulty in fully endorsing the mild and dignified rebuke of the liberal-minded and large-hearted Dean Butler, who says:—

Doctor Lanigan was a Roman Catholic, and had been Professor of Hebrew, the Sacred Scriptures, and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Pavia. His *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* is a work of great labour and learning; but *here* we cannot forgive this vain attempt to degrade the Church and bishops of Trim against the evidence of Tirechan and the *Tripartite*, and the authority of Colgan, Ussher, and the Bollandists.¹

It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers, that Trim has long since ceased to be a distinct episcopal see. The episcopal sees in Ireland have undergone many changes, and were at first exceedingly numerous. In Meath alone were the sees of Clonard, Duleek, Skryne, Kells, Trim, Ardbraccan, Dunshaughlin, Slane, and some also add Foure. But in the famous Synod of Kells, presided over by Cardinal Paparo, the Papal Legate, the sees of Meath were reduced to the sees of Clonard, Kells, and Duleek. Clonard, I presume, for the western portion of the diocese; Kells and Duleek for North and South Meath.

At another synod held in Trim, in the year 1216, in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Newtown-Trim built by Simon Rochfort, the first Englishman that wore the

¹ Butler's *Trim*, p. 138.

mitre of Meath, it was ordered that the Churches of Trim, Kells, Slane, Skryne, and Dunshaughlin, being heretofore bishops' sees, shall hereafter be the heads of rural deaneries, with archprestyters personally resident therein.¹

The first bishop who assumed the title of Bishop of Meath was Eugene, who died about the year 1194, and was the immediate predecessor of Simon Rochfort, who transferred his seat from Clonard to Trim, which at this time became the great central town and stronghold of the Pale.

Meath, at the present day, consisting, as it does, of a whole cluster of dioceses, is in area the largest diocese in Ireland. It extends from the Shannon to the sea, and is almost commensurate with the ancient principality of the Melaghlins and De Lacies. It comprised at one time within its boundaries the diocese of Clonmacnoise. On the 29th of September, 1725, we find that Dr. Stephen Mac Egan, an illustrious member of the Dominican Order, and one of the most celebrated preachers in Ireland, was nominated and elected to the see of Clonmacnoise, and consecrated by Pope Benedict XIII. Four years afterwards, in 1729, Dr. Mac Egan was transferred by the Pope to the see of Ferns, and, in the same year, to that of Meath, as successor to Dr. Luke Fagan, who was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. On his appointment to Meath, the Holy See granted him the parish of Navan *in commendam*, and the administration of the diocese of Clonmacnoise. In his old days, when unable, through infirmity, to go through his visitations in that district, he requested Dr. Chevers, then in Ardagh, to supply his deficiencies, and this induced Dr. Chevers to petition the Holy See for the union of Clonmacnoise with Ardagh. He assigned as his principal reasons the vast extent of Meath as more than enough to tax the energies of one bishop, the poverty of Ardagh, its proximity to Clonmacnoise, and the fact that he had the labour of it. Five years later Dr. Chevers was translated to Meath, and then found, to his

¹ Wilkin's *Concilia*, vol. i., p. 547.

mortification, that his reasons had induced the Holy See to incorporate Clonmacnoise with Ardagh. He petitioned, it is said, for the administration of Clonmacnoise, on the ground of being able to attend to it, and received for answer a copy of his reasons why Clonmacnoise should be united with Ardagh.¹

The bishops of Meath, from time immemorial, were entitled at all official meetings to rank next to the archbishops, and claimed an appellation similar to theirs of 'Most Reverend.' 'Episcopus Midensis primus semper est Provinciae Armacanae Suffraganeus, quanquam Enim inter coeteros Hiberniae Episcopos esset consecratione Junior eos nihilominus loco praeederet.'² Up to the disestablishment of the Irish Church by Mr. Gladstone, the bishops of Meath had a seat, by virtue of their office, on the Irish Privy Council, and all communications between the Crown and the bench of bishops passed through the hands of the bishop of the premier diocese of Meath.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that all these titles and privileges attaching to the see of Royal Meath, were quietly assumed by the Protestant bishops of the so-called Reformation, and availed of by them as coolly as if they were the real lawful heirs, coming down in a direct and unbroken line from the days of Loman, the first bishop who wore the mitre of Trim.

Although this paper has run on to a pretty considerable length, we feel it would be incomplete if we neglected to mention that there is one townland, in the parish of Mullingar, called after our saint, Port-Loman. Here a monastery was founded by him, on the western bank of Lough Owel, and his festival was kept in the Church on the 7th of February. In the *Martyrology of Donegal* (Dr. Todd's edition), we read:—

The Feast of St. Lomman, bishop-nephew of St. Patrick by his sister, is celebrated in his church in Port-Loman, diocese of Meath. His buckhall (crozier) is *extant*, being in possession of

¹ Dean Cogan's *Meath*, vol. ii, p. 161.

² *Ibid. Dom.*, by De Burgo.

Walter Mac Edward, in Port-Lommain. Temple Lommain is on the brink of Loch-Uail. The parish has a holiday. There are two rivers flowing out, and no river going into the lake.

We shall conclude this sketch by one other quotation from Dean Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*:—

The ruins of St. Loman's church are situated on the very margin of Lough Owel, about three and a-half miles to the north-west of Mullingar, and measure seventy-seven feet by twenty feet four inches. A stone, shaped like the lid of a coffin, having a cross inscribed, was found some years ago deeply embedded in the clay, and was disintombed. It seems to have marked the grave of some distinguished ecclesiastic. The tourist or pilgrim who visits Port-Loman will linger long before he can withdraw himself from the enchanting scenery which meets him on all sides, and, above all, from the venerable consecrated walls, endeared by so many associations of religious worship, and now sacred and solemn for being the resting-place of the dead . . .¹

In that resting-place of the dead, close by the monastery founded by Loman, many of his followers are sleeping, but as we observed in a former sketch, the hallowed bones of the founder himself, are laid in another place with Fortchern, Cormac, and his other companions in the ministry—viz., in the ancient church of Ath-Truim, the seat of his episcopal see.

PHILIP CALLARY, P.P., V.F.

¹ *Diocese of Meath*, vol. iii., p. 601.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CLANDESTINITY AS IT AFFECTS IRISH PROTESTANTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your paper on Clandestinity, in last month's I. E. RECORD, at page 452, in Section (B) you say, 'And, manifestly, an Irish Protestant, for example, does not lose his privilege or dispensation by crossing over to Scotland.' Is this so clear or certain? The exemption or dispensation from the law of Clandestinity in favour of heretics in Ireland is local or territorial. Can they enjoy this exemption when they leave the country? Could they, *qua* Irish Protestants, marry validly and clandestinely in France? I am not certain on the point, but wish to see the questioned raised and settled.

AN INQUIRER.

Our correspondent rightly understands us to have asserted (1) that heretics domiciled in Ireland are not affected by the law of clandestinity (at all events, as long as they remain in Ireland); and, (2) that in the event of their going to a place such as Scotland, where the decree *Tametsi* has not been promulgated, they will still be unaffected by the law, and that even though they retain their domicile in Ireland. Our correspondent hesitates to accept the second assertion just mentioned. We may venture to assure him that his special difficulty has no foundation, either in law or theology.

As we understand it, his line of reasoning is this: 'An Irish Protestant while travelling in France does not enjoy exemption from the law of clandestinity. Therefore, *a pari*, an Irish Protestant travelling in Scotland is not exempt.' This we take to be the argument; and our answer will be very brief. It is true—and we should have said so in our last paper, if it had not been irrelevant to the subject discussed—that the Irish Protestant travelling in France is, while in that country, bound by the law of clandestinity.

The fact, however, as we *now* learn, admits of two explanations; (1) the Irish Protestant in France is bound by the decree *Tametsi, because he is out of Ireland*; or, (2), because the decree has been promulgated in France, and is there binding on Catholics and heretics alike, whether residents or non-residents. The latter is the explanation hitherto accepted by all theologians and canonists. Our correspondent, however, prefers the first explanation. And then, logically enough, he infers that, if an Irish Protestant loses his privilege by merely leaving Ireland, he has certainly lost it when he has arrived in Scotland.

MASSSES FOR THE DEAD

DEAR SIR,—In many parishes just before All Souls Day, an announcement is made to the congregation in something like the following terms:—‘Masses will be offered once a month for the repose of those souls whose names are entered on the List of the Dead. Persons wishing to give in names may do so during the coming week.’

The faithful then give in names, accompanied with an offering.

(a) What are these offerings? Are they dues? (b) If they are dues, is there any obligation to offer Mass? (c) Would a second Mass on Sunday suffice? (d) Do the faithful regard the matter as a contract—*do ut des*?

SACERDOS.

(a) The offerings made in the circumstances in question could scarcely be called ‘dues’ in any sense of the word with which we are acquainted. They are purely voluntary offerings made for the purpose of having Masses celebrated for deceased friends. (b) There is a strict obligation to have the Masses offered according to the terms of the express announcement or implicit understanding. (c) A priest who duplicates on Sunday cannot satisfy his obligation to say one of the Masses thus promised, and on the same day take a honorarium for his second Mass. (d) The faithful will rightly regard the contract to be of the nature we have indicated.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

A CORRECTION.

IN replying to the question of a correspondent regarding the calendar to be followed by a religious in the chapels of convents and analogous institutions, we stated in the October number of the *I. E. RECORD*¹ that a religious, if chaplain to one of the institutions in question, should follow his own calendar as well in the principal as in the private chapels. And furthermore, we stated that in the case in which a religious is chaplain, his calendar becomes the proper calendar of the principal chapel of the institution, so that all priests celebrating in the principal chapel should follow his calendar. These conclusions were based on a decree of the Congregation of Rites issued in June, 1896. The meaning of this decree was quite plain, and the conclusions we drew from it were little more than a free translation of its terms. We copied the decree from a journal published in Rome, which we have always found to be most accurate. Consequently we were quite certain of the correctness of the statements made in the reply above referred to. A few days ago, however, we took up a recent number of the Roman journal from which the decree had been copied, and were much chagrined to find in it a note in which the editor apologized for the omission of an important word from the decree as first published in his journal. The omission of the word completely changed the meaning of the decree as far as religious are concerned. Without the omitted word it made, as we have seen, the calendar of a religious chaplain to a convent, &c., the calendar of the institution, which not only the chaplain himself, but all priests celebrating in the principal chapel should follow. With the omitted word, the decree declares, that the religious chaplain must abandon his own calendar, and follow the secular calendar of the place in which the institution of which he is chaplain is situated.

¹ Page 366.

No matter, then, who is chaplain, whether he is a religious or a secular priest, the calendar of the place must be followed by him and by all priests celebrating in the principal chapel; in private chapels every priest must follow his own calendar.

We are aware that religious chaplains were in the habit of following their own calendar without insisting, however, that it should be regarded as the calendar of the institution. Doubtless such chaplains heard with satisfaction that their practice had been approved by the Congregation of Rites itself. We are sorry, therefore, to be obliged to say that, so far from the practice having received the sanction of the Congregation of Rites, it has been *expressly* forbidden by this Congregation since June, 1896.

As the matter is of considerable practical importance, we again print the decree; but this time in its correct form :—

Ubi unus tantum sacerdos quoad missae celebrationem addictus sit oratorii competenti auctoritate erectis in gymnasiis, hospitalibus ac domibus quarumcumque piarum communitatum : hic si saecularis tenetur sequi calendarium diocesis in qua extat oratorium ; et si regularis calendarium ordinis si proprio gaudeat [*relinquere*] ; et si aliquando celebrent extranei hi debent se conformare calendario sacerdotis ejusmodi oratorii addicti ?

Resp. Affirmative in omnibus si oratoria habenda sint ut publica ; secus negative.

The word *relinquere* to which we have called attention in the text of the decree, is the word originally omitted. A glance at the context will show how profoundly the exclusion or addition of this word affects the meaning of the question, and also, how correct were the conclusions drawn in these pages from the mutilated decree. For if *relinquere* be omitted, *sequi* from the preceding clause must be understood, and the question is to this effect: If the chaplain [to a convent, &c.] be a secular, is he bound to follow the calendar of the diocese in which the convent is situated ? if a regular, is he bound to follow the calendar of his Order, if it has a proper calendar ? The reply of the Congregation, *Affirmative in omnibus*, made it quite certain so far as the terms of the decree were concerned that the regular was to

follow his own calendar; while the remaining part of the question regarding externs, made it also clear that these should follow the calendar of the regular when celebrating in the principal chapel. But when *relinquere* is added, the question must be read thus: If the chaplain be a secular, is he bound to follow the calendar of the diocese . . . and if a regular, to abandon the calendar of his Order? It was to the question in this form that the Congregation replied in the affirmative. Hence there can be no longer any doubt as to the practice to be adopted by chaplains, whether secular or regular. They should follow—in the principal chapels of course—the calendar of the diocese in which the institution is situated, unless in so far as the diocesan calendar may have been modified by the grant of special feasts, or of special solemnities to certain communities of nuns.

We quote the following extract from the apology of the Roman editor for the omission of the word *relinquere* from the decree as first published by him. It will form a sufficient apology for the share we may have had in confirming a practice not in conformity with the decrees of the Congregation of Rites, and will, at the same time, confirm and accentuate the true meaning of the decree:—

In x^{mo} vol., Anno 1896, p. 520, vulgatum fuit decretum . . . septem constans dubiis, totidemque, ut par est, relativis responsis. Ex iis dubium iv. . . aliquo defectu laborat, vel typographico, vel amanuensis. Defectus in hoc consistit quod in ultima linea post verbum '*gaudeat*,' omissum fuit verbum '*relinquere*'; per quod verbum additum totus mutatur sensus dubii, proinde que et responsi, uti perpendenti facile patebit. Additio verbi '*relinquere*' necessaria et authentica est; et certa scientia nobis constat de omissione illius verbi illiusque addendi necessitatem monitum fuisse oratorem, qui dubiavolvenda proposuerat. Consequenter venerabiles lectores certiores facimus dictum decreti dubium cum præfato verbo '*relinquere*' legendum et intelligendum esse.

Hinc sequitur sacerdotem sive sæcularem sive regularem, quoad missæ celebrationem alicui oratorio addictum . . . teneri ad calendarium ejusdem Oratorii, si sit publicum: *et regularem proinde debere sui Ordinis calendarium in dicta celebratione negligere ut dioecesis sequatur.*

1. WHEN A PRIEST DUPLICATES IN THE SAME PLACE HOW SHOULD THE UNPURIFIED CHALICE BE COVERED?
2. WHERE SHOULD THE UNPURIFIED CHALICE REMAIN BETWEEN THE TWO MASSES?

REV. DEAR SIR,—When the same chalice is used at second Mass, as in first Mass in the same church, would it not be better to cover it during the interval, with the pall, rather than with the patena for the purification of which there is no provision? It is covered with the pall during the communion of the faithful, and is unpurified. It is also covered with the pall in the second Mass from the Offertory, and from the consecration to the end of Mass, so to say. I think this is very practical, and I would ask you to say if there is not room for improvement in the rules laid down for us in the matter; namely, of covering the chalice with the patena, somewhat the same as on Good Friday. (2) Is it not better to leave the unpurified chalice on the altar, if it may be so left with security, rather than be brought into a sacristy, or put into the tabernacle as some do, but which O'Callaghan does not seem to contemplate?

M.

1. The pall alone is used, as our correspondent points out, to cover the chalice, from the consecration to the communion, when it contains the most Precious Blood, and during the communion of the faithful while it is still unpurified. Why then should not the pall alone be used to cover the chalice left unpurified at his first Mass by a priest who has to celebrate two Masses on the same day in the same church? It cannot be because the pall should not come into contact with the unpurified chalice. The instances brought forward by our correspondent dispose of this contention. Indeed even the purificator may come into immediate contact with an unpurified chalice, as we learn from the instructions issued by the Congregation of Rites in 1857, regarding the celebration of two Masses in different places on the same day. We must, then, seek some other reason why in the directions for celebrating three Masses on Christmas day, as for celebrating two Masses on the same day in the same place, the celebrant is told to

cover the chalice, after he has consumed the Precious Blood, first with the paten, then with the pall and veil. We have not found anywhere a reason for this, but we can probably infer one from the directions given by Martinucci for the celebration of three Masses on Christmas day. The celebrant, according to Martinucci should cover the chalice with the pall after he has consumed the Precious Blood, as is done when communion has to be distributed; say the usual prayers, and purify his fingers; and having done this, he should remove the pall from the chalice, replace it with the paten, *on which he should place a host for the next Mass* and cover the paten and host with the pall and veil. Hence it would appear, that one reason for placing the paten and not the pall next the chalice in the case contemplated by our correspondent, is that in the second Mass the paten, host, and pall may have from the beginning of Mass their proper places. It would be contrary to all custom to have the chalice on the altar during the early part of the Mass without either host or paten; yet if the chalice is to be covered first with the pall, the host and paten should necessarily be absent.

Having shown that the common teaching, and the common practice have some reason to justify them, we come to our correspondent's inquiry; whether a change might not be an improvement. We frankly confess, we do not think any change would be an improvement; and, moreover, the common practice is so firmly established that we would consider it wrong to advocate any other in opposition to it. It is mentioned in a decree of the Congregation of Rites regarding the celebration of two Masses in the same place, on the same day. The words of the reference are:—

. . . Calici autem statim (*i.e.*, immediate post Sumptum SS. Sanguinem) imponit patenem et pallam, dein calicem et patenam cooperiat velo.¹

These words do not, we believe, strictly speaking, impose

¹ S.R.C., Sept. 16, 1815.

an obligation ; but, taken in conjunction with the directions given by all writers who refer to the matter, they constitute a precedent from which it would be rash to depart.

2. The chief thing to be looked to is the reverence due to the unpurified chalice. Hence if it is certainly safe from irreverence on the altar, it may be allowed to remain on the altar. Otherwise it should be placed on a corporal in a secure place in the sacristy, or it may even be put into the tabernacle.¹

D. O'LoAN.

¹ S.R.C., *loc. cit.*

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the I. E. RECORD for August, typical examples were set forth to show the radical defects of the little compilation, *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*. As a result, the November number contains a long-drawn and heated (not to say intemperate) ‘endeavour to reply,’—fresh proof that equanimity under criticism is not easy to find.

As regards the Bobbio Missal, the admission that it is Irish in script is enough for the compiler. ‘and will be,’ he adds, ‘for most people.’ He had better, perhaps, have answered for himself: ‘most people,’ he has some reason to fear, may demur somewhat decidedly when they learn that he has not alone suppressed, but given no indication of, what his critic wrote in the very next paragraph to that quoted from :—‘But it does not follow, because the writing is Irish, that a MS. was written in Ireland: much less, upon Irish subjects. In the present case, the Mass of St. Martin and the names introduced into the Canon tell as plainly as the most explicit Colophon that the Missal was drawn up for a church in Gaul.’ (*Stowe Missal*, Trans. R. I. A., xxvii. 151.)

The compiler next formulates a canon to suit the occasion. When the writing is Irish, the dogma is Irish too, unless (which is absurd) you mean to hold that scribes copied liturgies and kindred matter, from the characteristic theology of which they dissented. To apply the principle to the subject in hand. The scribe of the Bobbio MS. was demonstrably ignorant, very ignorant, of Latin. Nevertheless, we are to hold that he never put pen to parchment until he satisfied himself that the theology of Missal and Penitential was such as he could assent to!

Behold a miracle, instead of wit.

Again, when Eustasius, abbot of Luxeuil, was charged, in the Synod of Macon (623), with differing from others in the celebration of Mass, his objection, it was stated and conceded, lay not to the theology, but to the comparative brevity, of the local liturgies. So much for the new criterion.

Finally, the assurance about his critic not asserting that the

Missal was not in daily use at Bobbio was somewhat premature. 'Of a certainty,' the discoverer of the Missal asserted, 'this codex was not for use of the Bobio monks. For there is nothing in it of Bobio, of Columbanus, or his disciples; nothing likewise of matters monastic.'¹ Mabillon, however, it must be admitted, made the assertion more than two centuries ago.

As to the Penitential of Cummian, no amount of declamation will conceal the fact that the compiler has evaded the proofs of *Wasserschleben* that the work was continental in origin and application. One cannot but smile at the grasp of the subject and the logic that put forward a solitary authority (for the second given belongs to the eighth century; the third refers to an Irishman who lived, and most probably became a heretic, on the continent, in the same century) to prove that Ireland had in the seventh century what Cummian dealt with,—heresy professed by congregations and priests; heresy favoured by bishops and abbots; heresy glorified in its saints. For the rest, the fifteen items, the compiler has again to be reminded, have all been traced to the sources:—the Penitential of Columbanus, a work not drawn up for Ireland, which contains the first; and the Penitential of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (ob. 690), of which the other fourteen, section for section, compose the fifth chapter of the first book.

The *St. Gall Ordo*, it was shown by original proof from a work long acknowledged as classic, was Irish only in writing. In return, the compiler derides the demonstration, and fails to see that he has perpetrated a libel!

To better *eorum* by *nostrorum* keeps to the orthography of the MS.' It never dawned upon the Belfast Bentley that the problem was to find a word ending in *eorum* that would keep to the sense.

Sacrificium Tibi celebrandum intende. 'Tried by the Dictionaries' the translation, *dispose the sacrifice to be celebrated to Thee*, 'may claim an acquittal.' Quite so; it takes some knowledge to discern wherein one is confuted. The blunder lies in taking *sacrificium celebrandum* [*esse*] to be an infinite clause depending on, instead of two accusatives governed by, *intende*. And, to obviate the objection (not likely, it is true, to be made

¹ Certe hi codex non fuit ad usum monachorum Bobiensium. Nihil enim in eo de sanctis Bobiensibus, Columbano, ejusve discipulis; nihil item de rebus monasticis. (*Museum Italicum* I, 276.) Note the single *b*; never *bb*. See also Bobiensis, Bobiensibus, in Muratori (*Antiq. Ital. Med. Aevi*, III. 680). Cf. *Borio* (= *Bobio*) in Cummian's epitaph (*ib.*).

by the compiler) to *Intende quas fundunt preces*, that the object of *intende* is placed in the relative clause and consequently in the accusative, owing to the metre not admitting *precibus*, another Offertory may be quoted. *Intende, quaesumus, Domine, sacrificium singulare, ut . . . expectata sumamus* (Gregorian Sacramentary, Migne, *P. L.* 78, col. 190).

Comparatively numerous errors of the press appeared, it was said, in the Irish testimonies. This is taken to apply generally, and made the pretext to impute unfairness and hostility. The other 230 pages, it is vaunted, do not contain 15 such errors. But, to mention only one instance, p. 230 presents no less than 26!

Again, all the references, it is boasted, have not three figures astray. The compiler has verified them with the books before him. Now, mark how limp the verification emerges: (1) p. 72, note 16, *for* p. 258, *read* p. 257; (2) p. 96, note 66, line 5, *for* p. 237, *read* p. 257; (3) p. 122, note 22, *for* p. 120, *read* p. 220! And if you complain that these so-called references to a lithographed Irish MS., with two columns of from 75 to 90 lines each to the page, incommode you, why that proves you are neither 'well-disposed,' nor 'generous' to the compiler who supplied them for your 'special satisfaction.'

As the compiler demurs to the proof that his 'simile' from the *Speckled Book* is not found in the original, let him give the text and literal translation of the Irish referred to at p. 72. In addition, he will know whether it is to be found on 'p. 258.' It remains to say that, had the *Annals of Ulster* intended to convey that O'Coffey was O'Murray's fosterer or tutor, not father, they would have employed (not *athair*, but) *aite*, a word which it is superfluous to establish from the written, as it lives (under the form *oide*) in the spoken, language.

Here one would willingly have closed (for, as to the other 'endeavours to reply,' *valeant quantum*); but the bravado of the concluding paragraph must not pass with impunity. Critical discrimination is further illustrated in the following:—*Arreum anni triduanus in ecclesia sine . . . vestitu, sine sede, etc.* (p. 104). *Triduanus*, to begin with, is a vox nihili in this place; read *triduum* and translate: *Commutation of a year's penance* [is to have the penitent] *to stand three days in a church without clothing!!!* One has heard of gods and goddesses standing naked in the open air; but to read of Christian men and women in that condition in a church somewhat strains one's trust in the

informant. A copy of the *Commutions* (which the compiler had under his eyes) containing Irish glosses reads *triduum* and (for *sine vestitu*) *cum vestimento circa se*, with a garment around him (*Bussordnungen*, p. 139, n. 12).

The textual recension and grammatical knowledge appear in the opening words of the Memento of the Dead as given in the Bobbio Missal. Memento etiam, Domine, et eorum nomina qui, etc. It requires no great acumen to see that *nomina* is a rubric: eorum (*nomina*); meaning that the celebrant was to (mentally) particularize those whom he wished to pray for. But the compiler renders it by 'Remember also, O Lord, the names of those who have gone before us,' etc. (p. 149)!

Similar to the *memento nomina* and equally indicative of intimate acquaintance with the meaning of the Canon of the Mass is 'Quorum meritis precibusque concedas, to whose merits and prayers grant' (p. 157). Now, the *compilers* of prayer-books took *quorum meritis precibusque* to mean *by* whose merits and prayers, and it will be time enough to quote Menard in support of them, when their rendering is seriously questioned. At the same time, it is but fair to remark that the books in question were issued before 'St. Patrick's Day,' the date of publication of *The Ancient Irish Church*.

The compiler says the Irish were not in strictness Quarto-decimans. But unwittingly he proves that they were. According to his rendering of *die dominica octavarum Pasche* of the *Navigation of Brendan*, the Irish kept the 'Sunday within the octave of Easter' (p. 220). Such an incidence could happen only when Easter was held on a day other than Sunday,—which was a strict result of the Quartodeciman heresy. The meaning is, Sunday, the Octave of Easter; in other words, Low Sunday. (The plural, *Octav[ae]*, is usual in mediæval Calendars.)

Of a piece with this is the statement that the 'mode of computing Easter is an astronomical . . . question' (p. 41). But Ideler was an eminent astronomer, and so little did he clear up the Paschal Question, that he took a well-authenticated Table to be a forgery (*Handbuch*, ii. 275). 'The Easter Term,' he had already said with the accuracy of a master, 'is not computed by the aid of astronomical tables, the use of which not everyone can understand, but *by cycles*, in a manner which even a non-expert is easily able to master.' ¹

¹ Uij. Ostergrenze wird nicht mit Hülfe astronomischer Tafeln, deren Handhabung nicht jedermann's Sache ist, sondern *cyklisch* auf eine Weise berechnet, die auch der Laie leicht zu begreifen im Stande ist (*Hand' buch*, ii. 192).

Having regard to the confused chronology found in his authorities, it were unfair perhaps to hold the compiler to blame for erroneous dates. But two instances admit of no valid excuse.

(1) 'Under the same date [664], there is the following entry in certain Annals in the *Book of Leinster* :—'Voyage of Bishop Columbanus to Inisboffin, with relics of Saints' (p. 197). 'See the *Book of Leinster* (p. 25a),' and you will see the whole column without a single date! The annalistic items referred to have, however, been published by Stokes in his *Tripartite Life*. On a left-hand page (518), he gives the text in question, *but without date*; on the right hand (p. 517), the translation. To the latter he prefixed [664] (erroneously, *more suo*; for the true year, given in Tigernach and the *Annals of Ulster*, is 668). Yet the gatherer who collects at second-hand in this way will not have you dub him compiler!

(2) Diarmait, we learn (p. 106), was 'king of Ireland, A.D. 538-588).' Accuracy is of first importance here. This king and his immediate predecessor, every tyro knows, were synchronous with the early saints of the second order. *Hic Ordo duravit . . . ab extremis Tuathai l et per totum Diarmata regis regnum, etc.* A minimum of industry would have discovered in the *Tripartite* version (p. 515) of the *Leinster* 'Annals,' that Tuatha l fell in [544] and Diarmait in [565]. The New Chronology, by stroke of pen, expands the reign, *hinc inde*, from twenty-one to fifty years!

Finally, to show how a text can be made to bear two meanings. Kannanus . . . portavit secum ignem . . . benedictum. 'It would seem from the context . . . that the "blessed fire" . . . was incense' (p. 98). But the doubt disappeared in the progress of compiling. At p. 220 the quotation is repeated, with an addition containing (*inter alia*) *ut accenderet funum benedictum*, to prove that incense is alluded to by Tirechan (in the *Book of Armagh*). And, to remove all doubt, there is a note that 'nothing could be clearer than this reference to the "blessed fire" and the "blessed smoke" '!

The foregoing, *which is not exhaustive*, will, it is submitted, be held to furnish ample proof of the soundness of another Horatian counsel :—

Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis aequam
Viribus.

B. MAC CARTHY.

DOCUMENTS

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION OF FRIARS MINORS

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
 CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA DE UNITATE ORDINIS FRATRUM
 MINORUM INSTAURANDA

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Felicitate quadam nec sane fortuito factum putamus, ut Nobis olim, in episcopatu gerendo, ex omnibus Italiae provinciis una Francisci Assisiensis parens atque altrix Umbria contingeret. Assuevimus enim acrius et attentius de patre seraphico locorum admonitu cogitare: cumque indicia eius permulta, ac velut impressa vestigia passim intueremur, quae non memoriam eius solum Nobis afferebant, sed ipsum videbantur in conspectu Nostro ponere: cum Alverniae iuga semel atque iterum ascensu superavimus: cum ob oculos ea loca versarentur, ubi editus ac susceptus in lucem, ubi corporis exsolutus vinclis, unde ipso auctore tanta vis bonorum, tanta salus in omnes orientis atque obeuntis solis partes influxit, licuit profecto plenius ac melius cognoscere quanto viro quantum munus assignatum a Deo. Mire cepit Nos franciscana species atque forma: quoniamque intimam franciscanorum institutorum virtutem magnopere ad christianam vitae rationem videbamus conduxisse, neque eam esse huiusmodi ut consenescere vetustate possit, propterea in ipso episcopatu Perusino, ad christianam pietatem augendam tuendosque in multitudine mores probos Ordinem Tertium, quem Nosmetipsi viginti quinque iam annos profitemur, dedita opera restituere ac propagare studuimus. Eundem animum in hoc apostolici muneris fastigium eandemque voluntatem ex eo tempore susceptam attulimus. Ob eamque causam cum non circumscripte, sed ubique gentium eum ipsum Ordinem florere in spem beneficiorum veterum cuperemus, praescripta legum quibus regeretur, quatenus opus esse visum est, temperavimus, ut quemvis e populo christiano invitaret atque alliceret effecta mollior et accommodatior temporibus disciplina. Expectationem desiderii ac spei Nostrae sat implevit exitus.

Veruntamen Noster erga magnum Franciscum et erga res ab

eo institutas singularis amor omnino quiddam adhuc postulabat : idque efficere Deo aspirante decrevimus. Animum videlicet studiumque Nostrum nunc convertit ad sese franciscanus Ordo princeps : nec sane facile reperiat in quo evigilare enixius atque amantius curas cogitationesque Nostras oporteat. Insignis est enim et benevolentia studioque Sedis Apostolicae dignissima ea, quae Fratrum Minorum familia nominatur, beati Francisci frequens ac mansura soboles. Ei quidem parens suus, quas leges, quae praecepta vivendi ipse dedisset, ea omnia imperavit ut religiosissime custodiret in perpetuitate consequentium temporum : nec frustra imperavit. Vix enim societas hominum est ulla, quae tot virtuti rigidos custodes eduxerit, vel tot nomini christiano praecones, Christo martyres, caelo cives ediderit : aut in qua tantus virorum proventus, qui iis artibus, quibus qui excellunt praestare ceteris iudicantur, rem christianam remque ipsam civilem illustrarint, adiuverint.

Horum quidem bonorum non est dubitandum maiorem et constantiorem futuram ubertatem fuisse, si arctissimum coniunctionis concordiaeque vinculum, quale in prima Ordinis aetate viguit, perpetuo mansisset : quia 'virtus quanto est magis unita, tanto est fortior, et per separationem minuitur'.¹ Quod optime viderat et caverat mens provida Francisci, quippe qui suorum societatem praeclare finxit fundavitque ut corpus unum non solubili compage aptum et connexum. Quid revera voluit, quid egit aliud cum unicam proposuit vivendi regulam, quam omnes sine ulla nec temporum nec locorum exceptione servarent, vel cum unius rectoris maximi potestati subesse atque otemperare iussit universos ? Eiusmodi tuendae concordiae praeceptum et constans in eo studium fuisse, perspicue discipulus eius confirmat Thomas a Celano, qui 'assiduum,' inquit, 'votum vigilque studium in eo fuit custodire inter fratres vinculum pacis, ut quos idem spiritus traxerat, idemque generat pater, unius matris gremio pacifice foverentur.'²

Verum satis in comperto sunt posteriores casus. Nimirum sive quod flexibiles hominum sunt voluntates et varia solent esse ingenia in congregatione plurimorum, sive quod communium temporum cursus sensim ac pedetentim alio flexisset, hoc certe usu venit franciscanis ut de instituenda vita communi aliud placeret aliis. Concordissimam illum communionem quam

¹ S. Thom. 2, 2^o, quaest. xxxvii., a. 2 ad 3^m.

² *Vita secunda*, P. iii., c. cxxi.

Franciscus spectarat et secutus erat, quamque sanctam esse apud suos voluerat, quae res potissimum continebant: studium voluntariae paupertatis, atque ipsius imitatio exemplorum in reliquarum exercitatione virtutum. Haec franciscani instituti insignia, haec eius fundamenta incolumitatis. At vero summam rerum inopiam, quam vir sanctissimus in omni vita adamavit unice, ex alumnis eius optavere nonnulli simillimam: nonnulli, quibus ea visa gravior, modice temperatam maluerunt. Quare aliorum ab aliis secessione facta, hinc *Observantes* orti, illinc *Conventuales*. Similiter rigidam innocentiam, altas magnificasque virtutes, quibus ille ad miraculum eluxerat, alii quidem imitari animose ac severe, alii lenius ac remissius velle. Ex prioribus iis fratrum. *Capulorum* familiâ coalitâ, divisio tripartita consecuta est. Non ideo tamen exaruit Ordo: nemo est enim quin sciat, sodales singularum, quas memoravimus, disciplinarum praeclaris in Ecclesiam meritis praestitisse et fama virtutum.

De Ordine Conventualium, item de Capulorum nihil omnino decernimus novi. Legitimum disciplinae suae ius, uti possident, ita possideant utrique in posterum. Eos tantummodo hae litterae Nostrae spectant, qui concessu Sedis Apostolicae antecedunt loco et honore ceteros, quique *Fratrum Minorum* merum nomen, a Leone X. acceptum,¹ retinent. Horum quoque in aliqua parte non est omnium vita consentiens. Quandoquidem communium iussa legum universi observare studuerunt, sed aliis alii severius. Quae res quatuor genera, ut cognitum est, effecit: ‘Observantes, Reformatos, Excalciatos’ suae ‘Alcantarinos, Recollectos:’ et tamen non sustulit funditus societatem. Quamvis enim privilegiis, statutis, varioque more altera familia ab altera differret, et cum provincias, tum domos tironum unaquaeque proprias obtineret, constanter tamen omnes, ne principium prioris coagmentationis interiret, obtemperationem uni atque eidem antistiti retinuerunt, quem ‘Ministram generalem totius Ordinis Minorum,’ uti ius est, vocant.² Uteumque sit, quadripartita istaec distributio, si maiorum spem bonorum, quam perfecta communitas attulisset, intercepit, non fregit vitae disciplinam. Quin etiam cum singulae auctores adiutoresque habuerint studiosos alienae salutis et praestanti virtute sapientiaque viros, dignae sunt habitae, quas romanorum Pontificum benevolentia complecteretur et gratia. Hoc ex capite vi et fecunditate hausta, ad fructus efferendos salutare et ad prisca franciscalium exempla renovanda valuerunt.

¹ Const. *Ite et vos* iv. kal. Iun., 1517

² Leon. X., Const. cit. *Ite et vos*.

Sed ullumne ex humanis institutis est, cui non obrepat aliquando senectus?

Certe quidem usus docet, studium virtutis perfectae, quod in ortu adolescentiaque Ordinum religiosorum tam solet esse severum, paullatim relaxari, atque animi ardorem pristinum plerumque succumbere vetustati. Ad hanc senescendi collabendique causam, quam afferre consuevit aetas, quaeque omnibus est coetipus hominum natura insita, altera nunc ab inimica vi accessit extrinsecus. Scilicet atrox procella temporum, quae centum amplius annis rem catholicam exagitat, in ipsas Ecclesiae auxiliares copias, Ordines virorum religiosorum dicimus, naturali itinere redundavit. Despoliatos, pulsos, extorres, hostiliter habitos quae regio, quae ora Europae non vidit? Permagnam ac divinotribuendum muneri, quod non excisos penitus vidimus. Iamvero duabus istis coniunctis causis plagam acceperere nec sane levem: fieri enim non potuit quin duplicato fessa incommodo compago fatisceret, quin vis disciplinae vetus, tamquam in affecto corpore vita, debilitaretur.

Hinc instaurationis orta necessitas. Nec sane defuere in Ordinibus religiosis qui ea velut vulnera, quae diximus, sanare, et in pristinum statum restituere se sua sponte ac laudabili alacritate conati sint. Id Minores, etsi magnopere vellent, assequi tamen aut aegre aut nullo modo possunt, quia desideratur in eis conspirantium virium cumulata possessio. Revera praefecturam Ordinis gerenti non est in omnes familias perfecta atque absoluta potestas: certa quaedam eius acta et iussa repudiari privatae nonnullarum leges sinunt: ex quo perspicuum est, perpetuo patere aditum repugnantium dimicationi voluntatum. Praeterea variae sodalitates, quamquam in unum Ordinem confluunt et unum quiddam aliqua ratione efficiunt ex pluribus, tamen quia propriis provinciis differunt, domibusque ad tirocinia invicem distinguuntur, nimis est proclive factu, ut suis unaquaque rebus moveatur, seque magis ipsa quam universitatem diligat, ita ut, singulis pro se contententibus, facile impediantur magnae utilitates communes. Denique vix attinet controversias concertationesque memorare, quas sodalitorum varietas, dissimilitudo statutorum, disparia studia, tam saepe genuerunt, quasque causae manentes, eadem renovare easdem in singulos prope-modum dies queant. Quid autem perniciosius discordia? quae quidem ubi semel inveteravit, praecipuos vitae nervos elidit, ac res etiam florentissimas ad occasum impellit.

Igitur confirmari et corroborari Ordinem Minorem necesse est, virium dissipatione sublata : eo vel magis quod populari ingenio popularibusque moribus volvitur aetas ; proptereaque expectationem sui non vulgarem sodalitium facit virorum religiosorum ortu, victu, institutis popolare. Qui populares enim habentur, multo commodius et aspirare et applicare se ad multitudinem, agendo, navando pro salute communi, possunt. Hac sibi oblata bene merendi facultate Minores quidem studiose atque utiliter usuros certo scimus, si validos, si ordine dispositos, si instructos, uti par est, tempus offenderit.

Quae omnia cum apud Nos multum agitaremus animo, decessorum Nostrorum veniebat in mentem, qui incolumitati prosperitatisque communi alumnorum franciscalium succurrere convenienter tempori, quoties oportuit, consuevere. Idem Nos ut simili studio ac pari benevolentia vellemus, non solum conscientia officii, sed illae quoque caussae, quas initio diximus, impulere. Atqui omnino postulare tempus intelleximus, ut ad coniunctionem communionemque vitae priscam Ordo revocetur. Ita, amotis dissidiorum et contentionum caussis, voluntates omnes unius nutu ductuque invicem colligatae tenebuntur, et, quod consequens est, erit ipsa illa, quam parens legifer intuebatur, constitutionis forma restituta.

Duas ad res cogitationem adiecit, dignas illas quidem consideratione, quas tamen non tanti esse vidimus ut consilii Nostri retardare cursum ulla ratione possent, nimirum privilegia singulorum coetuum aboleri, et omnes quotquot ubique essent Minores, de quibus agimus, unius disciplinae legibus aequae adstringi oportere. Nam privilegia tunc certe opportuna ac frugifera cum quaesita sunt, nunc commutatis temporibus, tantum abest ut quicquam prosint religiosae legum observantiae, ut obesse videantur. Simili modo leges imponere unas universalis incommodum atque intempestivum tamdiu futurum fuit, quoad varia Minorum sodalitia multum distarent interioris dissimilitudine disciplinae : contra nunc, cum non nisi pertenui discrimine invicem differant.

Nihilominus instituti et moris decessorum Nostrorum memores, quia res vertebatur gravioris momenti, lumen consilii et prudentiam iudicii ab iis maxime, qui eadem de re iudicare recte possent, exquisivimus. Primum quidem cum totius Ordinis Minorum legati an. MDCCCLXXXV Assisium in consilium convenissent, cui praeerat auctoritate Nostra b. m. Aegidius Mauri S. R. E.

Cardinalis, Archiepiscopus Ferrariensis, perrogari in consilio sententias iussimus, de proposita familiarum omnium coniunctione quid singuli censerent. Faciendam frequentissimi censuerunt. Imo etiam lectis ab se ex ipso illo coetu viris hoc negotium dedere ut Constitutionum codicem perscriberent, utique communem omnibus, si communionem Sedes Apostolica sanxisset, futurum. Praeterea. S. R. E. Cardinales e sacro Consilio Episcoporum atque Ordinum religiosorum negotiis praeposito, qui pariter cum S. R. E. Cardinalibus e sacro Consilio christiano nomini propagando Nobis de toto hoc negotio vehementer assenserant, acta Conventus Assisiensis et omnia rationum momento ponderanda diligentissime curaverunt, exploratisque et emandatis, sicubi visum est, Constitutionibus novissimis, testati sunt, petere se ut Ordo, sublato familiarum discrimine, unus rite constituatur. Id igitur omnino expedire atque utile esse, idemque cum proposito conditoris sanctissimi cumque ipsa Numinis voluntate congruere sine ulla dubitatione perspeximus.

Quae cum ita sint, auctoritate Nostra apostolica, harum victute litterarum, Ordinem Minorum, variis ad hanc diem sodalitiis distinctum, ad unitatem communitatemque vitae plene cumulateque perfectam, ita ut unum atque unicum corpus efficiat familiarum distinctione omni deleta, revocamus, revocatumque esse declaramus.

I. Is, extinctis nominibus *Observantium, Reformatorum, Er-calciatorum*, seu *Aleantariorum, Recollectorum*, ORDO FRATRUM MINORUM sine ullo appposito, ex instituto Francisci patris appelletur: ab uno regatur: eisdem legibus pareat: eadem administratione utatur, ad normam Constitutionum novissimarum, quas summa fide constantiaque ab omnibus ubique servari iubemus.

II. Statuta singularia, item privilegia iuraque singularia, quibus familiae singulae privatim utebantur fruebantur, ac prorsus omnia quae differentiam aut distinctionem quoquo modo sapiant, nulla sunt: exceptis iuribus ac privilegiis adversus *tertias personas*: quae privilegia, quaeque iura firma, ut iustitia et aequitas postulaverit, rataque sunt.

III. Vestitum cultumque eadem omnes formâ induunto.

IV. In gubernatione Ordinis universi, quemadmodum unus Minister generalis, ita Procurator unus esto: itam Scriba ab actis unus: honorum caelestibus habendorum Curator unus.

V. Quicumque ex hoc die minoriticas vestes rite sumpserint;

quicumque maiore minoreve ritu vota nuncupaverint, eos omnes sub Constitutionibus novas esse subiectos, officiisque universis, quae inde consequuntur, adstringi ius esto. Si qui Constitutionibus novis abnuat subesse, ei habitu religioso, nuncupatione votorum, professione interdictum esto.

VI. Si qua Provincia his praeceptis legibusque Nostris non paruerit, in ea nec tirocinia ponere quemquam, nec profiteri rite Ordinem liceat.

VII. Altioris perfectionis vitaeque, ut loquuntur, contemplativae cupidioribus praesto esse in provinciis singulis domum unam vel alteram in id addictam, fas esto. Eiusmodi domus iure Constitutionum novarum regantur.

VIII. Si qui e sodalibus solemniter ritu professis addicere se constitutae per has litteras disciplinae iustis de causis recusarint eos in domos Ordinis sui certas secedere auctoritate nutuque Antistitum liceat.

IX. Provinciarum cum mutare fines, tum minuere numerum, si necessitas coegerit, Ministro generali coniuncte cum Definitoribus generalibus liceat, perrogata tamen Definitorum Provinciarum de quibus agatur, sententia.

X. Cum Minister generalis ceterique viri Ordini universo regundo ad hanc diem praepositi magistratu se quisque suo abdicarint, Ministrum generalem dicere auctoritatis Nostrae in causa praesenti esse volumus. Definidores generales, ceterosque munera maiora gesturos, qui scilicet in conventu Ordinis maximo designari solent, designet in praesenti causa sacrum Consilium Episcoporum atque Ordinum religiosorum negotiis praepositum, exquisita prius ab iis ipsis sententia, qui potestatem Definitorum generalium hodie gerunt. Interea loci Minister generalis Definidoresque generales in munere quisque versari suo pergant.

Gestit animus, quod Nostram in beatum Franciscum pietatem religionemque veterem consecrare mansuro providentiae monumento licuit: agimusque benignitati divinae gratias singulares, quod Nobis in summa senectute id solatii, percipientibus, reservavit. Quotquot autem ex Ordine Minorum sodales numerantur, pleni bonae spei hortamur obsecramusque, ut exemplorum magni parentis sui memores, ex his rebus ipsis, quas ad commune eorum bonum decrevimus, sumant alacritatem animi atque incitamenta virtutum, ut digne ambulent 'vocatione, qua vocati' sunt, 'cum omni humilitate, et mansuetudine, cum patientia, supportantes

invinces in caritate, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.'¹

Praesentes vero litteras et quaecumque in ipsis habentur nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut obreptionis sive intentionis Nostrae vitio aliove quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse; sed semper validas et in suo robore fore et esse, atque ab omnibus cuiusvis gradus et praeeminentiae inviolabiliter in iudicio et extra observari debere, decernimus: irritum quoque et inane si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate vel praetextu, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari declarantes: contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, etiam speciali mentione dignis, quibus omnibus ex plenitudine potestatis, certa scientia et motu proprio quoad praemissa expresse derogamus, et derogatum esse declaramus.

Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, manu tamen Notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides, quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi, his praesentibus ostensis, haberetur.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae constitutionis, ordinationis, unionis, limitationis, derogationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.—Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum Quarto Nonas Octobris Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo octogesimo nonagesimo septimo, Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimo.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Pro-Datarius*.

A. CARD. MACCHI.

VISA.

DE CURIA I. DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS.

Loco ✠ *Plumbi*

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CUGNONIUS.

¹ Ephes. iv. 1-3.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

COMMENTARII DE SACRAMENTIS. IN GENERE AC DE
S. S. EUCHARISTA, AD USUM ALUMNORUM COLLEGII
HIBERNORUM PARISIENSIS. Parisiis : 5, Via Dicta,
'Des Irlandais,' 5.

WHEN expressing an opinion on the merits of a work, we may look on it absolutely or relatively to the end for which it was written. The book before us looked on absolutely does not profess to be a mine of theological learning. It professes to contain nothing that the great theologians have not already fully discussed. It does not profess even to treat its subject-matter so fully as many theologians are accustomed to do. But if we look at the work relatively to the end for which it was intended, it is of great value. The author wished to place in the hands of theological students a handy text-book which, under the guidance of a professor, would serve as a foundation for their theological knowledge. As a text-book of this nature it is admirable. The order is logical. The explanations are usually clear. The proofs are generally cogent. For these reasons we say that the work is of great value—in the first place, to the college for which it was primarily intended, and, in the second place, to other colleges where students must be content with a substantial, yet brief training in theology.

We consider the work useful also for priests on the mission who cannot spare time to open larger volumes for the solution of every little question that may arise. The practical nature of the questions discussed, especially in the Blessed Eucharist, will relieve them from that necessity to a great extent. For them, too, as indeed for students of sacramental theology generally, it is useful to have dogma and moral treated side by side. This is the method adopted by the author.

With the subject-matter of the work we can find no reasonable fault. No doubt there are little things, such as the cogency of certain proofs, the relative importance given to certain subjects, in which we do not agree with the author; but this does not arise from any defect in the work, but from a reasonable diversity of opinion. There is one matter on which we are not so sure such

a diversity of opinion may exist. It is the manner in which the author gives quotations from other authors. When a man writes a book we expect to see the ideas expressed in his own words. If there be a question of great importance or great difficulty, it is useful to give extracts from theologians to bear out or make clear what the author wishes to inculcate. These extracts should, we think, be taken, as far as possible, from first-class theologians. Now, the author before us quotes extracts too often from theologians who are by no means first class. This he does not merely in more important or difficult questions, but even in things of minor importance, and of no special difficulty. Sometimes even he does not express the matter in his own words at all, but at once gives a quotation from those authors.

This, however, does not lessen the value of the book, so we can recommend it as a useful text-book for colleges in which a very extended course of theology is not read, and also for priests on the mission who desire to have practical matter in a convenient form.

J. M. H.

LIFE OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. By David Lewis, M.A.
London: Thomas Baker, Soho-square. 1897.

THIS is a very simple and readable narrative of the trials and triumphs of a remarkable saint. Although the perusal of a saint's life must make a serious reader feel how far he is from the summit of perfection, and even see that this level is practically beyond his reach, yet he will, we think, derive no small encouragement, direction, and consolation, from a study of the life and character presented to us in those pages. St. John made a great distinction between himself and the rest of men. On himself he imposed extraordinary penances, and he bore extreme trials with heroic fortitude. He renounced the mitigated rule of the Carmelites, and under the direction of St. Teresa became one of the first friars of the reform. Under his poor habit he wore a penitential shirt. Barefooted during the day in all weathers, his couch at night was ordinarily the hard ground. For his body generally he had no anxiety except in the direction of devising modes of annihilating the inferior appetite. But towards others, whether religious or secular, he was as indulgent as their state in life would permit. In his direction of religious he insisted on the penance of obedience, and was very cautious in allowing his

penitents to undertake novel experiments in mortification. Here are some of his views about beginners in the spiritual life:—

‘Allured by the sweetness they find therein, some of them kill themselves by penance, and others weaken themselves by fasting, taking upon themselves without rule or advice more than their weakness can bear; they try to hide their doings from those whom they are bound to obey in the matter, and some even dare to practise austerities expressly forbidden them. These are full of imperfection, people without reason who put aside discretion and submission and obedience, which is the penance of reason, and therefore a sacrifice more sweet and acceptable to God than all the other acts of bodily penance. Bodily penance is full of imperfections if that of the rule be neglected.’¹

It was his determination to enforce ordinary ‘monastic discipline that occasioned some of his bitterest trials.

‘While the saint was living in Penuela, his brethren were preparing another cross for him, which is one of the hardest to bear—the contradiction of good men. His good name and spotless life were made the sport of idle tongues, and one of the members of the Council went from monastery to monastery gathering materials in order to bring grave charges against him. . . . The source of this trouble was Fra Diego of the Evangelist, who when he was a friar at Seville had to bear, and bore ungraciously, the correction which the saint, then his superior, administered to him, for his non-observance of the discipline of Carmel. The servant of God, elected Vicar-Provincial in the Chapter of Pestrana, in 1585, found in the discharge of his duties that strict observance, according to the rule, was not kept in the monastery of Seville. In that house were two friars, great preachers, wise and discreet in the estimation of people who could never see them too often in their houses. The friars were certainly men of zeal, and very readily gave themselves up to good works with which they had nothing to do. They were continually busy, absent from choir, refectory, and recreation, scarcely ever in their cells, and, the more effectually to do good, dressed themselves not quite like the other friars of Carmel of the Reform.’

St. John, it appears, had the hard-heartedness only to recall those two excellent and presentable friars to the good works with *which they had to do*. He paid the penalty of his temerity—a usual experience of reformers. One of them, Fra Diego, later on, even when he became a superior of some kind himself, wasted

much of his time and powers of research in proving the saint to have been all through life a hypocrite ; the other, Fra Francis of St. Chrysostom, used his position as superior of the house in which the saint died, to mortify his former superior. In the course of his investigations Fra Diego died, and it is only just to add that towards the close of St. John's last illness Fra Francis relented, and left nothing undone to atone for his uncharitableness.

In a very short preface the author mentions the sources from which he compiled his book, but one could wish for more references in the body of the work. The most extraordinary events are narrated with the same *naivete* as characterizes his record, say, of the holding of a chapter or the election of a prior. We are told, for example, that to accomplish the ruin of a nun to whom St. John had given direction, the devil assumed the guise of the saint, went into the confessional, sent for the nun, and there 'plied her with deadly teaching;' that Satan wrote a letter to the same nun in the handwriting of the saint. We are told that the tempter failed; but, in my opinion, it is desirable that an author should at least say expressly if he had satisfied his own mind about the historical accuracy of such preternatural phenomena, and, furthermore, that he should append references for the benefit of the incredulous.

This fault does not, however, detract much from the ascetic value of a work which unfolds with ample fulness of detail and simplicity of style the career of a man who, born and bred in poverty, voluntarily embraced the Cross while yet a youth, advanced daily in sanctity by means of sorrow, prayer, humiliation, and patience, until, at the early age of 50, he succumbed to the weight of accumulated sufferings, not without signs visible to the multitude that the soul of a very mean-looking, bare-footed friar, known to many of them as Fra John of the Cross, passed from earth to heaven.

T. P. G.

LAYS OF THE RED BRANCH. By Sir Samuel Ferguson. With an Introduction by Lady Ferguson. New Irish Library Series. London: T. F. Unwin. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker. 1897.

To all Irishmen who love good literature, and who are anxious to spread a knowledge of it amongst the people, we most cordially recommend this handsome little volume. It is, in our

opinion, decidedly one of the best in the new series published by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. The interesting and valuable introduction of Lady Ferguson enables us to trace with little effort the outlines of the plan followed by her illustrious husband in his treatment of the legends of Ireland's heroic age. Every note in the lays themselves proves to us how thoroughly Sir Samuel Ferguson entered into the spirit of these shadowy times, and sympathized with every movement of those epic cycles which fired his heart and his intellect as well as his imagination. No one but a genuine Celtic bard, worthy representative, as his name implies, of Fergus and of Sanchan, of Murgan and Eimena, and Ilan Finn, with all the love of cadence and of song that distinguished these early singers of Erin, could have penned those stanzas of the *Tain-Quest*, uttered by Murgan over the grave of Fergus. The claims of gratitude, of kindred, and of love, were powerless to awaken Fergus from the 'deaf heaps' of death, and induce him to recount the tale of the great cow-foray, of which he had been the witness and the bard. Another appeal, however, is made, and it is not made in vain:—

Thou the first in rhythmic cadence dressing life's discordant tale,
Wars of chiefs and loves of maidens, gavest the poem to the Gael,
Now they've lost their noblest measure, and in dark days hard at hand,
Song shall be the only treasure left them in their native land.

Not for selfish gauds or baubles dares my soul disturb the graves
Love consoles but song ennobles; songless men are meet for slaves,
Fergus! for the Gael's sake waken; never let the scornful Gauls,
'Mongst our land's reproaches reckon lack of song within our halls."

Even the bonds of death respond to this appeal. Fergus rose and in all the solemnity of night communicated to Murgan the heroic episodes of the foray of Queen Meav:—

All night long by mist surrounded, Murgan lay in vapoury bars;
All night long the deep voice sounded 'neath the keen enlarging stars,
But when, on the orient verges, stars grew dim and mists retired,
Rising by the stone of Fergus, Murgan stood a man inspired.

The poems of this volume, however, belong mainly to the cycle of King Conor MacNessa, and deal with the deeds of the king himself or of the heroes that surrounded his throne. How faithfully Sir Samuel Ferguson depicts the various moods of the Celtic nature, the intensity of its sorrow, the fulness of its joy, the moral or intellectual ideals that it invariably follows, the principles of mutual trust and natural honesty by which primitive

society was held together in Ireland, must be left to be appreciated by the readers of his poems. We cannot, however, refrain from quoting an example. Take, for instance, that wail lament of Deirdre for the sons of Uisnach. What could be more penetrating than these accents of grief? Those of Hecuba,

When she her own Polyxena saw dead,

are not more intense or more faithfully attuned to the spirit of her race and time :—

The lions of the hill are gone
And I am left alone—alone—
Dig the grave both wide and deep,
For I am sick, and fain would sleep.

The falcons of the wood are flown ;
And I am left alone—alone—
Dig the grave both deep and wide ;
And let us slumber side by side.

.
Stag, exult on glen and mountain—
Salmon, leap from loch to fountain—
Heron in the free air warm ye—
Uisnach's sons no more will harm ye !

It was, we believe, a famous French academicien who said, that the old Celtic harp gives out its fullest melody and its sweetest notes, only when it is touched by pure hands. The hands of Sir Samuel Ferguson are pure ; his theme is always a noble one ; his verses are the clearest reflection of a sound and manly nature. This modern bard required no golden ‘ cicada ’ such as the Athenians of ancient days were accustomed to fix in their head-gear to prove that they were *Ἀπτόχθοροι*. He was, on the contrary, native of the native. He felt satisfied that the far-off voice of those early ages of his country would yet be heard high up in Olympus. He had absolute faith in the fruitfulness of those old Celtic stores through which he loved to roam. He had faith too in the future as well as in the past of the Celt. When the sword of King Arthur was cast into the mere, an arm rose out of the waters, and, as Tennyson puts it :—

Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
Caught him by the hilt and brandished him
Three times, and drew him under in the mere.

To Ferguson, as to all his countrymen, that arm rising out of the waters was an emblem of the hope of the Celtic race, just as the lance of Percival typified the war which Celtic nations were to wage against strangers and invaders. The poet was,

unfortunately, taken from us too soon. No one in these days could have modulated the great voices of the past with a finer result than he. He did however a man's part, and felt confident that others would follow.

Such a man deserves the fullest recognition from his countrymen; and we trust that even the poorest will show their appreciation of his genius and patriotism by purchasing, at least, this small volume.

J. F. H.

PRAELECTIONES JURIS CANONICI QUAS JUXTA ORDINEM
DECRETALIU GREGORII IX., TRADEBAT IN SCHOLIS
POTIF, SEM. ROMANI. Franciscus Santi, Professor Tertia
Editio emendata et recentissimis Decretis accomodata
cura Martini Leitner, Dr. Jur. Can. Vice Rectoris in
Seminario Clericorum Ratisbonae. Ratisbonae, Neo-
Eboracae et Cincinnati, Sumptibus et Typis Friderici
Pustet S. Sedis Apostolicae Typographi, MDCCCXCVIII.

THE work of the learned Father Santi on the Decretals of Gregory IX. has already made its way in the schools and in the estimation of canonists all over the world. It is, without doubt, one of the best works on Canon Law that has appeared in recent times. It is full, without being diffuse; it is accurate and concise in expression, and where there is room for doubt or disagreement of authorities, it steers an even course and gives a good account of itself.

This is the third edition which is now being issued from the press of the great establishment of Frederick Pustet, at Ratisbon. Father Santi is at present, we hope, enjoying the reward of his labours in heaven; but this third edition of his work is edited by one of his pupils, now professor and vice-rector of the seminary at Ratisbon.

In this first volume now before us the treatment of various questions in connection with the ordination of priests is very full and satisfactory. So are the chapters 'De Judiciis,' 'De Foro,' 'De Dolo et Contumacia,' 'De Testibus et Attestationibus,' 'De Appellationibus.' As a practical treatise on some of the most important questions of Canon Law, we cordially recommend this work to students and priests.

J. P.

NOTES ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. By the Right Rev. Edward Bagshawe, D.D., Bishop of Nottingham. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

THOSE notes, it appears, were put together some forty years ago, when the author was lecturer on Christian Doctrine at Hammersmith Training College. The title of the book is an accurate description of its contents. Under such headings as Faith, Hope, Charity, God, Jesus Christ, &c., the salient points of Catholic theology are arranged in logical sequence, and numbered one, two, three, four, &c. Too condensed to be suitable for popular reading, and too meagre in details to be called a treatise, it is still by no means a useless book. It will help a busy priest to prepare a dogmatic discourse, and presents an excellent programme of catechetical instructions. It is written in a clear didactic style, and although heavily weighted with theology, its perusal will, we think, prove entertaining and useful even to those who cannot fully comprehend the significance of doctrinal terminology.

T. P. G.

MANUALE PRECUM IN USUM THEOLOGORUM CUM APPROBATIONE. Rev. Vic. Cap. Friburgansis. Friburgi, Brisgovia : Herder.

HERE is a very neat collection of prayers, litanies, meditations, and hymns (without the music), specially, it would seem, selected for theologians. An introductory chapter contains 'S. Coroli Monitiones ad Clerum,' and 'S. Coroli Institutiones ad Clericos Seminarii,' and an appendix gives an extract from the Pontifical 'De Omnibus Conferendis.' No critic could fail to recommend such a book to all priests and theological students.

THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM. By T. W. Allies, K.C.S.G. Three volumes. London : Burns & Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1897.

As 'good wine needs no bush,' the work now under review needs no eulogy at our hands. Whilst not a new work, it is a new and cheap edition of a work of great value, and of rare and abiding interest. To the Catholic student of history and of the philosophy of history, what subject can approach in interest

the subject with which Mr. Allies' volumes deal? The author approaches it not so much from the historical as from the philosophico-historical standpoint. This lends all the more interest and fascination to his treatment of it. In the first volume he deals with 'The Christian Faith and the Individual;' in the second with 'The Christian Faith and Society;' and in the third and concluding volume with 'The Christian Faith and Philosophy.' It were difficult to say which branch of the subject possesses most interest, or which is most satisfactorily treated. All its branches are of absorbing interest, and the treatment of all alike reveals the hand of the master.

In the Press of these countries and of the United States, the work when first published was warmly eulogized, and all thoughtful and scholarly Catholic readers, both clerical and lay, gratefully welcomed it as a masterpiece of its kind. To the new edition, with which we are at present more immediately concerned, a reception more cordial still has been extended. In a letter which forms a preface to the first volume, Cardinal Vaughan leads the chorus of eulogy.

'It is [writes His Eminence] one of the noblest historical works I have ever read. Now that its price has placed it within the reach of all, I earnestly pray that it may become widely and appreciatively studied. We have nothing like it in the English language. It meets a need which becomes greater daily with the increase of mental culture and the spread of education. . . . If any man desires to ennoble his own estimate of the Catholic Church, let him read this book. . . . I used to urge, even while none but the expensive first edition was accessible, that it ought to be made a text-book for every ecclesiastical student, whether destined for the home or foreign missions, for a Religious house or for the world.'

This is high, but not, we maintain, exaggerated praise; and we believe that every reader of the work will share our view.

Nowhere that we know of is the evolution of the Church dealt with so satisfactorily, so comprehensively, so discriminately, with such historical insight and literary skill, as in the pages of the work under review. The story of the struggle between Christianity and Pagan philosophy, between the Church and the Empire, between Christian morality and the corrupt but powerful civilization of the Rome of the Cæsars is graphically and entrancingly told. Scattered up and down through the work

we have literary portraits, in all cases skilfully and firmly drawn, of Cicero, St. Augustine, and many others of the rival champions of the new and old civilization and beliefs, and these form a particularly interesting feature of a most interesting work. Another most interesting feature, is a remarkably fine appreciation of Greek philosophy. Its salient points are seized upon, and are so presented, that one is likely to carry away from a moderately careful reading of the lectures devoted to this subject a clearer, more accurate, and more durable idea of what it was, of what precisely its exponents taught, and of its influence on the human intellect, than is generally obtained from even the best manuals treating expressly of the History of Philosophy. In fact, every lecture of the twenty-two which these volumes contain, is full of good things, set forth in masterly and attractive form, and never before for a moment is the reader's interest allowed to flag.

For Irish readers the work has a peculiar interest. Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, the first Rector, appointed the author Lecturer on the Philosophy of History in the Catholic University, and this work was the outcome of that appointment. The introductory lecture alone was delivered, it is true. But all the lectures included in the first volume were prepared with a view to their delivery before the same audience; and the appointment, doubtless, introduced the venerable and distinguished author to the careful, exact, and systematic study of the subject with which the volumes deal. That the lectures would have been eminently worthy of any Catholic University, no one who reads them can for a moment doubt.

We heartily recommend the work to our readers. It would, we are satisfied, be a valuable acquisition to the library of every priest. We should like to see it in the hands of all educated Catholics, and notably in the hands of ecclesiastical students. Nor do we confine our recommendation to the work at present under review. We recommend just as strongly the author's other works on kindred subjects: they are, in the main, a continuation of the work which now lies before us. We doubt if it is feasible to make *The Formation of Christendom*, as Cardinal Vaughan suggests, a class-book in our ecclesiastical seminaries; but we are entirely at one with an American reviewer who urges that it ought to be frequently read in the rectories of all such institutions. It is unquestionably a great and luminous work on a great

subject. With the *Mores Catholici* and the immortal works of Newman, it undoubtedly deserves to rank amongst the most valuable gifts for which English Catholic literature stands indebted to that brilliant company—now for the most part departed to ‘the better land’—who led by the Holy Spirit and answering to a very special divine call (or, as is sometimes said, through the memorable Tractarian Movement), nobly sacrificed so much which the world holds dear for conscience’ sake, and ‘the faith of their fathers.’

M. P. H.

THE ST. COLUMBA COMMEMORATION AT IONA, June 9th, 1897. Edinburgh : William Blackwood & Sons.

WE are indebted to the courtesy of Messrs. Blackwood and Sons, of Edinburgh, for this interesting and handsome little pamphlet. It contains an account of the Presbyterian pilgrimage of Scotchmen to the tomb of the great Abbot of Iona and apostle of Scotland in commemoration of the thirteen hundredth anniversary of his death. The pamphlet is interesting from many points of view ; but the portion of it that naturally attracts our attention most is the eloquent panegyric of the saint that was delivered on the occasion by the Very Rev. Dr. M’Gregor.

In this sermon Dr. M’Gregor undoubtedly pays a very sincere and eloquent tribute to the memory of our great countryman. As might be expected, however, there were features of St. Columba’s life and teaching which do not meet with his approval. The gospel of this great saint which rescued Scotland from pagan barbarism is not pure enough for the ‘General Assembly.’ It was John Knox and Henry VIII. who purified it. Whilst giving full credit to St. Columba and his monks for the measure of Christian belief which they held according to their lights, they were, nevertheless, much behind the Reformation apostles in this respect.

‘We must not, however, conceal the fact [says Dr. M’Gregor] that, though free from many of the corruptions of later days, they had departed not so much in doctrine as in worship, from the purity of apostolic and sub-apostolic times. Fasting, penance, and auricular confession were practised. They believed in the intercession of departed saints. They offered prayers for the dead. They made free use of the sign of the cross not only on their persons but on their domestic vessels and agricultural

implements. They came perilously near to a belief in transubstantiation, the root-error of Rome. They called the Holy Table the Altar, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the Mass.'

Dr. McGregor forgives them, however, for these deviations from the modern standard on account of the splendid work they achieved in the conversion of Scotland; and we, on our part, are inclined to pass rather lightly over Dr. McGregor's absurdities and corruptions of doctrine on account of the unconscious testimony he thus clearly bears to the doctrines and teaching of the early Celtic Church as well as for the sake of the noble tribute he otherwise pays to the character and labours of St. Columba.

'Familiar as we too well are [says Dr. McGregor] with the difficulties which beset all missionary enterprise among a pagan and barbarous people, we cannot but marvel at the well-authenticated success which crowned the efforts of St. Columba and his Muintir Iae—his family of Iona, and must attribute it at once to his own marvellous powers, to his magnetic influence, and to an abundant outpouring of the grace of God.

'From Banff and Buchan, the Moray Firth and Sutherland, and remoter still, from Orkney to Dumfries and Galloway; in the western islands back to far and fertile Tiree, the granary of Iona; in green Lismore, Loch Awe, and the Island of Bute; in central Scotland, in Abernethy on the Tay, and Dunblane, founded by King Aidan's son; in Kilrimont or St. Andrews on the east—over this vast area—as well as in various parts of Ireland, we have satisfactory evidence that churches and monasteries were founded directly by Columba himself or by his disciples. In brief, the whole of Celtic Scotland occupied by the Irish Scots and by the Northern, the Southern, and the Nidauri Picts, came more or less under his influence.'

He quotes with much effect Adamnan's description of the great Abbot:—

'From his boyhood he had been brought up in Christian training, in the study of wisdom, and by the grace of God had so preserved the integrity of his body and the purity of his soul, that, though dwelling on earth, he appeared to live like the saints in heaven. For he was angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order and consummate prudence. He lived during thirty-four years an island soldier—*insulae miles*. He never could spend the space even of one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged, night and day, in

the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching, that the burden of each of these austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance; and still, in all these, he was beloved by all. For a holy joy, ever beaming on his face, revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul.'

And Dr. McGregor, after speaking of his masterful strength of character and great abilities, adds:—'He comes before us as one who won not merely the reverence but the love of his age, a man who was as meek and unselfish and kind even to the dumb creatures as he was true and strong and brave. His own people spoke of him as their 'soul's light.' He was called 'God's messenger'—'a harp without a base chord'—'a shelter to the naked'—'a consolation to the poor.' 'There went not from the world one who was more continual for the remembrance of the Cross.'

Let us hope that Dr. McGregor may come one day to recognise that St. Columba's interest in Scotland is not yet at an end; and that, if duly invoked, he may still do much to restore the true faith both north and south of the Tweed.

J. F. H.

DE VERA RELIGIONE. By Gust. Lahousse, S.J. Lovanii: Car. Peeters.

DE RELIGIONE REVELATA. By G. Wilmers, S.J. Ratisbonae: Pustet.

Few portions of theology can boast the careful study that, in these days of increasing infidelity, 'True Religion' claims for itself from the learned. We cannot believe unless we accept divine revelation. We cannot accept divine revelation unless we examine the motives that convince us of its existence. This examination is scientifically made in the tract *De Vera Religione*. Hence, it is the constant aim of Rationalism to minimize the arguments that are there found for a revealed religion. All Christians there stand side by side defending the foundations of their faith. All must welcome the works that tend to impress on the mind of the world the principles that are of use in this battle of faith with infidelity. We, accordingly, bid welcome to the two able works that we have before us.

Father Lahousse is to be congratulated in a special way on the admirable work of which he is the author. As a class-book for students of theological colleges it has special value. Without being diffuse it discusses fully the many interesting questions that

arise in connection with 'True Religion.' Though philosophical, as the name of Father Lahousse will indicate, it is simple—its depth does not destroy its clearness. We are particularly pleased with the treatment it gives to the authenticity of the books of Sacred Scripture. We cannot consider that a work on Revealed Religion which passes lightly over this most fundamental question on Revelation, can have any pretensions to completeness. Father Lahousse sees this necessity, and acts up to his convictions.

There are a few little points in which Father Lahousse scarcely does himself justice. For example, we may take his explanation of the definition of a miracle. The definition itself is perfect, but the explanation given would lead us to think that every work, which is so above natural powers that God alone can perform it, is a miracle. This, of course, is not the case. Other conditions are required which an author would do well to mention.

The work of Fr. Wilmers possesses many qualities that must recommend it to the theological student. Catholic doctrines are explained and proved with much learning and force of argument. As to the substance of the work we can utter nothing but praise. There are a few points, however, on which we consider Fr. Wilmers to have erred. In the first place, we consider it an error on his part to treat so briefly the authenticity of the sacred books. No doubt he asserts in excuse that this subject is treated of sufficiently in other portions of a theological course. This we do not consider a reasonable apology for discussing lightly, in a work on Revealed Religion, so fundamental a question. In truth the same reason ought compel Fr. Wilmers to leave practically untouched some other questions that he treats at greater length. We may mention the Divinity of Christ, as an example. In the second place, the author is too desirous to overcrowd his book with matter. Many things may be left out without interfering with the utility of the work. The result of this superfluous matter is, that, while the work cannot pretend to be a mere book of reference, it is too long for the ordinary student of theology. Then again the type in which the work is printed detracts from the utility of so learned a volume. In size there are three classes of type generally employed in the book. The subject matter is distributed among these three classes in a way that we cannot altogether approve of. We frequently find most important matter in the smallest type. As a rule, the explanations of doctrine

are in this type. Apart from the question of appearance, which, no doubt, is something, this is hardly logical. As is evident, these mistakes are principally in form. They do not touch the substance of the work directly. Notwithstanding these extrinsic defects the intrinsic merit of the book will well repay any student for the time he may devote to a careful study of its many interesting and intricate discussions.

J. M. H.

THE CATHOLIC HOME ANNUAL. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The Catholic Home Annual of Benziger Brothers, which made its first appearance fifteen years ago, has just been issued for 1898, and will, we are sure, meet with a hearty welcome from its ever-increasing army of friends. The present number is unusually interesting, and in its pages will be found contributions from the foremost Catholic writers.

A glance at the number shows a delightful choice of reading: there are stories by Maurice Francis Egan, Walter Lecky, Rosa Mulholland (Lady Gilbert), Katharine Tynan Hinkson, Marion Ames Taggart, and Margaret M. Trainer; more serious articles by Right Rev. Mgr. Conaty, of the Washington University, and Very Rev. Father Girardey, Provincial of the Redemptorists in the Western Province; the history of a famous pilgrimage, told by Very Rev. Dean Lings; an interesting sketch of Nassau, by a resident priest; and a brief biography of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Martinelli, by Rev. Joseph F. McGowan, O.S.A., and of St. Vincent de Paul, by Ella McMahon.

From the start this Annual has been a success, and every year has seen an increase in its circulation. Nor is this surprising, for it is intended for the many rather than the few, and it is so made as to insure its popularity, and both in the quality and the variety of its reading and its illustrations, is the best of its kind.

We can heartily recommend it for family reading; and he will be hard to suit, indeed, who cannot find in it much to his taste.

[All Communications for the Editor should be addressed to the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D., Maynooth College, and authenticated by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. Anonymous communications receive no attention. — Ep. I. E. R.]

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